

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative
of the Rise and Development
of Nations from the Earliest
Times as recorded by over
Two Thousand of the Great
Writers of All Ages. Edited
with the Assistance of a Dis-
tinguished Board of Advisers
and Contributors

BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XV—GERMANIC EMPIRES (Concluded)

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GERMANIC EMPIRES (CONCLUDED)

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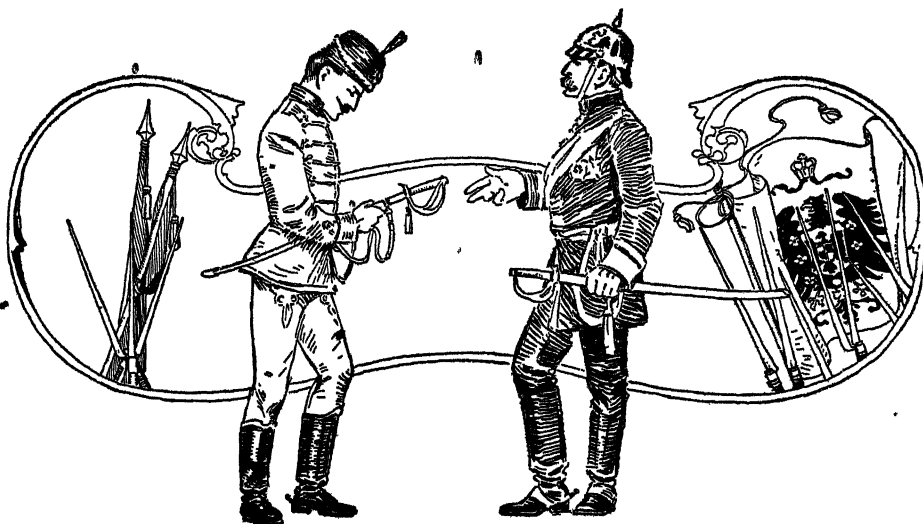
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CHAPTER IV

ABSOLUTISM AND DISASTER

[1848-1866 A.D.]

Two men decided the fate of Austria after the revolution—Prince Felix Schwarzenberg and Alexander Bach. When Prince Schwarzenberg on the 24th of November, 1848, took over the ministry of foreign affairs and thus at the same time the supreme direction of the business of state, he was yet in the prime of life. But his physical strength had long been considerably shaken. The ordinary enjoyments of life no longer tempted him, a quiet uniform line of action seemed to him insupportable. Gradually a stronger and stronger means was needed to draw him from his apathy. His passion, now almost extinguished, only rekindled when the highest stake was involved; only when his boldest throw was to be made did his nature seem to revive.

Most likely but for the revolution he would have died long before at his post at Naples. The revolution gave him back his strength. Once again life seemed worth living. He was able daily to play with danger, to exhibit a placid calm amidst the surrounding excitement, to try his luck at apparently impossible tasks. His first noteworthy act during the year of the revolution was to protest against the count and the ministry and in the name of the army against the peace negotiations which were going on at the time. He accomplished his second characteristic action on the 1st of November, 1848. Though the stability of the imperial diet had already been much weakened by the flight of numerous deputies, and had already been prorogued by the emperor on the 22nd of October, it was still assembled in Kremsier under the presidency of Smolka, and its presence constantly embarrassed the military despots. Though the decrees of the imperial diet had become powerless, they could still spread trouble in the excited provinces and among the suspicious peasantry in every possible way. Prince Schwarzenberg, who had joined the army of his brother-in-law, Prince Windischgratz, quickly settled the difficulty. He ordered the porter of the imperial diet to close the iron doors and not to allow

anyone to enter the house. These actions let it be seen that the ministry, with Prince Schwarzenberg at its head, would carry on the government with a strong hand.

The events which quickly followed fully realised these expectations; he cleared away all the barriers to absolute power, scattered the diet, and abolished the constitution; for in these institutions he perceived the weakening of the state. Austria, which in the year 1849 was shaking to her very foundations, and resembled a helmless wreck which almost excited the sympathy of the other states, should again become great and powerful. The more difficult the task, the more it attracted him. A diplomat to the core, he had never troubled himself about home politics, and for the last ten years had had only flying glimpses of his own country, so that he looked for the strength and greatness of Austria in her position with regard to foreign powers. What was needed was to obtain for Austria the place of most consideration in the European concert, and to extend her dominating influence over the widest possible area.

His imagination was caught by the impossible ideal of a "state of sixty millions" composed of Austria and Germany, and in which the government of the imperial state would take the prominent part. All other interests were sacrificed by him to this dream. The inner organisation of the state troubled him only in so far as it must afford him the means required for his bold forward policy—namely, money and soldiers. How could a statesman who intended to make foreign powers bend unconditionally to his will, and who repaid any opposition to it with relentless animosity, endure institutions whose development might have compelled him to confine his plans within reasonable bounds? The methods he adopted for their fulfilment, more even than the aims themselves, presupposed an absolute rule. And besides, there was in Prince Schwarzenberg a strong element of military pride. He was rightly called the army diplomatist. Unfortunately, circumstances had so ordained that the army regarded Austria as a newly conquered country and her peoples as stubborn enemies to order, whom only force could constrain to obedience. Neither from this side was there a grant of the smallest privilege to the people to be hoped for.

It was otherwise as regards the second leading minister, Alexander Bach. In opposition to Prince Schwarzenberg, he was not at all imbued with feelings hostile to the conferring of a few limited constitutional rights. It was with no hypocrisy that he had in the first years of his power brought forward one organic law after another, with almost too much haste, and had issued the regulations of the provincial diet. His political insight, which was by no means insignificant, told him that the state would gain in vigour and internal strength by these measures. But it must be owned that no sooner did he think the introduction of even a modified form of constitution would endanger his own position, than he turned round. And therein he was not wrong. The concession to the people of a personal share in the government would have brought the great landed proprietors, the aristocracy, into the foreground.

But the latter pursued Bach with the bitterest hatred. The great German and Slav nobility could not pardon him for having risen by the revolution; moreover, they recognised in him the chief instrument that had harmed their material interests. Bach had followed the legitimate course of insisting on the fact that, notwithstanding the change in the system of government, the great achievement of the revolution, namely, the emancipation of the peasantry from territorial burdens, should hold good. As to the Hungarian aristocracy, they remembered only too well that it was Bach who, in September, 1848, had most warmly defended the Pragmatic Sanction and most sharply attacked the separation of Hungary. Though the old nobility dared not insult the minister in public, as they did the defenceless Pillersdorf, yet they sought every imag-

[1849-1850 A.D.]

inable means to annoy him and show him their contempt. They discovered or exaggerated every touch of vanity which was supposed to belong to the minister; they maliciously described his embarrassments, and were constantly busy announcing his approaching fall. In the soul of Bach political insight struggled with the instinct of self-preservation. In accordance with human nature, the latter was victorious! Instead of preparing for his adversaries the ground whence they might have attacked him, he preferred to cut the ground from under their feet. In fine, he found it more convenient to govern without the interference of impertinent and arrogant representatives of the people—not to bind himself by organic laws, but to announce his intention from time to time and just as it suited him.

The consequences of the absolute government which had lasted for so many years made themselves felt long before that government itself ceased to exist. The political parties, as yet scarcely formed, were destroyed in the bud. The justifiable hope of the political parties thwarting the national ones and thus destroying the rigid isolation of the latter was abandoned forever. On the other hand the national antagonisms revived, more strongly accentuated than they had ever been before, the hatred of the different races, the estrangement of the provinces, and the stupid indifference to their common interests grew and flourished. Towards the end of the revolution a hard school of politics had taught the national parties reciprocal tolerance, had to a great extent banished envy and jealousy, and placed confidence in their place.

The higher the value which the leaders of national parties learned to place on constitutional rights, the more willingly did they relinquish the privileges set apart in small circles. The non-German deputies to the imperial diet even went so far as to concede the use of the German language in the public life of the state, and admitted that every educated man in Austria should speak German. Czech spokesmen gave assurances that from henceforth men of their race would study German more diligently than before. The ten years of absolute rule again transformed these conciliatory dispositions into bitter hatred. The various races, shut out from all participation in political life, retired into their national seclusion, incensed at the withdrawal of the concessions already made, and determined to consider henceforth only the most narrow national interests as the guiding star of their actions. The national agitation in the year of the revolution had been, comparatively speaking, innocent and harmless as compared with the passion and acrimony with which, from that moment, the most extensive claims, all under the guise of inalienable rights forcibly withdrawn, were put forward. The very secrecy imposed on the movement was its best nourishment. Like a band of freemasons, those in the different provinces who were of the same opinion clung to one another. Each was known to the others, and found support in them; strictly secluded from outside influences, they formed a brotherhood among themselves which was founded upon common hatred and defiance.

The German race suffered most. The system of absolute centralisation required thousands of officials who could write German; only a minority of these belonged to the German race. Most of them misused the German language in an unheard-of manner. The non-German peoples did not distinguish well. They considered all these people as "Swabians"—as representatives of German nationality. They expended their hatred upon Germans, generally speaking, and believed themselves to be doubly entitled to do so, on account of the oppression they had been subjected to by the officials who murdered the German language. When Germans and non-Germans were living together in one province the former discovered quickly enough the daily increasing antipathy to them. All nationalities were united in hatred of the Germans

and all considered them their most dangerous opponents. Such was the chief fruit of the ten years' rule of absolutism.^b

The policy of these ten years but left Austria weakened, disorganised, ruined, and powerless in face of the disasters of 1859 and 1866, with the race hatreds more alive than ever, and her diverse nationalities completely alienated by the deceptions which followed 1849. When we peruse the writings and reactionary newspapers of the period we find in them the most hyperbolical eulogies for the policy of Schwarzenberg, the saviour of Austria within and without. In France the *Revue des deux Mondes* published hymns of admiration to the "restorer of the empire of the Habsburgs," to the man of iron who had conquered demagogy: and the work of the man of iron fell to pieces at the first shock.^d

HAYNAU IN HUNGARY

Force of arms had won back Hungary for the dynasty, and for the time the land was governed by force of arms. The dreaded representative of the most inflexible army discipline, General Haynau, remained at the head of affairs there as the imperial representative, free from all subordination to the Vienna ministry. The whole country was divided into military districts, and officers of high position were put in charge of them. Military courts administered justice; at headquarters, questions of finance and administration replaced the plans of action and projects of siege of some few months ago. It was only later, when affairs were in extremest confusion, that the discarded civil officials succeeded in gaining greater effect for their works, and were allowed, to some extent, to represent administrative discipline.

The difficulties which arose in the path of the restoration of law and order were enormous. The masses still held to the revolution, and carelessly hoped that in a short time there would be a complete change of circumstances. Magyar was the only language they knew; but those who could speak Magyar were generally disposed rather to rail against the government than to expound their views and hopes in peaceful and moderate fashion. In filling up the minor government appointments there was little other choice than to give them to men who were strangers to the people of the country and could not make themselves understood, or to fall back upon the Magyar element, which was friendly to the revolution; and, greatly to the astonishment of loyal spirits, this was in fact done in many cases. To this obstinacy of the conquered element was now added the highly impolitic conduct of Haynau and his advisers. So that confusion was increased, hate perpetuated, and misery made irrecoverable. Moreover, the conquest was followed up to the uttermost possibility by incessant arrests and condemnations. Even if the bloody day of Arad were not repeated, the sentences to long years of imprisonment were never ending. More than forty-five ex-officers were condemned by the military tribunal of Arad on December 20th, 1849; twelve other sentences followed on January 16th, 1850; forty-two in February, etc.; and besides the Arad tribunal there were others in Pest, Pressburg, Hermannstadt, and other places, which acted with the same rigour. The consciousness that the power of a military court can reach everyone, the aspect of innumerable arrests upon the most superficial grounds for suspicion—these ensured throughout the land at least outward tranquillity.

There was no attempt at opposition, no overt force opposed to the measures of the authorities; but the inner feeling of the people was anything but peaceful. The proof of this is the foolish credulity with which the most senseless reports were received, provided they favoured the national cause. Invisible hands distributed Kossuth's farewell speech in Orsova and other revolutionary writings. The German theatre in Pest was interdicted, whilst on the con-

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trary the Hungarian National Theatre showed uninterruptedly full houses. In order to be revenged upon this intangible spirit of opposition, the military authorities allowed themselves to be seduced into disciplinary punishments, to carry out which proved impossible, if Hungary was not to be turned into a desert. The suppression of Kossuth-notes, it is true, may be said to have been justified by political necessity. As long as these notes were in circulation in the country the revolution to all appearances was not yet subdued, so that their confiscation was an act of necessity, no matter what private interests were hurt thereby. On the other hand, the order to draft into the army as a punishment all the Hungarian national guards who had taken up arms against the Austrians, was a senseless one. Literally carried out, it would have exiled the entire male population of Hungary, as there was scarcely a Magyar who at some time or other had not been in the national guards, and taken part in the struggle. Had they then no need of an army of their own, in order to watch this force of armed malcontents? And even if this were not the case, who could have tilled the ground and cared for the families left behind? This measure was no sooner announced than it aroused such universal resentment, and promised so many obvious difficulties in its execution, that its repeal immediately followed. First it was confined to those individuals who had used arms after January 5th, 1849; later on the whole national guard was amnestied, and those men already removed were restored to their families. Only the Honveds remained subject to this enforced conscription.

Still stranger was the campaign ordered by Haynau against the shekels of the Hungarian Jews. A contribution of 8,000,000 gulden was demanded from them as a punishment for their revolutionary sympathies, and all the Jewish communities were included without exception in the levy. This entirely arbitrary measure was equivalent to a confiscation of property, and of course bore far more heavily upon the innocent than upon the real revolutionaries, who for the most part had no fortune to surrender. Here, too, after the government had uselessly incurred the indignation of an influential class of people, it was forced to yield to the necessity of the case and repeal the decree.

A decree of Haynau dated March the 12th, 1850, enacted that all Jewish communities and families which could not be proved to have directly or indirectly taken part in the revolution were to be exempt from the penalty. Divided among a smaller number of individuals, the sum demanded was still less attainable; as, moreover, the new administration delayed these odious denunciations and thus innumerable lawsuits were kept hanging over the people's heads, a few months later, in July, 1850, the decree was repealed. Simply for the sake of avoiding the expression of public opinion upon this complete retreat, the government ordered one million to be used for starting a fund for teachers and seminaries for rabbis, but clothed even this order in the form of a wish.

The Vienna ministry had no share whatever in all these political sins. In both the cases quoted it had sent a representation to dissuade General Haynau, had appointed Baron von Gehringer to co-operate as a civil commissioner; he was to settle purely administrative matters, and urged upon the general the extreme advisability of not compromising the government by premature actions and impractical regulations. Haynau, however, regarded himself as the emperor's proxy, and as consequently endowed with unlimited power; and despised the wishes and warnings of the civil administration. He obstinately waved aside every interference, and continued by his measures sorely to injure the common interest of the kingdom. The battle had by degrees become a personal matter—Haynau desired to show the world that he would suffer no minister, least of all Bach, in authority over him; to this purpose he sacrificed every essential interest. In those days Bach's position was not yet

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fully assured, and if Haynau had pursued his aim with calculating coolness, he might perhaps have attained it; but in his passion he precipitated matters and suffered defeat.

There were still a large number of deputies of the Hungarian national assembly, mostly under heavy accusations, languishing in the prisons under sentence. As the inquiry seemed to drag on unjustifiably, the ministry ordered all inquiries into the cases of deputies still under constraint to be completed, and the documents sent to Vienna. These orders were repeated more than once, and still Haynau took no notice. Again urged and admonished, he summoned the subordinate ministers into his presence, informed them of the command of the ministry, which, as he said, interfered with his full power, and recommended them to disregard these messages and close the inquiries, pass sentences, and report them to him, for him to carry out. Thus indeed it happened, after the judges had protected themselves from all responsibility by an order in black and white. In the cases of the twenty-four ex-deputies of the Debreczen assembly the sentence of death by hanging was passed. Haynau however unconditionally pardoned them all, with one exception. Already he had often interpreted orders of the government at his own discretion, executing them late, partially, and at last not at all. But as until now he had only infringed upon the prerogative of the ministry, his disobedience had been unpunished.

Haynau Discharged

This time he had not only compromised the government and compelled it to an involuntary leniency; he had infringed upon the prerogative of the Crown, in whose exclusive gift were all acts of mercy. Immediately after the news of Haynau's action had reached Vienna the council of ministers assembled and unanimously demanded the dismissal of the general, the emperor himself being also convinced that this was essential. The wording of the imperial decision, which appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* on the 8th of July, was as follows: "In accordance with the suggestion of the ministers of state, his imperial majesty is pleased to deprive Inspector-General Haynau of his post as commander-in-chief of the third army and of the full powers which accompany it"; and on the following day appeared an announcement of the pension allotted to the general, together with an article in the ministerial *Correspondence* formally accusing General Haynau of disobedience.

The effect of this unexpected sentence on the hitherto omnipotent general needs no description. Though he dared not vent his immediate anger on the ministry he could not remain entirely silent. An article of the Vienna *Rechtszeitung*, from an official source, was used by the infuriated general as an opening for airing his wrath. In a reply inserted in one of the Pest papers he protested against the reproach of disobedience. He had used his right of pardon only in the emperor's name, and within the limits of the power assigned to him; and therefore in casting suspicion on the obedience of a man like himself, who had destroyed the revolution at its roots, he could see only the attempt to play into the hands of the democracy (demagogues, as it reads in the correction in Haynau's own hand), and once again to call into question the footing of the monarch throughout the country.

The close of this explanation was significant of Haynau's character and of the facts of the situation: "The author of this shameful article represents me as a second Belshazzar, without however having the power to deprive me of my eyesight, and without his being favoured with the spectacle of me in misery, leaning on my beggar's staff and guided by my only daughter." Significant also are two other facts: the garrison at Pest parted from their general with

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ceremony, as though they wished to show him that the army took a different view of his behaviour from that adopted by the ministry; the military journal moreover, the *Soldaten-freund*, published a violent article attacking the government, and comparing Haynau's dismissal to the fate of Wallenstein. Neither was Haynau's discharge welcomed by the Magyar population of Pest and other towns; on the contrary, there were many signs of sympathy with the grim despot, shortly before so deeply hated. Many attributed this change of feeling to the last great act of clemency which Haynau had performed while yet in office. Further, the report that Haynau had learned gradually to think more and more favourably of the Magyar country and people, and had represented their interests with partiality in Vienna, may have had something to do with the homage shown him on the eve of departure by the whole population of Pest. But, above all, the root of this changed feeling lay in the conviction that under Haynau's rule there would have been no change in the policy of the government toward Hungary, but that in all essential relations it would have continued as it was.

HUNGARY UNDER ARCHDUKE ALBERT

In fact, no new regulation was resolved upon, even by the ministry. On the 16th of September, 1850, Archduke Albert took General Haynau's place as civil and military governor; but neither then nor at any time was there any alteration in the method of governing. Martial law still held sway. Sympathisers with the Hungarian revolution were persecuted, and all anti-governmental appeals on the part of the people suppressed. The only difference was that there was no more wholesale condemnation; and when sentences of death by hanging were still passed, as on September 22nd, 1850, upon Kossuth and his thirty-five most important adherents, they only concerned men who were outside the pale of military jurisdiction. A very long time elapsed before the national spirit of Hungary was weaned from its ancient but, on the whole, rather obsolescent national institutions and customs, and persuaded to adopt the modern bureaucratic methods; bounties had absolutely to be presented before registers of land could be established upon Hungarian soil; while to ensure the uninterrupted course of justice, there remained no other way than to transplant whole colonies of officials into Hungary; and even these model officials, unacquainted with the language and customs of the country, without influence over the people, and without the respect of the national aristocracy, were not always able to carry out their instructions and preserve outward order. Above all, the new system of taxation and the introduction of the tobacco monopoly bristled with difficulties and were not established in Hungary until the rod and the prison had been called upon to support authority. Even more irritating than the prohibition of free trade in tobacco was the annoyance to which the tobacco cultivators were subjected, and the burdensome superintendence of the revenue officers, who of necessity had to be always pottering about in the exercise of their office, and who were odious wardens to the peasant in kitchen and bar and field.

Still, the government was right to pay no heed to the momentary unpopularity of this economic measure, and to break down all barriers to intercourse, all material differences in the economic treatment of Hungary and the rest of the crown lands. The destruction of the customs line on the Hungarian border is indeed the only, but at the same time a most important, positive regulation, which, in the years immediately following the revolution, was made a means of forcibly drawing Hungary into closer connection with the main country. It had the best results, and promised well for other reforms made in the spirit of centralisation and in the interests of state unity.^c

ABSOLUTISM IN LOMBARDO-VENETIA

The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was subjected to a yoke of iron under the governor-general, old Radetzky. Its history during these execrated years is that of councils of war pronouncing sentences on sentences against those who ventured to protest. A proclamation of Radetzky's, dated July 22nd, 1851, further aggravated the state of siege. The prisons were filled, and on the 4th of November the priest Don Giovanni Grioli, guilty of publishing national books, was shot at Milan. This whole monotonous and heart-rending series of arrests directed against the patriots must be read in the newspapers of the time.

Moreover, the system of terror reigned from one end of the monarchy to the other. On the least suspicion the most illustrious men were thrown into the cells: witness Count Adam Potocky arrested on the 27th of September, 1851, at Cracow, to the immense consternation of his fellow citizens. On the 22nd of August of the same year a decree had disbanded all the national guards of the empire. At Prague the siege redoubled in vigour. The reaction, not having enough victims within the limit of the empire, endeavoured to find some abroad among the refugees; it threatened Turkey and Switzerland, both guilty of giving too generous an exercise to the right of asylum, and the first care of the Austrian chiefs in occupying neighbouring countries was to seize the subjects of their emperor; witness the Hungarian, Michael Perringer, arrested in Schleswig, and the Galician, Patacki, arrested at Hamburg, both of whom were hanged at Vienna on the 5th of February, 1852. The Catholic clergy resumed their mischievous and persecuting supremacy; the war on thought redoubled in rigour. One minister of Francis Joseph even had for an instant the idea of requiring the catalogues of all private libraries, in order to banish from them "bad books." The ex-liberal Bach was associated with all these measures.

AUSTRIAN FINANCE (1849-1859)

The financial situation was deplorable. Austria had only held her own in face of the events of 1848-1849, thanks to the co-operation of the Bank of Vienna; towards the end of 1850 her debt to this bank had reached the enormous total of 231,000,000 florins, and from 1851 to 1853 it remained at a figure varying from 144,000,000 to 125,000,000 florins, to increase again during the Crimean War (1854-1856) to 326,000,000 and 371,000,000 florins. Besides this she incessantly had recourse to credit by means of multiplied loans, under every imaginable form, now giving the concession of the loan to some great banking house, now appealing to the public by way of a national subscription, now promising interest in fiduciary moneys, there promising to pay the interest in coin, etc. To all this we have to add the debt contracted in 1848 for the liberation of the soil. The law of the 7th of September, 1848, had abolished feudal rights, some gratuitously, others under certain conditions. The sum representing the revenue and profit of these burdens and services had been capitalised; it had then been reduced by one-third, regarded as equivalent to the charges which those interested had formerly had to support; and the two remaining thirds formed the amount due to the former lords as purchase and just indemnity. The peasants, formerly the vassals, were to pay the two-thirds of the purchase and a third of the indemnity, a payment which was made by an addition to the land taxes. The provinces and the state were to pay the rest, and this was done through special funds by the mechanism of the provincial treasuries. In 1859 this debt for the liberation of the soil still amounted to 279,172,456 florins in Austrian money (the florin of 100 kreutzers).

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THE CONSTITUTION OF MARCH ABOLISHED

On the 21st of August, 1851, an article of the *Wiener Zeitung* (the official journal) gave notice of the abolition of the constitution of March, 1849, which was the more frank since this constitution was already abolished in fact. This article said: "The final solution of the question of the constitution must be referred to the Throne, it must be placed in the august hands of his majesty. Everything must depend on the maintenance of the full and entire power of the emperor. Austria has been saved from the revolution by the people's attachment to the monarchical principle." In effect, on the 1st of January, 1852, the august hands of his majesty did sign letters patent abolishing the constitution of the 4th of March and the fundamental rights, reducing all the provinces of the monarchy to crown states divided into bailiwicks and circles (whose authorities were assisted by consultative commissions composed of members of the hereditary nobility, land owners, and commercial magnates), facilitating the establishment of entails and the leaving of property in trust, suppressing the jury, etc. It is to be understood that there was no question of a parliament; the provincial diets sufficed under the control of the imperial council, whose members were nominated by the emperor. This régime was to last until 1861.

THE CONCORDAT (1855)

The theocracy must also be restored in all the plenitude of its domination.^d Ever since the year 1830, it had been no secret that between the Vienna cabinet and Rome existed close and intimate relations; that as a result a new clerical era must sooner or later arise for Austria; that from the Danube were being offered, with the ardour of voluntary servitude, conditions that would blossom on the shores of the Tiber into results which, by their astounding magnitude and radiant splendour, would prove to the world that the rulers of the Eternal City still retained their authority over the magnates of the earth.

At last, August 18th, 1855, the work was completed—the work which has cemented the bond between Rome and Austria until this day, the work which was intended by its founders to cement it till the end of all days.

Whatever papistically minded canons could invent; whatever claims to ecclesiastical power they could enforce; with whatever superstitions and creeds they could flatter credulous souls; whatever conditions they could impose as operative in the Catholic Church, or only express in the form of pious wishes for the fruits of their Christian teachings; whatever they could claim as constant inalienable rights of the church and of its visible head, or as only the outflow of that authority in the exercise of which one must show oneself a time-server—in the concordat all is either conceded with the greatest generosity, or, if withheld, withheld only because of the necessities of the times; and all is set forth so clearly as a system, and acknowledged to be so binding in theory, that the right of further concessions, indeed to the complete fulfilment of the ultramontane programme, comes into force and can be employed when considerations of expediency shall no longer exist.

In the concordat we find papistical jurisdiction in conjugal matters handed over to the ecclesiastical judge, and submitted to the canonical legislative power; we find an extension of the bishops' right of jurisdiction over the inferior clergy, which allows the bishops full power of punishment by means of the law of the state, and which changes the personal freedom of the lower clergy to a condition of ecclesiastical discipline; we find a formal exemption of the bishops from the jurisdiction of the courts, the practicability and binding power of which, in the cases of the bishops, according to the concordat, Article 14 *de jure*, is very questionable; we find further the whole educational

system made subordinate to the church under conditions so loosely defined that, in view of the extremely elastic nature of Article 5 of the concordat, it is practically unconditional subjection. The censorship of the church is introduced, and the power of the state is impressed, not only to respect its decisions, but, "with the aid of every means useful for the purpose," to enforce them; and all laws cease, or are suppressed, which were framed to hold within bounds the increase of property in mortmain, and other laws which regulated the miscarriage of property to the church; also a complete solution of the question, so many-sided in Austria, of patronage, a solution acting, as was afterwards shown, to the prejudice of the patrons who suffered damage to their privileges with undiminished continuance in their responsibilities.

With such concessions to Rome, Austria bought the favour of the clergy and sowed discontent among her own people. For the Vienna cabinet this concordat had no other result than to win the favour of members of the holy college at Rome; if that were any gain, the pledges given were clearly advantageous to the country. The interests of Rome and Austria in Italy were, apart from this, identical, and where the interests of both sides are engaged, there is no question of concessions from either. It is therefore unjust to reproach Austria with having prejudiced aims of high policy with this concordat; these aims were already reached and realised before the conclusion of the treaty. Rome is forced to further Austrian policy with the utmost ardour, for every weakness of Austria is at the same time a weakness of the allies of Austria among the clergy.

It is not clear why the statesmen of Vienna should have paid a price for the support of the Romans and for the favour of these gentlemen of the Vatican, as, in so doing, they were purchasing that which they already possessed for nothing. They may have imagined that in so doing they were fulfilling a pious duty, restoring to the church something which it could claim by moral right; or they may have had some other motive. Sentiment may have turned the scale in favour of this understanding; sober considerations of a political nature certainly were not consulted. Politics have nothing to do with the variable moods of the feelings; an injudicious action remains injudicious, no matter how fine the feelings of the heart which have influenced the doer.^e

SCHWARZENBERG AND GERMANY

At the commencement of the period of reaction Austria's poverty had not prevented her from making a fairly good figure abroad. In Germany Schwarzenberg had succeeded in securing the maintenance of the federal compact which secured to Austria the preponderance in the Germanic world. Prussia had been held in check by a coalition of princes skilfully grouped round the emperor Francis Joseph. On the occasion of an insurrection in Hesse the elector had implored the support of the diet whilst his subjects demanded that of Prussia. The emperor of Austria had met the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg at Bregenz. A few days later he had had an interview at Warsaw with the emperor Nicholas.

A conflict broke out between Austria, whose troops were occupying Hanau, and the Prussians, who occupied Cassel; and Austria assembled a formidable army on the frontiers of Hesse. On the 26th of November, 1850, she summoned Prussia to evacuate that province within twenty-four hours. Prussia gave way. Manteuffel came to Olmütz (November 29th, 1850) and humiliated his king before the demands of Schwarzenberg. Prussia engaged to co-operate in the re-establishment of the elector, not to act in Holstein save with the concurrence of Austria, and to take part in the conferences opened at Dresden to prepare the future organisation of Germany. The

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Prussian statesmen long preserved the memory of the humiliation of Olmütz, while Schwarzenberg might consider himself Metternich's successor and the arbiter of Europe.^f

After the convention of Olmütz, the re-establishment of the German Confederation, the *Bund*, and of the old diet at Frankfort resulted from the laborious conferences of Dresden. As before 1848 the Gothic assembly held its sittings at Frankfort with its two species of meetings—the *Plenum*, and the *Engere-Rath*, or restricted council; here Austria dominated, seeking to realise the idea she had brought forward at Dresden of entering with all her Italian and Slav provinces into the German Confederation, an idea which was not only combated by Prussia, but which in 1851 excited vigorous protests from France and England. Prussia even declared, through her envoy, in October, 1851, that she renounced the incorporation of her Polish provinces (Posen and East Prussia), in order to compel Austria to do the same. The diet, rendered sterile by the covert but perpetual contest between the two great states, consumed itself in impotent and tedious debates on the unitary idea, failing in all the measures which might have been the symbol of that unity—such as the establishment of a general law relating to the press and to a federal police; but rushing on reactionary measures, such as the suppression (August, 1851) of the fundamental laws of the German people decreed by the parliament of 1848, and the revision in a conservative direction of the constitutions of individual states. It succeeded in scarcely anything but the organisation of a federal army, which it concentrated in the Rhenish provinces, although welcoming with sympathy the Napoleonic *corps d'état* of the 2nd of December, a eulogy on which might be read as early as the 4th of December in the *Wiener Zeitung*. The unitary idea appeared to be more and more compromised. "German unity," an Austrian pamphlet ironically said, "is the squaring of the circle; when one thinks one has it, that is just the moment when one recognises its impossibility. It resembles our cathedrals—there is not one finished."

Schwarzenberg died on the 5th of April, 1852. Count von Buol-Schauenstein succeeded him as minister of foreign affairs; but the emperor suppressed the presidency of the council of ministers, which Alexander Bach, who was only minister of the interior, had hoped for, and announced that he would continue in person the absolutist, centralising, and Germanic policy of Schwarzenberg. The latter had failed in the task of obtaining the admission into the confederation of Austria with all her provinces. He had also failed in another task, which was one side of the same question—that of winning her admission into the *Zollverein*, or customs union, which had been formed in 1834, and was to be renewed in 1854. But here Prussia opposed an invincible resistance, into the details of which it would be tedious to enter. Schwarzenberg had perfectly understood that, if the political form of the confederation was the diet, its commercial form was the *Zollverein*, and that in order to lead Germany it was necessary to be in both. Prussia, however, having the same comprehension of the situation, defended the commercial position, since she had been dislodged from the other at Olmütz; and only consented to a simple alliance between the *Zollverein* on the one hand and Austria on the other, but by no means to an incorporation.

Schwarzenberg's policy was really continued everywhere. Austria pressed her yoke on Italy, seeking besides to bind the destinies of that country to her own by customs treaties with the sovereigns bowed beneath her influence, and by knitting the railways of the peninsula with her own. From their capital, Verona, her generals and police multiplied executions and trials, supported the court of Rome against French influence, created embarrassment on embarrassment for the Piedmontese cabinets, bathed the Romagna in blood by executions, and provoked an insurrection in Milan which, breaking out on the 6th

of February, 1853, was suppressed in a terrible fashion and followed by the sequestration of all the property of Lombardo-Venetian emigrants. In Hungary existed the same system of rule—executions and Germanisation. Francis Joseph made frequent journeys in his states, in the midst of official transports, acclaimed by the Italian nobles or the Magyar magnates, who, like Paul Esterházy, displayed at the receptions at Pest jewelry valued at a fabulous sum. On the 24th of April, 1854, the young sovereign married Elisabeth Amelie Eugenie, daughter of Maximilian Joseph, duke in Bavaria; Francis Joseph was twenty-four years old and the new empress seventeen.

AUSTRIA'S ATTITUDE DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR (1853-1856 A.D.)

It was under these circumstances that war in the East broke out between Russia on the one hand and France, England, Piedmont, and Turkey on the other. The question of the places at Jerusalem was for Russia simply a pretext to try to get hold of the succession of the Sick Man. She counted on the co-operation of Austria, which she had saved in 1849 and which had herself just forbidden the Turkish army, led by Omar Pasha, to attack the Montenegrins. Nicholas had a lively affection for the young Francis Joseph and looked on him as almost a ward and pupil. Only recently, at the grand manoeuvres of Olmütz, he had desired to parade before his beloved Habsburg at the head of the regiment of Austrian lancers which belonged to him, and had afterwards pressed the Austrian emperor in his arms, weeping. He lived on terms of comradeship with the Austrian generals. How then could he expect that Francis Joseph would take part against him, for that England which had so enthusiastically received the rebel Kossuth, and for that France which was governed by a representative of Napoleon I?

It was therefore without hesitation that he gave Prince Menshikoff that celebrated mission of May, 1853, by which he claimed the protectorate over all the Greek Catholics throughout the Ottoman Empire, which amounted to demanding of Turkey the abdication pure and simple of her sovereignty.

Schwarzenberg, a great composer of *mots*, had said after the Russian intervention that Austria would one day astonish the world by her ingratitude. That day had come. Austria was forced for the sake of her Slav provinces to maintain the *statu quo* on the Danube, and consequently the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Order at Belgrade, at Mostar in Bulgaria, was, for her, order at Agram, Karlowitz, Prague, etc. Her part was to resist the attraction of Slavism. She therefore at first contented herself with proposing a conference in virtue of the treaty of 1841, which placed the existence of Turkey under the guarantee of the five powers; and with sending a note which Turkey refused to accept as exorbitant, and which Prussia interpreted in the most abusive sense. Francis Joseph wrote to the czar. The latter answered by the publication of a manifesto to the Greek Christians, which breathed the purest Panslavism, and sent Count Orloff to Vienna (January 29th, 1854) to demand the neutrality of Austria towards England and France. Buol demanded in return that Russia should at least pledge herself to respect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and to abandon the Danubian provinces. Orloff refused; Buol remained firm, and the Russian diplomatist quitted Vienna saying, bitterly: "Since you make war impossible to us you might as well declare it against us." The czar was furious at this check, and Austria concentrated a corps of troops on the Danube; on the 20th of April she signed a convention with Prussia by which the two mutually guaranteed each other's possessions, German or non-German. All the small states of the confederation adhered to this convention, with the exception of Mecklenburg.

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After the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope, Austria sent Russia a fresh note (August 8th, 1854), in which she demanded that the protection hitherto exercised by Russia over Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia should be replaced by that of the five powers; that the navigation of the Danube from its estuary should be freed from all restrictions; that the treaty of the 13th of July, 1841, should be revised by the high contracting powers in concert, and that Russia should cease to claim the right of exercising an official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, whatever the creed to which they might belong. Prussia and the diet approved; Russia refused.^d

There were dangers ahead, whichever side Austria might decide to uphold. The western powers might at any time influence affairs in Italy, to the extent of engaging the full strength of the Austrian Empire; Turkey had a sufficiently powerful military force to be capable of sustaining an obstinate fight; and finally, came the consideration that Germany would actively oppose Austria, directly she declared herself to be in alliance with the powers hostile to Russia, on account of her unquestionable friendship with that country. It was, however, assuredly to the interests of the kingdom that peace should be speedily restored, as the conditions of warfare were paralysing everything.

In fact, what Austria had to consider was that an alliance with Russia might draw down on her an attack from three sides; that neutrality and the maintenance of a passive attitude would mean the continuance of an unendurable situation, whereas she was in a position to bring strong pressure to bear upon Russia with a view to restoring peace. These considerations were decisive for Austria when, on December 2nd, 1854, England and France concluded a treaty which at once came into operation. That it was intended to bring about peace is shown by the subsequent proceedings; the proposals agreed upon at the Vienna congress were once more laid before the Russian ambassador in Vienna, who declared the readiness of the czar to treat for peace on their basis.

How difficult the whole situation was for the Austrian monarchy is clearly shown by the two following circumstances: Sardinia now hastened to conclude a treaty with the western powers, and sent auxiliary troops to take an active part in the struggle; whilst Germany on the other hand declined the proposal to mobilise the allied forces and appoint a commander-in-chief. It was only agreed that the forces should be kept in readiness for active fighting—but this measure was aimed not only against Russia, but also against the western powers. This last condition was introduced at the desire of Prussia, which had now reassumed a friendly attitude towards Russia. The motives for Sardinia's action were easily recognisable; she had held herself in readiness for an attack upon Austria, should that country join issue with Russia, and now sought not only to oblige the western powers by this active sympathy in a great European question, but also to win for herself a place in the "council of the greater powers" and in all circumstances to have the opportunity of opposing the policy of Austria. The attitude of Prussia is equally comprehensible, making use as she did of the situation in order to declare herself the friend of Russia.

The death of the czar Nicholas seemed to be a favourable turning point in the effort to secure peace, and the conference of the different states convened at Vienna in 1855 was expected to make use of it; but the negotiations proved fruitless, and Austria fell back upon the policy of neutrality. The army was once more reduced, and the scheme of a war of aggression upon Russia finally abandoned. Both parties in the strife desired the end of this hopeless struggle, and it only remained to find an occasion upon which it could be resigned without abatement of "military honour." The storming of Sebastopol by the

[1855-1858 A.D.]

allies and the conquest of the Armenian fortress of Kars by the Russians offered a suitable occasion, since both armies had scored a victory. The Austrian government accordingly once more sent proposals for peace to St. Petersburg in December, 1855; they were treated with consideration, but the peace conference was convened in Paris, instead of in Vienna.

In accordance with the peace concluded in 1856 Russia had to resign her "protectorate" over the Christians in Turkey and to give up the mouths of the Danube; the navigation of the Danube was declared free, and the Black Sea "closed"; that is to say, no war ships of foreign powers should be permitted to make the voyage of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The conference at Paris had given the new French emperor, Napoleon III, the opportunity of successfully assuming the rôle of the arbiter of Europe, of joining with the opponents of Austria, and of crippling the latter's influence."



PUSTERTHAL, TYROL

THE WAR OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE (1859 A.D.)

At the sitting of the Congress at Paris, on the 8th of April, Walewski, the French minister of foreign affairs, suddenly called attention to the situation of the States of the Church and of the kingdom of Naples, and to the dangers attendant on the occupation of a great part of Italy by the Austrian armies. The plenipotentiaries of Austria, Buol-Schauenstein and Hübner, declared that they had no answer to make on these subjects, which were foreign to the congress. Cavour asked to be heard, and drew a very striking picture of the occupation of the Roman states by Austria, an occupation which had endured for the last seven years. "The presence of the Austrian troops in the legations and in the duchy of Parma," he added, "destroys the political equilibrium in Italy and constitutes a veritable danger for Sardinia. It is our duty to point out to Europe the existence of a state of things so abnormal as that which results in the indefinite occupation by Austria of a great part of Italy."

Baron von Hubner made a vehement reply. The Russian plenipotentiary, Count Orloff, could but rejoice to see ungrateful Austria called to account in her turn. This was only an exchange of ideas, but the Italian question had been brought forward and Cavour could write to one of his friends, "In three years we shall have war."

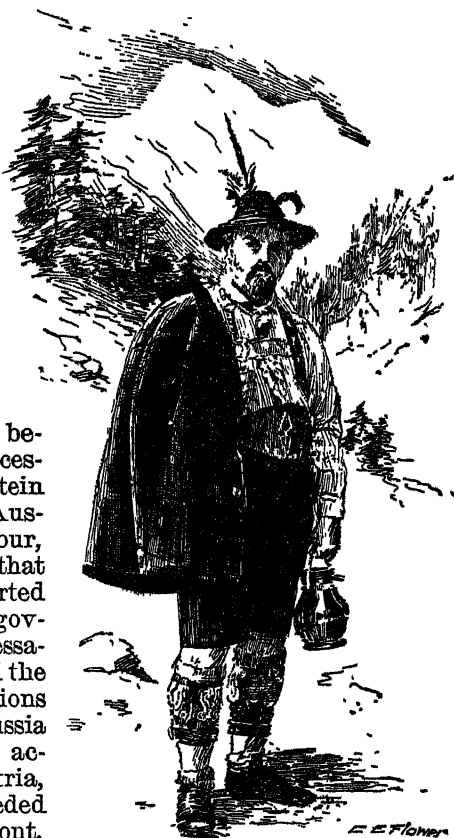
We may pass rapidly over the years 1857 and 1858, which saw the organisation of the Danubian principalities into an administrative union, the signing of the convention for the free navigation of the Danube, and the death of old Radetzky, who was replaced by the archduke Maximilian (January 5th, 1858).

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These two years were, properly speaking, a preparation for the war of Italy, a diplomatic struggle with Piedmont preceding the armed struggle. Europe felt a presentiment of it. After the Crimean War, France had approached sensibly nearer to Russia, who was herself drawing Prussia into her orbit, and in all the conferences of these two years we constantly see Russia, France, and Prussia voting against Austria and England. The Stuttgart interview between Napoleon III and Alexander II in 1857 still further accentuated this situation. Cavour was advancing to his goal with an unheard-of persistency, preparing fleets, armies, finances, alliances, lancing against Austria the collection of the letters of Joseph de Maistre, in which the empire of the Habsburgs is treated as the enemy of the human race, making every effort to conciliate France, even to obtaining the vote, after the Orsini crime, of a disgraceful law against refugees. In July, 1858, he had that famous interview with Napoleon III at Plombières in which war was decided on, and on the 1st of January, 1859, at a New Year's reception, the emperor said to Baron von Hubner, the ambassador of Austria: "I regret that our relations with your government are not so good as they were. I beg you to tell the emperor that my personal sentiments for him are unchanged."

Russia intended to leave Austria to her fate, England sent Lord Cowley to Vienna to try to prevent a rupture between Austria and Piedmont by concessions from the former. Buol-Schauenstein asked if these concessions guaranteed Austria her possessions in Italy. Cavour, sounded by Lord Cowley, answered that the dangers of war could only be averted by the creation of a separate national government for Lombardo-Venetia, the cessation of the occupation of Romagna, and the establishment of constitutional institutions at Parma, Modena, and Florence. Russia then proposed a congress, which was accepted on the 22nd of March by Austria, on the condition that it should be preceded by disarmament on the part of Piedmont. Napoleon III had, or feigned to have, some inclinations towards peace, which entirely deceived Hubner. Buol-Schauenstein, deceived by Hubner, assumed the most arrogant tone towards Piedmont; and finally, on the 19th of April, addressed to her a haughty ultimatum, requiring disarmament within three days.^d

Napoleon's New Year's greeting was immediately appreciated at its right value by the military party in Vienna, whilst the Austrian diplomacy remained on the wrong track till almost the last moment. The immediate victim of imperial brusquerie, Baron von Hubner, to whom in Paris everyone gave the cold shoulder, lived so entirely without the circle of impending events, was so thoroughly out of touch with those who initiated the various movements, that



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he wrote to Vienna that the address was a cordial effusion of the heart, such as might well occur among friends, whereof the brusque and outspoken manner need cause no uneasiness. This exposition of the famous words, "I much regret that our relations with your government are no longer as friendly as formerly," was quite in accordance with the acumen which caused the ambassador to persuade a secret emissary of the military party that the colossal preparations for warfare, of which the latter collected constant proofs during his tour through France, were of no consequence, as the emperor of the French was suffering from softening of the brain. Buol, too, thought that peace might yet be possible, until he was ordered to despatch the ultimatum to Turin. The existing contradictions pointed to war as sooner or later the only issue of the situation. At bottom Buol was also right in his conviction that the existence of constitutional Piedmont was in itself apart from all else an invincible threat against the reign of Austrian absolutism in Italy, and not less right in his proclamation: "Austria has carried the matter to such lengths that it is now an alternative of Austria supreme as far as the Alps, or Italy free as far as the Adriatic."

This was discovered by the Vienna military party, but, startled at themselves and their own rashness, they equalised the profits by frittering the precious time in disconsolate hesitation, after they had precipitated the decision. For there was a moment when in all earnest Napoleon faltered from following his first step by his second; Cavour had to compel him to hold by his resolution, just as in the *coup d'état* his companions, Morny and St. Arnaud, had been obliged to do. To accomplish this the Piedmontese minister used as a handle the ultimatum from Vienna, the peremptory nature of which gave him the opportunity to represent Austria in the light of the peace-breaker, and thus declare existent the *casus fœderis* for which France had pledged her aid. As a preliminary condition to a peace congress England had proposed the inhibition of the mobilisation of the volunteer corps.

On the 20th of April Napoleon telegraphed to Cavour, "Accept at once; answer by telegraph," and the *Moniteur* accepted in the name of France. Cavour was in despair, when he received news through Naples that the ultimatum dated the 19th, which was to give him breathing time, was on its way from Vienna. On the 23d Baron Kellersperz handed it in at Turin; it contained the peremptory interpellation: "Will Piedmont, within the space of three days, promise to place its army on the footing of peace and dismiss the volunteer corps?—yes or no." With this declaration of war, which left the London proposal formally out of the question, Austria had burned her boats; it now remained only to let the action follow the threat, as thunder follows lightning. The Piedmontese army should have been scattered, before a Frenchman put his foot on Italian soil; the French corps could then have been annihilated as they landed in troops or came down through the mountain passes. Instead of this, Gyulai let three days beyond the term assigned to Piedmont elapse before, on the 29th of April, he crossed the Ticino. Meanwhile the first French soldiers came into Turin and Genoa, but only in quite small divisions; their debouchment troubled Gyulai as little as seven years later the Prussians pushing through the Bohemian mountains disturbed Benedek. In this case strong rainfalls and swollen rivers played the same part as the mists of Chlum played at Königgrätz. Gyulai, without in the least concerning himself about the matter, allowed the allies to concentrate their forces, although it was not till May 20th, at the great reconnaissance at Montebello, that a division of the French under Forey came under fire. On the 30th, at Palestro, there was still only one Zouave regiment to support the Italians. Then on the 4th of June the battle of Magenta was followed by the over-hasty evacuation of Lombardy, and the battle of Solferino on the 24th of

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June led to the meeting of the two emperors at Villafranca, where, on July 11th, the preliminaries of peace, including the loss of Lombardy to Austria, were signed.

THE AVALANCHE

This hurried submission of Austria was in fact due, not so much to the result of the battles—of which Magenta at any rate cannot be considered as decisive, and even Solferino can hardly pass as an overwhelming defeat, since the French had not won a foot of ground—as to the anxiety arising from a just appreciation of the spirit of the country, in addition to the suspicion, carefully fostered by the French, that Prussia would use the continuance of the war to undermine Austria's position in Frankfort. The fear of the disposition of the people took the greater hold, because, with the landing of the French at Lussin-Piccolo in the Quarnero Gulf on the 3rd and the bombardment of Zadar, the war had approached that neighbourhood where from Fiume onwards along the magnificent Marie-Louise road it could draw to it the Croats and the other southern Slavs. Kossuth, Türr, and other émigrés were in Napoleon's headquarters; an army ready to descend on the enemy's coast would assuredly meet with no opposition from the Croats and Serbians, who were much disaffected, and in Hungary would certainly light the flames of insurrection. The universal misery during a decade had for the moment stilled the fierce race-hatred of the Magyars and the southern Slavs, which had reigned in 1849. That the reflections of the headquarters were not without grounds is shown by the remarkable article in the preliminaries, which assured to all those who had been compromised a general amnesty. As it was certain that 6 per cent. of the imperial Austrian troops which had been under fire—that is, 15,000 out of 250,000 men—had been taken prisoners, and that these were almost without exception Hungarians, Croats, or Italians, we may find not only this decision but many others taken by Austria easily comprehensible.

The temper in the hereditary lands disclosed a higher degree of resignation, but a bitterness no less intense. The manifesto of Laxenburg brought little improvement. At an unfortunate moment the preamble greatly irritated diplomatic sensibilities in foreign countries by the words: "Our oldest and most natural allies have obstinately refused to recognise the fact that Austria should face the coming events, the significance of which increases daily, in full and undivided strength." The conclusion set forth a promise which was too indefinite to inspire new life into the general apathy: "The blessings of peace are doubly precious to me, because they will give me the necessary leisure to turn my attention and care more than ever to the successful discharge of the duties I have imposed upon myself, of developing the riches, material and spiritual, of the kingdom, and so increasing its well-being within and its power without, as well as of ensuring the continuance of peace by timely improvements in its laws and government."

But week after week ran by and nothing was done. At the end of July the Linz chamber of commerce addressed the following warning in its annual report to Bruck: "The chamber has repeatedly declared that it confronts a grave and by no means smiling future with confidence, because it relies upon the strength of the nation. These words are doubly true to-day. Day after day it grows plainer and events emphatically prove that the free development of intelligence, of public opinion, of association, of industry in trade, of unions of the people, and of agricultural interests will be given every possible opening. The nation feels the need of a wider, more self-reliant development of its powers; without this it will hardly be able to keep its place in competition with other nations. Upper Austria, because it loves its fatherland, struggles

for progress; for true progress in all directions it will have the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice."

Again, on the 7th of August a semi-official article written in Vienna lamented in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*: "The temper in Vienna is both depressed and irritable. Between the emperor and his people a coterie has intruded itself. After all, where are the followers of the concordat policy and its consequences? How wofully in error are those who believe the concordat will be greeted with unanimous joy by the whole body of clergy! There are—apart from the inferior clergy who are delivered by the concordat into the hands of the ambitious and therefore hated bishops—many bishops who shake their heads whenever the concordat is mentioned. Nevertheless all possible efforts are being made to bring about a change of persons in the principal offices, and unhappily not without success—hence the ever-increasing despondency. There must be a change; the sound feeling of Vienna protests with too much energy against the present state of things, and public displeasure manifests itself too unmistakably to remain much longer unattended with result. In this fact lies at the moment the (unhappily) sole hope of improvement."

At last on August 22nd the *Wiener Zeitung* announced the longed-for dismissal of Bach and Kempen. The latter was simply pensioned; the former may have regarded his nomination as ambassador in Rome as an advancement, for this over-salaried post passed as the first in Austrian diplomacy after that of minister of foreign affairs. Bruck's restless but somewhat fruitless ambition accomplished the dismissal of Toggenburg at the same time, and demanded the unwarrantable suspension of the ministry of commerce, whose agenda were distributed among the different departments of finance, foreign and domestic. The avalanche came with a rush, after the first impetus had once been given; but who would have believed that, fully twelve years later, nobody would yet have an idea which direction, once set in motion, it was likely to take?^h

THE OCTOBER DIPLOMA (1860 A.D.); THE FEBRUARY PATENT (1861 A.D.)

After some hesitation the emperor undertook a series of reforms tending gradually to introduce the constitutional régime into his states. He first created a strengthened Reichsrath, or imperial council (March 6th, 1860)—that is to say, he added to his ordinary council thirty-eight members taken from among the notables, and representing the different countries of the empire; they were to employ themselves with the finances and general legislation. This assembly, which was purely consultative, had no right of initiative. It was but a small concession in face of the hopes and demands of the peoples. Finally, these were listened to. Goluchowski, a Galician nobleman, and consequently a stranger to the quarrels between Germans and Hungarians, was summoned to the ministry, and with his help the diploma of the 20th of October (*Oktoberdiplom*) was elaborated. This was the charter of the new liberties. The following is a summary of it:

Henceforth the sovereign exercised the legislative power in concert with the diet and with a *Reichsrath* composed of delegates from the diets. The competence of the Reichsrath extended to legislation concerning interests common to all the countries of the empire—finance, commerce, communication, and war. Other matters were the province of the diets. All citizens were equal before the law as regards religious creed, financial burdens, and military service. The number of members of the Reichsrath reached about one hundred; the ministries of the interior, of justice, and worship were suppressed. The diets still remained organised on the principle of privileged castes.

[1861 A.D.]

The task of applying and developing the principles comprised in the diploma of the 20th of October was confided to the minister Schmerling; he completed it by the patent of the 26th of February, 1861. Like Bach or Metternich, his first object was to maintain the preponderance of the Germanic element; he aimed at applying to Austria the parliamentary theories which are suitable only to homogeneous states. He created two chambers. That of the lords comprised princes, great land owners, prelates, and eminent men appointed by the sovereign. The chamber of deputies comprised 343 members elected by the provincial diets and distributed thus: Hungary, 85; Transylvania, 20; Croatia-Slavonia, 9; Dalmatia, 5; Bohemia, 54; Moravia, 22; Silesia, 6; Lower and Upper Austria, 28; Salzburg, 3; Styria, 13; Carinthia, 5; Carniola, 6; 6 for Istria and Trieste, 38 for Galicia, 5 for Bukowina, 12 for the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The suppressed ministries were restored and the attributes of the central parliament enlarged at the expense of the provincial diets.

The hopes to which the October diploma had given rise among the federalists were reduced to nothing. Yet it could not be imagined that the Hungarians would sell their autonomy so cheaply and consent to deliberate on the interests of their kingdom with the Venetians, the Slovenes, and the Poles. Their deputies were only to sit when the common interests of the whole monarchy were in question; their presence constituted the full Reichsrath; in their absence there was a restricted parliament in which the other groups occupied themselves with questions beyond the competency of their own diets. Thus the centralist minister managed to get rid of the principle of a dual government. On the other hand, he organised all the provincial diets on a uniform model, but with an electoral system scientifically constructed to stifle the Slav majorities under the German minorities. This system replaced the representation of the estates by that of interests; it admitted three curiæ of electors: the great land owners, the citizens of the towns, and the peasants of the country districts. The large properties belonging to aristocratic families which held them in fee from the dynasty; the towns where, even in non-German districts, there are numerous Germanic colonies, were especially favoured.

The elective circles were distributed in the most arbitrary fashion: in Bohemia, for example, the Slav towns had a deputy for every 12,020 electors, whilst the German towns had one for every 10,315. In the rural circles the Slavs had a deputy for every 53,200 inhabitants, whilst the German circles had one for every 40,800 electors. The German town of Reichenberg, with 19,000 inhabitants, had three deputies, whilst the Slav town of Prague, with 150,000 inhabitants, had only ten. Certain German towns were constituted as veritable rotten boroughs. The German borough of Parchen, with 500 inhabitants, had a deputy; the Slav town of Kladno, with 8,000 inhabitants, had not a single one. In short, this electoral system was a veritable deception.

After the constitution of February the peoples of the empire were divided as to whether or not they should accept it by sending deputies to the new Reichsrath. Venetia, Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia refused to let themselves be represented there; 140 deputies (more than a third) were missing out of 343; "We can wait," said Schmerling, proudly. But all his diplomacy was unavailing against the obstinacy of the Hungarians.

"I know only the Hungarian constitution, I can treat only on the basis of the Hungarian constitution," Deák invariably answered to all the proposals of the Viennese statesmen, even when Schmerling had succeeded in attracting the Transylvania deputies to Vienna. The Hungarian diet, convoked at Pest in April, 1861, refused all compromises; some of the rigorous lawyers even affected not to recognise Francis Joseph, because he had never been crowned. In countries possessing historic rights the coronation is not merely a religious

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ceremony; it is a mutual contract in which the sovereign makes an oath acknowledging the historic rights of the kingdom; hence the importance which the Czechs and Magyars attach to it. The legists, not recognising the uncrowned king, wished to vote only a resolution; Deák persuaded them to draw up an address. In this document, remarkable for its lucidity and its logic, he appeals to the historic rights of the kingdom.

"The fundamental condition of our political life and of our national independence," it said, "is the legal autonomy and the independence of our country. Our first duty is to consecrate all our faculties to obtaining that Hungary shall remain Hungary and keep her constitutional rights. We solemnly declare that we can sacrifice to no consideration, to no interest, the rights derived from treaties, laws, royal letters, and coronation oaths." It claimed the execution of the laws of 1848 and of the engagements undertaken in the Pragmatic Sanction. The government of Vienna thought it could daunt the Hungarians by force. The diet was dissolved (August 22nd). The assemblies of the comitats were forbidden, royal commissioners were substituted for the refractory *Obergespanne*; but the Magyars persisted in their resistance, even when Schmerling had succeeded in attracting to Vienna the deputies of Transylvania.

Bohemia was scarcely more satisfied than Hungary. She complained with reason of the iniquity of the electoral system granted by Schmerling; she sent her deputies to the Reichsrath, but only with the reservation of all the rights of the kingdom. After 1863 they ceased to take part in the debates of this assembly. The only liberty for which thanks were due to Schmerling was that of the press; but the Slavs profited little by it. In Bohemia and Moravia, within the space of three years, fourteen Czech journals shared between them sixty-one months of imprisonment, simple or severe (with fasting and irons), and 21,500 florins in fines.

THE POLISH INSURRECTION (1863-1866 A.D.)

The insurrection of Russian Poland in 1863 provoked an intense ferment in Galicia and plunged the Vienna cabinet into serious embarrassments. Its attitude was very ambiguous. Whilst Prussia concluded a military convention with Russia against the insurgents, Rechberg, then minister of foreign affairs, preserved Machiavellian caution towards both parties. Napoleon III, in sympathy with the Poles, had reckoned on Austria for a campaign against Russia and Prussia. He wished to help the Vienna cabinet to resume Silesia and secure to Austria the Danubian Principalities in exchange for Venetia. These projects were neither understood nor liked at Vienna. The government of the emperor Francis confined itself to addressing diplomatic notes to St. Petersburg and finally placed Galicia in a state of siege. This ambiguous conduct irritated to a singular degree not only the Poles but also their congeners of Bohemia and Moravia, who were more inclined to sympathise with the Polish revolution than with the Muscovite autocracy.

The work of Schmerling was not of the kind which is destined to endure. In 1865 the emperor undertook a journey to Pest in order to come to an understanding with the Hungarians; he gave them a new chancellor and dismissed Schmerling. The partisans of parliamentary Germanism lamented, but in the provinces the joy was immense. Prague, Pest, and Lemberg were illuminated. Schmerling was replaced by Belcredi, a Moravian by origin and far less enthusiastic than his predecessor for the hegemony of the German nationality. The diets of the great Slav countries, Bohemia and Galicia, showed themselves grateful for the change of ministry and hastened to react

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against the germanising measures of the preceding cabinet; in Galicia, for instance, the Polish language was introduced into all the schools.^f

On the 20th of September the emperor published a manifesto suspending the constitution of the 26th of February, 1861, in order to arrive at a new organisation which might satisfy all the nationalities. The imperial council, or Reichsrath, was indefinitely prorogued. Count Belcredi's plan was to group the countries according to their language and origin in several states, to give them complete autonomy for their internal affairs, and to reserve such matters as were of common interest to a central parliament; but if the Czechs and Poles applauded this plan the Germans and the Hungarians would not hear of it. The Germans wished to preserve Schmerling's system while perfecting it in the direction of liberty. The Hungarians, in the name of the "continuity of the law," demanded the preliminary re-establishment of the constitution of 1848, with a responsible ministry; then only would the Deákists consent to a revision of the fundamental laws for the purpose of finding out how they might be made to agree with Belcredi's plan. This amounted to dualism already designed, prepared, and superposing itself on the equality of the races in a liberal confederation.

The Hungarian diet met on the 5th of December, 1865. In it Deák had an enormous majority. He obtained the vote of an address demanding the nomination of a responsible Hungarian ministry which should alone be qualified to propose such modifications as were deemed necessary. It was impossible to come to an agreement. Count Belcredi recoiled before the certainty of displeasing the Slavs by accepting the proposed dualism. After long debates, which lasted till February, 1866, the diet was adjourned. Deák repeated Schmerling's phrase, "We can wait." The terrible year of Königgratz was to abridge this effort, and the Belcredi ministry simply bears in history the name, "ministry of the suspension" (*Sistierung*).^g

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION (1863-1866)

Prussia had not lost the memory of the humiliation of Olmütz; she aspired only to take her revenge and to place herself at the head of Germany. It must be acknowledged that this rôle suited her better than it did her rival; for, except in the duchy of Posen and in some parts of Silesia, the Prussian state is purely German. King William, crowned 1861, had found in Bismarck the minister of that policy which was to bring Prussia to the apogee of her power. Prussia and Austria both endeavoured to range Germany under their domination, whilst at Dresden Beust was imagining a triad in which the little kingdoms would have formed a counterpoise to the two great empires.

Without here going into all the efforts of Austria to secure the hegemony, let us only remember that she proposed the drawing up of a uniform code of civil procedure for all Germany; this project fell to the ground. In August, 1863, the emperor Francis Joseph convoked the German princes at Frankfort to elaborate a plan of federal reform; the German sovereigns met in the hall of the Römer; the king of Prussia alone refused to appear. Francis Joseph wished to secure for his dynasty the perpetual presidency of the directory of the German Confederation; he wished to obtain that in case of war Germany should intervene to guarantee him in his possessions situated outside the confederation. This is not the place to relate how the question of Schleswig-Holstein developed. Germany has always coveted this half Danish, half German province, the possession of which secures large outlets for her navy. In 1863 the king of Denmark thought the time had come in which Schleswig, which had hitherto formed a part of Holstein, might be definitely incorporated with

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his kingdom. The diet protested and caused Holstein to be occupied by the federal troops. Rechberg was at this time Austria's minister of foreign affairs, and in 1863 he had declared that it was not his intention to raise the question of nationalities—a question to be dreaded by Austria more than any other power. However, he allowed himself to be drawn by Bismarck into undertaking the seizure in the name of the confederation and in concert with Prussia. Twenty thousand Austrians, co-operating with the Prussian army, attacked the Danes (January 27th, 1864). The two armies, in spite of the heroism of the Danes, gained an easy victory. Rear-Admiral Tegetthoff flew the Austrian flag with honour in the North Sea, and by the Peace of Vienna, on the 30th of October, 1864, King Christian IX yielded all his rights over Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to the conquerors.

But if it had been easy to win this booty it was less easy to divide it. It was evident that the duchies were too remote from Austria to admit of her usefully possessing them either wholly or in part. Prussia offered to buy her right of possession. On the 14th of August, 1865, the Convention of Gastein was signed. Austria ceded the duchy of Lauenburg to Prussia for 12,500,000 francs. It has been calculated that this was about 149 francs for each inhabitant. Austria kept Holstein while Prussia reserved Schleswig for herself. The small states protested in vain against this immoral convention, which completely disregarded the rights of Germany. A little later Prussia offered 300,000,000 francs for the cession of the duchies; Austria refused, but subjects for chicanery were not lacking to the statesmen of Berlin: they complained of the over-liberal administration of Austria in Holstein, they raised claims to intervene in that administration.^f Friedrich Giehne^g thus describes the situation at this time:^h

Giehne's View of the Situation

After the war cloud in the north seemed for the time to have blown over, one finds oneself again face to face with the Schleswig-Holstein question, which lay behind the cloud, and again one is driven to wonder at the innocence which allowed itself to become responsible for this complication. If the matter be regarded without prejudice, it will appear far simpler. Let us, for example, suppose that some one from the far west of America came over to Europe, some one who had heard absolutely nothing about the matter, and that he was appointed arbitrator; he would put a number of questions, in order to learn how the matter stood, and there would be some such dialogue as the following:

"Has the war against Denmark then been conducted in the name of Prussian claims to Schleswig-Holstein?"

"No; there has been no thought of such a thing; nor indeed in that case would Austria have had any possible reason for participating in the war."

"What then was the actual cause of the war?"

"Well, for one thing, the right of the German Confederation to Holstein; for another, the separation of the Danish succession from that of Schleswig-Holstein, which descends to the duke of Augustenburg."

"So then it appears this claim has been renounced—or is it handed over to Prussia?"

"Neither; but Count Bismarck now declares that the king of Denmark has been the one and only lawful duke of Schleswig-Holstein."

"So then Count Bismarck will, by right of succession, reinstate him in the dukedom?"

"Not so much that, so they seem to say in Berlin; we will rather draw the other conclusion—that rightfully Denmark should retire from the dukedom,

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and consequently endorse by means of this registration the one valid and just course."

"Oh, then Denmark has resigned the dukedom to Prussia?"

"Not so, but to Prussia and Austria jointly; only, Prussia now desires that, in a spirit of benevolent comradeship, Austria should resign her part of the claim and so leave the whole."

"Then Austria's joint claim is not denied by Prussia?"

"By no means; Prussia's claim would in that case also be invalid."

"Good; but where are they then at issue?"

"Why, because Austria can see no reason for blindly giving up her right to Prussia, and Prussia makes this a cause of offence."

"And how has Count Bismarck sought to persuade Austria to renounce her right in favour of Prussia?"

"Until now, only by attacks in the papers, threats of war, of joining forces with Austria's enemies, besides denying Austria entrance to the German Zollverein."

"Well, that is certainly a strange kind of *captatio benevolentiae*. Count Bismarck has taken a radically wrong road for his purpose. He should read the fable of the storm wind, which tries to tear the traveller's mantle from him: the more violently the wind blows, the closer the wanderer wraps his cloak around him. Count Bismarck would in his place do the same; how comes it then that he expects anything else in another?"

THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR OF 1866

If Bismarck heard such admonitions as this, he did not heed them. The real point at issue was far more vital than any question as to the rulership, or other affairs, of Schleswig-Holstein; it had to do with the leadership of the Germanic nations. Should Austria still aspire to her old-time supremacy, or could Prussia challenge that supremacy and make good the challenge? That was really the question that underlay all the trivialities of the Schleswig-Holstein dispute; and it was a question that could never be definitely settled except by the verdict of war. Each party felt this, and each prepared for the contest. Austria armed, but Prussia was far superior to her in military organisation; she had besides a secure alliance with the young kingdom of Italy, impatient to acquire Venetia, to whom she promised a large subsidy. In vain did Napoleon III attempt to settle the question of the duchies and that of Venetia by means of a congress. He was no more successful than he had been in the affairs of Poland.

The Battle of Königgrätz (1866)

Austria felt both her honour and her military pride to be at stake. General Gablenz was commissioned to convoke the diet of Holstein in order to learn the wishes of the country on its future fate. Bismarck declared that the Convention of Gastein had been violated; he occupied Holstein and mobilised the Prussian army. The small states of Germany declared against Prussia, but she rapidly occupied Hesse, Saxony, and Hanover (June, 1866). Baden, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg held their own, but struggled feebly; Italy sent her fleet to the Adriatic and her troops to the Quadrilateral. The Prussians entered Bohemia. It was a lightning campaign. Benedek, the commander of the Austrian forces, instead of occupying Saxony, had awaited the enemy beyond the defiles of Bohemia; his lieutenants, Clam-Galatz and Gablenz, were successively defeated at Jicin and Nachod on the 26th and 27th of June; he himself concentrated his troops near Königgrätz (Kralove-Hradec) and the

village of Sadowa. A great battle was fought on the 3rd of July; it cost the Austrians 20,000 prisoners, 160 cannon, 18,000 dead and wounded; Prague and a great part of Bohemia were occupied by the Prussians, whose officers, disguised as photographers and peddlers, had carefully studied the topography the year before. The road to Vienna lay open and the enemy marched on that capital by way of Moravia.

On the day of the battle itself the most contradictory reports were received and discussed with feverish excitement. It was felt that the destiny of Austria was at stake; men were preparing for bad news; but the dreadful tidings received on the morning of the 4th of July—"the army of the north no longer exists"—surpassed all that had been feared. But to yield, to sue for peace, was out of the question, at least with the Prussians; it was preferable, if Austria's own strength were not sufficient, to continue the fight with foreign assistance, even at the price of the greatest sacrifices.

Where this might be looked for and in what direction the sacrifices had to be made was not far to seek. Italy must be appeased by the abandonment of Venice and an attempt made to involve Napoleon in the war. To give way as regarded Italy was, from the military standpoint, quite possible, since, on the battlefields between the Adagio and the Mincio, the ancient renown of the Austrian arms had been upheld and even a great victory gained with an inferior force. It is true that, according to the agreement of the 8th of April, Victor Emmanuel could not conclude peace without the consent of Prussia; but if Napoleon demanded it, would it be possible to refuse him? If one looked closely at the manner in which the Italians conducted the war, were there not observable distinct traces of disinclination, discord, and a longing for peace? South of the Alps there were at any rate no visible signs of the powerful energy and unity which governed the Prussian plan of campaign. If Moltke's proposals had been listened to, the Italians would have crossed the fortresses of the Quadrilateral which stood in their way or gone round them and directed their advance on German Austria with the utmost speed. Besides this, volunteers under Garibaldi ought, in accordance with the proposal which Usedom addressed to La Marmora on the 17th of June, to have landed on the Dalmatian shores to penetrate into Hungary and entice that country to rebel, a task to which a corps of refugees formed by Klapka in Prussian Silesia would have contributed from the north.

As Usedom rightly stated, blows like those would have struck not merely at the limbs but at the heart of the Austrian monarchy, and would have made the victory of Italy and its result, the acquisition of Venetia, final and irrevocable. However, La Marmora would not listen to those counsels; he thought them dangerous, and besides felt it an insult that he should receive orders from Berlin. He was no longer in Florence when he received Usedom's note and no longer prime minister. He had surrendered that office to Ricasoli and the ministry of foreign affairs to Visconti Venosta, who, up to that time, had been ambassador at Constantinople—that he might himself take command of the army. The important document followed him to the headquarters at Cremona and he received it on the 19th, just as he was on the point of sending the declaration of war to Mantua. However, instead of seriously considering the matter, he put it aside in a bad temper, and even after a second demand he did not consider it worth a reply. He had his own plan of campaign, and saw no occasion to let himself be diverted from it.

However, even in the Italian camp, the voices worthy of note were not at one with him. Whilst he adhered to the opinion that the Austrians must be first enclosed in their fortresses and that then only could further operations with the remaining forces be considered, Cialdini, in conformity with the Prussian plan, wished to press forward over the nether Po, to the east of the

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fortresses. The consideration which the latter general enjoyed was so great and his unyielding nature so well known that La Marmora thought it best to leave him a free hand; thus he gave him the leadership over one of the four divisions which were to take the field, assigned to him his position on the nether Po close to Ferrara, and settled with him that they should mutually support each other by a strong demonstration if Cialdini crossed the Po or La Marmora the Mincio. But they came to no agreement as to what each was to accomplish and who was to be first to attempt the crossing of the river. Each privately reserved the honour for himself.

La Marmora himself commanded three divisions, which were composed of at least one hundred and twenty thousand men, under the leadership of Durando, Cucchiari, and Rocca. Cialdini's one division was at least as strong as two of the others put together; so that the Italian army consisted of more than two hundred thousand men. To these the Austrians under the archduke Albert could not oppose half the number; although the whole army of the south amounted on paper to one hundred and ninety thousand men, less than half of them, perhaps seventy-five or eighty-five thousand, had remained to take the field. Were it only on account of the smallness of this number, La Marmora believed that he had no reason to fear an attack; besides, Nigra announced from Paris on the 15th of July that the Austrians, as he knew on the best authority, would shun a battle. Notwithstanding the vigorous protest of the king, who was keenly sensible of the danger of this supposition, on the 23rd he resolved to cross the Mincio and to leave Cucchiari to observe Mantua on his right, to push with the left wing, Durando's, between Peschiera and Verona, and to advance the centre (under Rocca) towards the west and across the Adige, that he might there join hands with Cialdini, who intended to cross the Po during the night of the 25th.

The Battle of Custozza

Those in the Italian camp had no idea that at this moment Archduke Albert, with the whole of his army, was already on the uplands eastward from Peschiera to Verona, and ready for the battle. The preparations to convey the army quickly across the Adige into this position had been all made with the greatest secrecy, and the measures had succeeded perfectly. The edge of the chain of hills reaches from Valeggio on the Mincio northeastward to Sommacampagna and thence northward to Bussolenga on the Adige, just at the south of Sommacampagna. Villafranca lies in the plain; midway between Sommacampagna and Valleggio is Custozza, on the Tione, a rivulet which here cuts through the upland and runs onward into the plain. Durando and his division had marched north from Valeggio into the upland and were having a fight with the Austrians which somewhat scattered his forces. They did not allow him to cross the Tione, and finally threw him back on the Mincio. The most important and hottest fight and that in which success varied most took place at Custozza, which was several times taken and lost. Whilst the fight at this place was at its fiercest, the greater part of Rocca's corps was close by to the southeast, near Villafranca, which it had reached early in the morning on its way from Goito. However, after having sustained a tremendous charge of the Austrian cavalry, it remained idle the whole day, in spite of the pressing entreaties of Bixio, who commanded one of the divisions, and of the crown prince Humbert, that they might be permitted to strike a blow.

Towards evening, and after the Austrians had taken Custozza by storm, a second attack upon Villafranca was attempted. The Italians repulsed it, but were now compelled to abandon their position and with drums beating marched back to the Mincio. In the afternoon La Marmora himself had entirely lost

his head; he left the battlefield and went to Goito, two miles and a half from Custozza. It is said that the king had opposed his orders and was perhaps even responsible for Rocca's inaction.

Painful as this defeat must have been to Italian pride, the loss was not great. One only of the four corps was beaten; the three others were entirely or almost entirely unweakened. The enemy's loss amounted to scarcely two hundred—less than that of the Italians. In a total of some eight thousand this is not saying much; besides, the Austrians would feel the diminution much more than their opponents. There was no reason whatever for La Marmora to retire farther than the western bank of the Mincio, and if he gave orders to withdraw behind the Po he was chiefly induced to do so by anger. Cialdini had announced that, after the unfortunate issue of the battle at Custozza, he, for his part, would remain on the southern bank of the Po, and that he had begun to effect the return of the troops which had crossed. On more mature consideration, and when it was known that the archduke Albert was not advancing, the retreat was suspended and the army remained at Oglio. Cialdini, who had gone back to Modena, also returned to his former position; and at Parma, on the 29th of July, he personally promised the general in command that he would once more do all in his power to cross.

Notwithstanding this, La Marmora refused to retain command of the army, whilst neither would Cialdini accept it. Thus dissension and confusion reigned in the Italian camp and the Austrians were at liberty to withdraw their troops from Venetia unmolested and unobserved by the enemy, and to lead them to join the army of the north. When, after the battle of Königgrätz, the command to do this was issued from Vienna, the Italians were so far away from the enemy that with the best will in the world they would no longer have been able materially to hinder it.

Napoleon's Intervention (1866 A.D.)

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the retreat of the army of the south naturally implied the renunciation of Venice, for it was to be expected that the Italians, when informed of it, would follow after and even cross the frontiers of German Austria. There was only one means of preventing this, and Francis Joseph availed himself of it. On the 5th of July he ceded his Italian possessions to the emperor Napoleon, and asked him to mediate a peace between him and Victor Emmanuel, not meaning peace with Prussia too; on the contrary, he now intended to fall upon this enemy with all his force and hoped that Napoleon would be on his side in the struggle. But the French emperor was neither prepared nor disposed for war. Thus he only accepted the Austrian invitation under the condition that his mediation should also extend to Prussia. He took as a basis the propositions which he had brought forward in his letter of the 11th of July, and since in these the maintenance of Austrian influence in Germany and (excluding Venice) the integrity of the Austrian monarchy were declared for, Francis Joseph consented, well persuaded that Prussia would refuse to submit to those conditions and thus still force the emperor into a war.

The rejoicing which broke out in Paris in consequence of the turn affairs had taken was on a vast scale. The streets were resplendent with decorations in tricolour. The emperor's triumph was celebrated by a brilliant illumination of the capital—the servile newspapers boasted of the glory and power of France in the most extravagant tone. Napoleon himself hastened to inform Victor Emmanuel of the event. Thus on the 5th he telegraphed: "The Italian army has had an opportunity of showing its valour; therefore further bloodshed is useless, and by agreement with me Italy can easily obtain Venice. I

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am writing to the king of Prussia to propose to him, as well as to your majesty, an armistice which may serve as a preliminary to negotiations for peace."

This news was like a thunderbolt to the sense of honour of all patriotically disposed Italians. Venice was to be united to the mother country, not as having been won by her own strength, but as a present at the hands of a powerful protector; peace was to be concluded, not at the price of her own blood, but by the betrayal of Prussia. To La Marmora himself it was extremely painful that Napoleon should prevent the advance of Prussia at the cost of the honour of Italy. He called it degrading to receive Venice as a present from France, and feared that by this step the army would lose all prestige and Italians would become ungovernable. Even on the 5th itself, Visconti Venosta had it plainly declared in Paris that Italy would not suspend hostilities without the consent of Prussia, and skilfully took advantage of the opportunity to add that the surrender of southern Tyrol was also required. Ricasoli, burning with shame at the thought of the part he was being asked to play, was even determined on war with France, if, as the French diplomats were threatening, the latter were to regard Venice as her own property and forbid the entrance of the Italians; for which purpose, as the French ambassador is said to have scornfully declared, all that was needed was the despatch of one corporal and four men.

In honourable fashion expression was at once given to these resolutions. On the 5th of July itself, Cialdini was ordered to attack the *tête de pont* at Borgoforte on the south bank of the Po, and the following night compelled its evacuation. During the night of the 8th three bridges were thrown across the river, and early in the morning began the crossing of eighty thousand men. The despatch of Garibaldi to Hungary was also resolved in the council of ministers, though this plan was never executed. Cialdini had now to endeavour at any cost to overtake the retreating Austrians; but this was a difficult task, and with the utmost efforts it could only be fulfilled in so far that Medici came up with the enemy on the 21st of July to the north of Bassano, and hurled him back in triumphant battle. At the same time Garibaldi with his volunteers invaded the Tyrol from the western side of the lake of Garda, and the two generals hoped to join hands in Trent.

The Sea-fight at Lissa (1866)

The fleet also was tested to the utmost; within eight days, so Ricasoli demanded of Admiral Persano, the enemy's fleet must be destroyed and Istria occupied. Not without reason did he calculate on a brilliant victory over the Austrians by sea. Enormous sums, about 300,000,000 francs, had been expended on the fleet during the last five years, and twenty-four ironclads could be opposed to the enemy's seven. The Italian fleet was also superior to that of their adversaries in wooden steamboats; only in regard to sailing vessels did the latter have the advantage. But in these triumphant calculations they forgot that number is of much less consequence on sea than on land. They were ignorant of the unpardonable carelessness with which the equipment of their own fleet had been carried out; they did not know the indefatigable attention with which Tegetthoff, the opposing admiral, had studied the lessons of the American war, and how he had trained his men to the resulting new style of warfare. From admiral to sailor, from captain to engineer, each individual man in the Austrian navy was drilled in a fashion quite different from that followed in the Italian, and the superior mobility and adaptability of the ships which was thus acquired practically doubled their number. Thus Tegetthoff was full of bold self-confidence; as early as the end of June he had appeared before Ancona and vainly challenged Persano, who lay there,

to fight. Now he was watching from Polat for the moment when the enemy should give him an opportunity to fight. Persano did not dare to attack him there. When ordered by Ricasoli to put an end to his inaction, he turned towards the island of Lissa, attacked its fortresses on the 18th and 19th of July, and endeavoured, though without success, to land troops there. On the 20th, when he had thus spent the greater part of his coal, he received the news that Tegetthoff was approaching.

In three "wedges"—first the seven iron-clads with the flagship the *Max* at their head, then the large wooden ships led by the *Kaiser*, and last of all the smaller vessels—the Austrians advanced towards the enemy's fleet, which was drawn up in two long lines. In the first row there were twelve ironclads, forming three groups, separated by large spaces; the second, at a considerable distance, was composed of the wooden ships. The middle group was led by the *Re d'Italia*, Persano's flagship, but the admiral himself was not on it; he sailed on board the smaller *Affondatore* towards the hindmost wedge of the Austrian ships, though without accomplishing anything there. Tegetthoff, on the other hand, broke through one of the intervening spaces and attacked the centre group from behind. He threw himself with four ironclads upon the *Re d'Italia*, to whose assistance came only the *Palestro*, whilst the wooden ships of the Italians timidly held back and the other ironclads were wholly occupied with the Austrian wooden vessels. When he had thus surrounded the enemy's ship on all sides he suddenly bore down broadside against her with his *Max* and made a huge rent in her side. In a few minutes the sea rushed in and the proud vessel sank with her whole crew.

The *Palestro* did indeed manage to get away, but a shell had set her bunkers on fire; the flames spread and reached the powder magazine. In vain did the captain order his men to leave the vessel in time; like himself, the sailors chose to perish with their ship. A terrific explosion announced the moment at which brave men met an heroic death. Though the *Kaiser* caught fire and was compelled to retire, no ship was lost on the Austrian side. Tegetthoff brought his vessels safely through the enemy's ranks and took up his position with Lissa behind him. Persano, however, hastened, as fast as his coal supply permitted, to return to Ancona, and in the harbour lost even his *Affondatore* which was sunk under very suspicious circumstances. Thus the battle of Lissa was a much more distressing defeat than that of Custoza, and the disappointment reacted in so discouraging a manner, whilst the state of the fleet was besides so deplorable, that the ministers could find no admiral who would venture a second attack at sea.

Preliminaries at Nikolsburg

The Prussians, in the mean time, had duly profited by their victory. On the 5th of July, after an armistice which Gablenz had requested on the 4th had been abruptly refused, the advance began which, on the 6th and 7th, brought the victorious armies across the Elbe. The Silesian corps under Mutius alone remained behind to watch Koniggrätz and Josephstadt. The occupation of Prague and the north of Bohemia was assigned to the Mulbe reserve corps, which was coming up from Saxony. The crown prince marched on Olmutz, Frederick Charles on Brünn, Herwarth on Iglau. These movements were not interrupted by Napoleon's offer of mediation. By the night of the 5th of July it had reached the king; and, like that addressed to Victor Emmanuel, it included a proposal for an armistice. If France was not to be driven straight into the Austrian camp, there could be no question of an abrupt refusal. The king therefore immediately replied that he himself had no real objection to offer to the French proposal, but that he must first be

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assured of the assent of Italy and of Austria's approval of the principal Prussian demands.^j

The king of Prussia nevertheless continued to march on Vienna by Olmütz, Brunn, and Iglau. The army of Italy had been recalled with the conqueror of Custoza, the archduke Albert, who had been appointed generalissimo; and it was concentrating on the left bank of the Danube. On the 18th of July the headquarters of the king of Prussia were transported to Nikolsburg, ten miles from Vienna. Resistance was difficult; Albert had only twenty thousand men, partly organised, to oppose to the Prussian armies, increased by reinforcements to two hundred and forty-six thousand. On the 26th the preliminaries of peace were signed at Nikolsburg.^d

AUSTRIA AFTER KÖNIGGRÄTZ

The day of Königgrätz was a turning point in the history of Austria. On it not merely the Austrian army, but also Belcredi's suspension policy, had suffered a decisive defeat. "Away with this system!" was the general cry of the German press, which would no longer allow itself to be silenced, even by the state of siege. The government's demands for the straining of every nerve for the fatherland met only passive resistance or defiant disobedience. The agitation in favour of the constitution began in the hereditary countries on the 7th of July with an address of the Salzburg municipal council requesting the summons of the Reichsrath. Vienna answered the imperial manifesto of the 10th with the petition that the capital might not be exposed to the dangers of a contest, but that in regard to governmental and political conditions those changes might be introduced which would be calculated to give men's minds security for the future. But Belcredi would not give way so easily. An address of the Viennese municipal council in favour of a change of ministry received a sufficiently ungracious answer. Indignation increased the more. Above all, it was evident that there was no way out of the situation without a reconciliation with Hungary.^k

But it was in vain that Deák wrote on the 17th of July in *Naplo*: "Hungary's desire is immediate peace; the perilous position of the monarchy brooks no delay. A considerable part of the empire is overrun with unfriendly forces; only Hungary has remained free. But Hungary is dead. With Hungary everything, or at least much, may be done. But Hungary can do nothing for herself; her hands are tied. To untie them, and once more to reinvest the land with life, a constitutional government is needed, and nothing else. If Hungary is still to be of real use to the monarchy, it can only be by having at her head a government which shall be the outcome of the national will and in which the nation shall have a guarantee of its rights."

The day after, the old man himself travelled to Vienna, to consult with Belcredi as to the advisability of appointing a responsible ministry. All in vain! The originator of the September patent stood like Archimedes in besieged Syracuse, face to face with the impending catastrophe, beneath which the foundations of the monarchy were loosening and the whole structure giving way in every straining point; none the less full of delight that, peace being concluded, no one under the protection of the state of siege could disturb the circle of his doctrines of suspension.

On September 23rd the Peace of Prague with Prussia had not only registered the surrender of Venice, but also, in direct opposition to Bismarck's proposals at Brunn, had proclaimed the complete exclusion of Austria from Germany and stipulated for a war indemnity of 40,000,000 thalers, of which the half at least would be reckoned for Austria's claim on Schleswig-Holstein and for the free maintenance of the Prussian army until its departure. Ac-

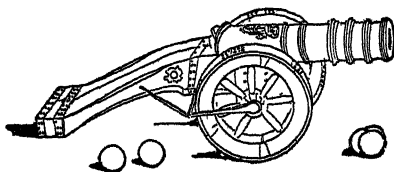
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ording to Article 4, Austria was obliged to give her consent to a new construction of Germany without taking into account the imperial state; to recognise the northern alliance, and acquiesce in the agreement that the states south of the Main should join in an alliance—further explanation of the national connection of the latter with the northern alliance to be reserved between the two parties.

Ten days later, on the 3rd of October, the "union of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom with the kingdom of Italy" was sanctioned by the Peace of Vienna, Austria thus publicly declaring her official recognition of the fact. According to Article 5, Italy assumed the whole remainder of the debt of Monte Lombardo-Veneto, as it stood, which had been left to Austria at the Peace of Zurich, as well as the payment of 35,000,000 gulden of silver according to the reckoning of the Venetian share of the national loan of 1854. Count Belcredi, however, found that from these two treaties of peace nothing had resulted save that there was one province less.

Like Benedek's world-historic "plan" during the war, the minister's plan for the reorganisation of the monarchy now faced biting ridicule with despairing resignation. Easy though it was for the count to wrap in impenetrable mystery a plan amounting in the end to an utter want of plan, nevertheless two points shone like stars from out the darkness of the night. Belcredi believed that he had finally rid himself on the flat plain of Königgrätz of the suspended constitution, and, according to his own reckoning, he now needed less than ever to trouble himself about the German burghers. The official paper took a high tone: "Whilst the centralists hold by the constitution of February, no one will deal with them; should they give it up, they would still have no right to demand that they should be met."

The Germans recommended to the generosity, the tender mercies, of the Czechs and Slavs! The Germans represented as the sole victims of the day at Königgrätz—they who had, on the contrary, brought to the Slavs and the reigning clique dominion over the monarchy as a princely post-nuptial gift! The conclusion of the preliminaries of peace and the proclamation of the state of siege in Vienna had scarcely been allowed by the government to get abroad, and the tongues of the German Austrians were scarcely gagged, when ministry and Slavs both prepared to cook their own soup at the devastating fire which had run through the empire. From the 9th to the 11th of August a meeting arranged by the leaders of the Czechs took place in Vienna in the hotel *Zur Stadt Frankfurt*—a meeting that chose pompously to christen itself a "Slav congress"; but, to Belcredi's great vexation, it only demonstrated the utter impossibility of getting the Slav races under one hat, to say nothing of throwing them into the scales as a make weight in favour of a united state, as against the pretensions of the Magyars.^h





CHAPTER V

THE DUAL MONARCHY SINCE 1866

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DUALISM (1866-1868 A.D.)

THE whole world believed that the decree had been passed for the final dissolution of the Austrian Empire, the complete effacement of what was, far more than Italy, a geographical expression. The *finis Austriæ* was echoed in all appreciations, even the most indulgent. Nationalities detesting one another and aspiring in the chaos towards autonomy; an alarming financial and commercial crisis; Germanism and Panslavism begging, each on its own account, for the spoils of the vanquished of Königgrätz; the army humiliated; discouragement; the small sympathy of the modern world, which saw in the crown of the Habsburgs the symbol of absolutism, of clericalism, and the oppression of the peoples,—all seemed to be conjured up to render Felix Austria the most unhappy of countries. All the constitutional forms which had been applied to her had successively failed. Their enumeration was a long one: constitution granted by the emperor Ferdinand, April 25th, 1848; constitution granted by Francis Joseph in May, 1849, and revoked by the patent of the 31st of December, 1851; absolutism of Schwarzenberg and Bach; diploma of the 20th of October, 1860, returning to the constitutional régime; timid federalism of Goluchowski; centralist liberal constitution of Schmerling of the 26th of February, 1861, suspended by the manifesto of the 20th of September, 1865; federalist essays of Belcredi repulsed by Hungary and contemporary with the crisis of Königgrätz. What was there left to try? There remained only the dualism desired by the Hungarians, who had become the arbiters of the empire's destiny and were well aware of the fact.^b

On the 30th of October a new man, the Saxon minister Von Beust, who had become more than dispensable at Dresden, entered the anti-German "count's ministry" (*Grafenministerium*).

The first thing to do was to satisfy the more important half of the realm, namely, Hungary. On the 19th of November the provincial diets, with the exception of that of Transylvania, were opened; but the Hungarian provincial diet of Hungary was informed by an imperial rescript of the main idea of the government in the understanding which was to be arrived at. "The

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country now stands on the threshold of the fulfilment of its wishes," the rescript ran; it offered the appointment of a responsible ministry for Hungary and the establishment of the municipal self-government of the country; the unity of the imperial army, of the customs system, of the indirect taxation were to be preserved; concerning the state debts and the finances a compromise was to be effected. It was announced that in the other provinces also—they were comprehended after the name of the little river which at one place forms the boundary between Hungary and the duchy of Austria, under the designation Cisleithania—the "system of responsible government" must come into force, which was indeed a necessity. In the December of that year Beust himself went to Pest in order to come to an understanding with the leaders of the Deák party. That the government at Vienna, where it was the custom to do everything either too soon or too late, should have wished to grant by an ordinance of the 31st of December, before the reconciliation of Hungary, a general obligation to bear arms, was a folly for which Beust was not responsible and which at once proved itself impracticable.

The ministers persuaded the emperor to summon an extraordinary Reichsrath to conclude the negotiations with Hungary, but Beust's influence induced



VON BEUST (1809-1886)

him to abandon this policy; on the 4th of February Belcredi was dismissed, Beust became minister-president, and the February constitution was restored with the narrow Reichsrath. Hungary now received a responsible ministry, with Count Julius Andrassy as the first prime minister.

The Reichsrath met at Vienna on the 22nd of May, 1867. In the beginning of June it presented to the Crown an address demanding a revision of the February constitution and the completion of the reconciliation with Hungary. On the 8th of June the ceremony to which the Hungarians attached so much

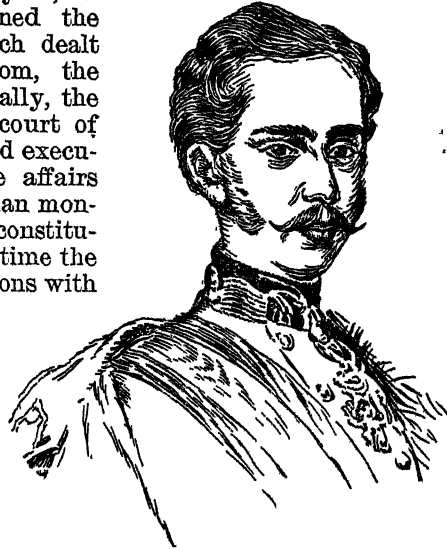
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importance took place at Buda, and amidst all the pomp Francis Joseph was crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The reconciliation was sealed by the grant of a general amnesty. Kossuth alone refused to take advantage of this act of grace; he protested against the attitude of the Deák party with which the agreement had been made, and preferred to remain in exile till his death, which took place at Turin in 1894.⁴⁰

The Reichsrath at Vienna developed an energetic legislative activity. The double task of the year, the establishment and completion of the February constitution and the conclusion of the Ausgleich with Hungary, was successfully accomplished. Before the close of the year, on December 21st, the emperor sanctioned the "fundamental law of the state," which dealt with the representation of the kingdom, the rights of the citizens of the state generally, the establishment of a supreme imperial court of justice, the exercise of governmental and executive power, and the treatment of the affairs affecting all the provinces of the Austrian monarchy, which completed the February constitution in a liberal spirit; and at the same time the difficult and tedious Ausgleich negotiations with Hungary were brought to a conclusion in specific laws. The two halves of the empire were to have common interests as to foreign affairs, war, and, to some extent, finance; and accordingly for these affairs three "common" ministers were appointed (December 24th): Beust, as imperial chancellor for foreign affairs, John, as minister of war, and as finance minister, Von Becke. The four parliamentary bodies of the two halves of the empire appointed Hungary forty and Austria forty delegates, and these delegations were to meet annually, now in Vienna, now in Buda, to control the conduct of common affairs in parliamentary fashion, and to grant the necessary funds. The Ausgleich laws were accepted by the representative bodies in Vienna and Buda. Sanctioned by the emperor the same day as the four "fundamental state laws" of Cisleithania, they formed with them a whole, and accordingly we have now to distinguish in the Habsburg monarchy between Hungarian, Cisleithanian, and common affairs.

By the Ausgleich Hungary had received the lion's share. The country had obtained everything that it could reasonably desire—more, perhaps than it could bear. amongst other things it was at liberty to create a debt of its own; but the first attempt in this direction was not to be an entire success, when the Hungarian minister of finance, ignoring the great money centre, Vienna, addressed himself immediately to the foreign exchanges; not half of the intended railway loan was subscribed for. Transylvania, abandoned by Vienna, was entirely incorporated with the crown of St. Stephen. The German population of the country boldly continued the difficult struggle for their own peculiar civilisation against the Magyar supremacy, the Rumanians were dreaming of their own nationality and future, as were the Poles, the Serbs, etc.

With Croatia an Ausgleich after the pattern of that of Austria-Hungary was concluded in November, 1868; by its terms the Croatian deputies joined the Hungarian diet; but the question of the position of the coast town of Fi-



FRANCIS JOSEPH (1830-)

[1868-1870 A.D.]

time, concerning which no agreement could be arrived at, was reserved. The reconciliation once effected, the relation of the king remained undisturbed in accordance with the chivalrous and loyal character of the nation; the Hungarians were especially gratified to find that the "queen" felt more at home in their country than in Vienna. The majority of the returned refugees also attached themselves honestly and zealously to the king. They could do so the more easily when Francis Joseph, at the end of that year (1868), sanctioned the law which gave the country its own *Honved* or militia army with an archduke, Joseph, as commander-in-chief. The speech from the throne, with which Francis Joseph in person closed the diet, extolled the integrity of the realm of St. Stephen, and the official designations—Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Francis Joseph, emperor of Austria, king of Hungary—left no doubt of the recovered independence.

It was the party of Deák which had won this victory and continued to dominate the situation. On the 17th of December their leader, the most influential of the Hungarian statesmen, gave utterance to a phrase which gained double weight from the fact that he from whose lips it came had never voiced a different language: "The existence of Austria is as important to us as ours is to Austria"; and in an election speech in the beginning of 1869 Count Andrassy pointed out with still more emphatic eloquence how advantageous to Hungary the *Ausgleich* was. The elections of March, 1869, were also in favour of this party. In the new parliament they had a majority of 90 votes, 30 of them Croatian. Nevertheless, the opposition, which still considered the connection with Vienna too close, had increased from 120 to 170 votes, and the increase had come mainly from the Magyar comitats themselves. On the 23rd of April the king opened the new diet with a speech in which, with much justice, stress was laid on the necessity of internal reforms. With such reforms, school laws, interdenominational laws, abolition of corporal punishment, judicial reform, municipal laws, the now pacified country busied itself; in 1870 a loan of fifteen millions was granted for the purpose of beautifying the capital so that it might not be inferior to Vienna. In a certain sense the centre of the empire was now in Buda.^c

THE REVOCATION OF THE CONCORDAT (1868 A.D.)

On New Year's Day, 1868, the Bürgerministerium, the first parliamentary ministry of Cisleithania, came into office under the presidency of Auersperg. Its first task was to alter the condition of subservience to the Roman church produced by the concordat of 1855. By May it had won the passing of three laws: restoring the civil laws concerning marriage, in place of those of the Catholic church; circumscribing the influence of the clergy in educational matters; and regulating to the disadvantage of the Roman church questions concerning the religion in which the children of mixed marriages were to be educated, conversions to other denominations, etc. These laws, which virtually abolished the concordat, evoked an indignant protest from Rome, and the higher clergy in Austria itself exhorted their flocks to resistance; but this action, far from resulting in an abolition of the laws, roused a strong counter-agitation, and in 1870 the government formally repudiated the concordat.^{ac}

STRUGGLES OF NATIONALITIES WITHIN THE EMPIRE

The ill-will and malice of the higher clergy was only one hindrance among many, and was so formidable only because it was partly united, partly in alliance with the resistance which the separate nationalities opposed to the constitutional state of Cisleithania.

[1867-1868 A.D.]

It was only in the few purely German provinces that the Burgerministerium possessed a firm support. Even of these the Tyrol offered resistance, for here the dominant ecclesiastical influence was joined to narrow provincial patriotism. The officials and the small liberal party, which counted for something only in the few towns of the province, did not form an effectual counterbalance to the sheer weight of ignorance and superstition which burdened the masses. In Galicia, where, in the last case, the Ruthenian population could be counted on against the Polish, conclusions were once more tried in September, 1868, when a visit of the emperor with a great following had just been announced. The provincial diet adopted an address and a "resolution," which declared against the revised constitution and against the fundamental law of December, 1867, and advanced a claim for a very comprehensive autonomy for the "kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and the grand duchy of Cracow." The imperial governor, Count Goluchowski, offered only a lukewarm opposition: a telegraph message was sent to the effect that under these circumstances the emperor, whom here also they affected to call the "king," had given up his visit to the country.

Far more serious was the state of affairs in the provinces of the crown of Wenceslaus, especially in Bohemia. Here the hatred of the Czechs was aroused by the assurance that the one and a half million Germans were far superior in prosperity and culture to the two and a half million Czechs. A characteristic token of this national hatred, which drove into the background all other feelings, even those of religion, was the pilgrimage which in July of that year a company of Czechs made to Constance, in order to celebrate in that city the anniversary of the death of Huss, the great heretic, in whom they honoured, not the forerunner of the Reformation and the first martyr in the struggle against a false church, but the enemy of the Germans. As a rule their demonstrations were not so harmless. Already in January, 1868, on the occasion of a visit of the new minister, Herbst, to Prague, the most excited tumults had arisen, and the Germans had had to be protected by an appeal to arms. Every opportunity, as for instance the laying of the foundation stone of a Czech national theatre, had been the signal for similar demonstrations.

It was a graver matter when the over-polite Baron von Beust in a moment of weakness allowed himself to be drawn, on the occasion of a journey of the emperor to Prague, into negotiations with the Czech leaders, behind the back of the minister-president. The views of the Czech party found their sharpest expression in what is known as the Declaration, which the Czech members of the provincial diet caused to be handed to the German majority by three of their number and which bore eighty-one signatures. They set forward under ten heads the view that the relation of Bohemia to its "hereditary king" was a mutually binding legal relation, which could not be altered by one side (as had been done in the February constitution); that no representative body outside Bohemia (as the Viennese Reichsrath) had the right to dispose of Bohemia's rights in her name; that therefore they, before committing themselves to any sort of recognition of the situation created by the Ausgleich with Hungary, demanded an agreement between the king and what was, politically and historically, the Bohemian nation; their conviction was that of the Bohemian-Slav nation throughout the provinces of the Bohemian crown, a nation which counted five million souls. The corresponding party in Moravia made the same declaration to the Moravian provincial diet under date of August 25th, asserting the rights of this marquisate; against which claims Silesia, the third province belonging to the "historical" crown of Wenceslaus, protested (19th of September).^a

The following exposition of the aims of the Slavs, set forth by one of their own writers, shows how wide-reaching their projects were:^a

A CZECH'S DEFENCE OF SLAVISM IN 1867

It would be really too absurd seriously to impute it to these people as a crime that they should feel themselves to be Slavs and that they should wish to be thus recognised. The Slav finds himself and his future only in Slavism, exactly as the Saxon and the Prussian find theirs only in Germanism. Therefore the Slavs have made it a dogma that whatever the idiom to which they may happen to belong they will never deny their Slav parentage.

Panslavism, regarded as an idea of our epoch, was never, as a matter of fact, anything but a problem against which the idealogues of all the Slav tribes will break their heads, with perhaps as little success as that of the learned men of old in the search for the squaring of the circle or the philosopher's stone. Nevertheless, these problems of the Middle Ages have given a salutary impulse to men's minds, and therein consists the essential moral value of this idea, nowadays turned into a heresy and almost impossible to realise.

As a political question this word designates to us Slavs a problem whose solution the most ideological and ardent among us reserves for the most distant future. The work of literary Panslavism is, however, a work of preparation, which is still wholly indirect and which will not fail to turn to the advantage of the whole aggregate of civilisation. There is an endeavour to take advantage of everything which is healthy in the national elements in order to combat the heterogeneous, worn-out, and corrupt elements. An attempt is being made to annul from the literature the divorce which exists between nature and intellect, and to struggle with united forces against the social misery which native and foreign despots have managed to spread amongst the numerous Slav tribes. By a purely scientific necessity, and partly against their will, the Slav philologists have opened for themselves a way to a mutual understanding. Antiquarians and historians have of necessity met and saluted one another half way. The consecration of poetry could not be wanting to this fraternisation, and, as elsewhere, the poets have been followed by philosophers rich in ideas—philosophers who, in harmony with the past and present of the Slavs, each one, be it understood, in accordance with his own personal point of view, have endeavoured to construct for them a new future.

In this manner there has come into existence quite naturally a phalanx of energetic and sympathetic men, who nevertheless exist in Slavism only as a party. Doubtless we cannot refuse to the men of this party a merit which permits them to outstrip others in the field of science; but they are pure theorists only, and the Slavs are careful not to recognise in them more than a mediocre influence on politics and social life. It is only in a domain entirely ideal that their activity is of any importance.

But Slavism, as a political lever, has, above all, the merit of being a means of defence against individual interests. Each section of the Slav peoples has passed through important historic periods. Mighty branches have been separated from the trunk under the pressure of the centuries, and even for science the question of how far the ancient frontiers of the Slav domain once extended is still one on which little light has been thrown. Whatever the past, the residue of the Slav nation is still sufficiently great and sufficiently important; and as there are, even at this hour, branches of that family which are compelled to wrestle for their existence with foreign and hostile elements, it is natural that they should endeavour to escape the fate of those of their brothers who are already lost, and to try all that is possible to safeguard their nationality. Their position, which is entirely defensive, merits, then, the more esteem as they do not endeavour to enrich and aggrandise themselves by spoliation.

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Hitherto the efforts of Slavism have had an essentially civilising character. The western Slavs are even the natural intermediaries and interpreters who are to initiate their eastern brothers into the enlightenment and the ideas of the epoch. Then only will Europe be able to congratulate herself on having escaped the dangers of the new stagnation with which she is evidently menaced. So long as we had not entered on this path we were reproached with being in a lethargy, and treated as barbarians. But since these barbarians have been endeavouring completely to divest themselves of such remains of barbarism as they may still retain, the alarm is sounded throughout the camp, and the cry is everywhere raised—"To arms!"

That such a proceeding endangers only the outposts of Slavism is an evident fact. But the progress of civilisation will none the less continue its march in all the Slav countries; and when a certain maturity shall have been reached, the emancipation of the Slavs through the whole extent of their country will meet with no further obstacles. And for this the Slavs need neither tutelage nor advice. Where there is something for us to take in the domain of foreign civilisations we are the first to appropriate it, and we are only fulfilling our duty if in this natural process we consider our needs and our social relations.

But since it is acknowledged that it is nothing but the dread of a great Slav state which makes the Slavs appear dangerous, we on our part will not hide our frank conviction on this head. With a Slav empire on the one side, France on the other, what will become of Germany? cry the wise prophets. She will remain what she is, we reply without irony; she will remain the fair empire of central Europe, the refuge of speculative science, the *rendezvous* for the literature of the world; only she will be more concentrated politically, more elastic in her social advance, and her free people will place itself in more friendly relations with other free peoples than it has been able to do to this present day when, servile itself, it can awe only those who are still more servile.²

PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY

In face of difficulties like these, and of other difficulties, to describe whose details no human pen possesses sufficient endurance, the new constitutional machine laboured under every sort of hindrance and obstacle. Already in the year 1868 the discussion of the budget had almost produced a ministerial crisis; but finally the financial law was accepted. Thus while the Reichsrath was wasting its breath the seventeen provincial diets deliberated from August to October. An excess of parliamentary tumult echoed through the empire, once so still; and on the 17th of October the Reichsrath resumed its labours in a difficult debate on the military law which settled the war strength of the army at eight hundred thousand men for the next ten years. The ministers had to bring all their influence to bear to pass this measure, and Von Beust especially displayed as a deputy all his arts to show how reassuring was the situation, which was at the same time so little reassuring that it called imperatively for such an army; the minister Berger summed up this political position by saying that at this moment France was struggling to cross the Rhine, Prussia the Main, and Russia the Pruth; while Italy desired to have a piece of Trentino, and even Rumania had an eye on a convenient bit of Austria."³

The pressure of a strong Left party in the house of deputies, the federalistic opposition of the provincial diets, the struggle with the bishops and their followers, proved too much for the government. Auersperg resigned and was replaced by Taaffe. After this change had been effected, the Reichsrath was closed (May 15th). But the difficulties with the nationalities continued.

The new law concerning military service required the inhabitants of southern Dalmatia, who had hitherto been exempted from that duty, to serve in the militia. The Bocchese, or inhabitants of the district round the Bocche di Cattaro, rose in rebellion, and, the first attempt to quell the rising having failed, quiet was restored only by an agreement which granted all their demands. But Taaffe's proposal for a conciliatory policy towards the nationalities generally was rejected by the emperor. Taaffe withdrew from the ministry and the measures taken by his successors only rendered the situation worse.

The protest of the Polish deputies against the attempts to curb their independence took the form of a simple refusal any longer to attend the deliberations of the diet; and in this they were imitated by the Slovenes and the deputies from Görz, Trieste, Istria, and Bukowina, so that the rump parliament which they left was now almost wholly German. It was now decided to adopt a conciliatory policy, and a ministry under Count Potocki was appointed to execute it.^{ac}

The Potocki cabinet, whilst pressing the constitution of December, 1867, tried to elaborate a project which might prove satisfactory to federalism. The upper chamber was to be composed of members elected by the diets, the Reichsrath of members nominated by direct election; the nationalities would have received some satisfaction. These good intentions remained without result. The advent of the Franco-German War still further complicated the situation. Austria was not, from the military point of view, in any condition to afford aid to France and demand of Prussia satisfaction for Königgratz; she left the preponderance in her government to the Germans, who applauded the success of their Prussian compatriots and celebrated the glory of the new Germany through the medium of journals inspired from Berlin. The Magyars for the most part rejoiced over the victories of Prussia; let the absorption of Cisleithania into a greater Germany be once accomplished, and they would have their hands free to realise all the dreams of Hungarian ambition. It was under these circumstances that the emperor thought himself called upon to summon (February, 1871) to the head of affairs a cabinet designed to assert a federal policy.

Bohemia and the Fundamental Articles

Count Charles Hohenwart, governor of Upper Austria, introduced into this cabinet two Czechs, Jireček in the department of education and Habětinek in that of justice. This fact alone indicated the spirit which was to animate the new ministry; it was evident that the first thing was to satisfy Bohemia. But the task of the Hohenwart ministry was a very difficult one; the Germans had to be deprived of the supremacy which the existing organisation of the electoral system incontestably assured them. A struggle must be begun with the Teutons within and without. One of the chiefs of the German party exclaimed in the Reichsrath itself: "To concede to Bohemia what is granted to Galicia would be to reduce two millions of Germans to the position of the Ruthenians. But it must not be forgotten that these Germans are the blood relatives of a great neighbouring people." Another orator said, "We have not conquered at Sedan to become the helots of the Czechs." Certain newspapers compared Bohemia to Schleswig, and made very plain allusions to Prussia's rôle of liberator.

Nevertheless the minister set to work valiantly: he opened negotiations with Rieger and Palacky, the political chiefs of Bohemia, and laid before the Reichsrath a new law which enlarged the powers of the provincial diets and granted them the initiative in matters of legislation. This bill was of course rejected. A little later he presented a special bill concerning Galicia which

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sanctioned the chief points of the Resolution (of 1868). Questioned as to whether he intended to propose analogous measures for other provinces, he frankly exposed his programme: he declared that if Bohemia could rest satisfied with the concessions which he was preparing for Galicia he would not hesitate an instant to offer them to her.

This was the signal for a general outbreak. The Germans in the Reichsrath voted an address to the emperor (May 26th), declaring that the cabinet had not their confidence. The sovereign answered by proroguing the two Viennese chambers. On the 12th of August the Reichsrath was dissolved and the provincial diets were convoked for the 14th of September following. On the other hand, official negotiations were opened between Vienna and Prague. Rieger, whose rôle in Bohemia was analogous to that of Deák in Hungary, elaborated, in agreement with Count Clam-Martinitz, the programme on which the definitive reconciliation of Bohemia with the constitutional régime was to be concluded. The sovereign and the minister showed themselves to be prepared for the most important concessions. On the 14th of September the diet of Bohemia was opened by a message or royal rescript; this time the Czechs, who had been absent for several years, again put in an appearance, and—thanks to the new elections, in which for the first time the government had not tampered with the suffrages—even in spite of the Schmerling electoral system, they had a majority. The rescript of the 14th of September promised the recognition of the rights of the kingdom of Bohemia with the coronation of the sovereign, and invited the diet to make it known by what means an accord might be established between the kingdom and the rest of the monarchy. "Recognising the political importance of the crown of Bohemia," said the emperor, "mindful of the splendour and glory which that crown has lent to our predecessors, and full of gratitude for the fidelity with which the Bohemian nation has supported our throne, we are ready to recognise the rights of the kingdom and to review that recognition by the coronation oath."

The diets of Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola welcomed this declaration with enthusiasm, while it excited violent indignation on the part of the Germans. A bill establishing a new electoral system and a law concerning the nationalities were presented to the diet of Prague. The German deputies at once protested, and left the hall of session. Nevertheless a commission was appointed to elaborate the final programme on which to base the relations of the kingdom of Bohemia with the rest of the Austro-Hungarian states. This programme was epitomised in the Fundamental Articles, which the diet voted unanimously; it sent them to Vienna and adjourned to await the sovereign's answer.

According to the Fundamental Articles Bohemia, like Hungary, was to be represented for all the common affairs of the empire by a delegation nominated by the diet of Prague and no longer by the Reichsrath. She was to treat with the other Cisleithanian states only by the intermediary of her delegates. She obtained complete autonomy and recognised as affairs common to the whole monarchy only war, diplomacy, and commerce. A senate composed of members appointed by the emperor was to adjust the disputes which might arise between the different kingdoms or provinces. Finally the representation of the towns and rural communes was to be considerably augmented—an arrangement which would have assured to the Czech nation the preponderance which belongs to it in the kingdom in virtue of history and statistics. The diet of Moravia gave its approbation to the Fundamental Articles and demanded the institution, or rather the re-establishment, of a special chancellor for the countries of the crown of St. Wenceslaus. The Slavs of the monarchy ardently desired the success of a policy which, by drawing Austria towards federalism, would put an end to the German and Magyar hegemony.

On the other hand the programme of Rieger and Clam-Martinitz excited

to the highest degree the self-love of the Germans and Hungarians. The Hungarians dread Slavism, for they know that the emancipation of the Slavs of Bohemia, Carinthia, and Carniola would give the Serbs and Slovaks a moral strength which might at any moment be turned against the Magyar dominators; as to the Germans of Austria, it is a very small number of them which desires to put into practice the celebrated axiom of Francis II: *Justitia erga omnes nationes est fundamentum Austriæ*. Many of them look for a greater Germany, and ask nothing better than the annihilation of that Czech nation which obstinately rears its head between Vienna and Berlin, and which is, as has often been said, a thorn in German flesh (*ein Pfahl in deutschen Fleisch*).^d

AUSTRIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

For the first four years, while Beust was chancellor, the foreign policy was still influenced by the feelings left by the war of 1866. We do not know how far there was a real intention to revenge Königgratz and recover the position lost in Germany. This would be at least a possible policy, and one to which Beust by his previous history would be inclined. There were sharp passages of arms with the Prussian government regarding the position of the south German states; a close friendship was maintained with France; there were meetings of the emperor and of Napoleon at Salzburg in 1868, and the next year at Paris; the death of Maximilian in Mexico cast a shadow over the friendship, but did not destroy it. The opposition of the Hungarians, together with financial difficulties, probably prevented a warlike policy. In 1870 there were discussions preparatory to a formal alliance with France against the North German Confederation, but nothing was signed. The war of 1870 put an end to all ideas of this kind; the German successes were so rapid that Austria was not exposed to the temptation of intervening—a temptation that could hardly have been resisted had the result been doubtful or the struggle prolonged. The absorption of south Germany in the German Empire took away the chief cause for friction; and from that time warm friendship, based on the maintenance of the established order, has existed between the two empires. Austria gave up all hope of regaining her position in Germany; Germany disclaimed all intention of acquiring the German provinces of Austria.^e

Numerous interviews, of which the Gastein baths were most frequently the pretext, afforded an opportunity for exchange of ideas. It was observed that, in the summer of 1871, these interviews had been very numerous at Ischl, Salzburg, and Gastein. There on several occasions the emperor of Austria had met the German emperor, and Bismarck had interviewed Andrassy. Thus all the German and Magyar influences were united to baffle the hopes of Bohemia; the emperor Francis Joseph thought himself obliged to give way before this coalition. The ministry made a first backward step by declaring that the Fundamental Articles would be submitted to the next Reichsrath; for those who know how that assembly was composed the result of such an expedient could not appear doubtful. Rieger, on a journey to Vienna, put forth a supreme effort to secure the execution of the engagements undertaken by the sovereign. Less fortunate than Deák, he failed. On his return to Prague he was the object of a warm ovation. A singular spectacle was then offered to the world: the Hohenwart ministry resigned (November, 1871); Von Beust, for reasons still not fully known, was relieved of his functions as chancellor, and charged with the ambassadorship in London; Andrassy, the leader of the Hungarian cabinet, was appointed in his place, and thus the Magyar preponderance in the councils of the monarchy was secured.^d The following sketch of Andrassy's policy shows to how great an extent this was so.^a

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Count Julius Andr ssy had taken an active share in the re-establishment of Austria in that position as a great power which was closely connected with the dualism; and, in defending this work by the advice he gave to the king, had filled the part of a factor of the first rank. But since the Franco-German War the confidence which he inspired in the king of Hungary had given him the decisive word, from that time he had been the true ruler of Austria-Hungary. It was on the 14th of November, 1871, that appeared the royal autograph which removed Julius Andr ssy from the premiership, and appointed him minister of the ruling house and of "common" foreign affairs. The title of chancellor, which does not appear in the *Ausgleich*, he did not assume, and with this title vanished the last traces of Austria's traditional policy; a new period began, where already breathed the spirit of constitutionalism in which, when the barriers hitherto existing should have been torn down, the union of Hungary's interests with those of Austria as a great power might result.

This harmony of interests was of great assistance to Count Julius Andr ssy in the realisation of the great plan which he had already announced during his premiership; he wished to convince the monarch that it was not in the West but in the East that Austria had to guard her interests, and in the service of these interests he sought to bring about a permanent alliance with Germany and thus to put an end to the isolated position of Austria-Hungary. Already before this he had been able to take the first step towards the execution of his plan.

Prince Bismarck was well aware that it was not to Beust but to Julius Andr ssy that he owed the neutrality of Austria-Hungary. Emperor William and his chancellor were anxious to make the personal acquaintance of the Hungarian statesman; consequently, when, in August, 1871, Emperor William had completed his cure at Gastein, he requested Francis Joseph to present Andr ssy to him. The presentation took place at Salzburg. It was here that Andr ssy first met Bismarck and here that he began to weave the first threads of the friendship which the efforts of these two great minds towards a common aim afterwards rendered so firm and lasting. The situation of Europe, but also the circumstance that Austria-Hungary perceived her interests in the East, made an alliance with this state, whose interests did not clash with those of the German Empire, very desirable for Germany. It was just at this point that the interests of the two states met, and, since neither of them was planning conquests, but each was merely anxious to confirm the existing state of affairs and secure her own interests, both made their aim the preservation of peace.

With this object, in order to attain to an alliance with Germany, Andr ssy endeavoured first of all to arouse confidence in the neighbouring courts. Germany's confidence was already won, but Russia showed a certain aversion for Austria-Hungary: this aversion must be overcome. Then, too, it was a question of awakening confidence, and the more since Andr ssy was well aware that the friendship of Germany could only be obtained if he were successful in winning Russia's confidence. Already the latter had rendered Germany great services on two occasions; she could not lightly turn her back on so useful an ally. But if Austria-Hungary could bring Russia's confidence to the point at which she herself stood in her relations to Germany, then the conclusion of an alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary would be only a question of time; for between two equally friendly powers Germany must prefer as an ally Austria-Hungary—who, like herself, wished only to secure existing conditions and protect her own interests; whilst Russia was bent on acquisitions in the East, and by her eagerness for conquest might easily bring about a European coalition against herself, which it was not, however, to the interests of Germany to forward, since the latter was only anxious to preserve peace.^f

DUALISM IN TRANSLEITHANIA

On the 8th of October, 1867, Hungary opened the subscription list for her first national loan of 150,000,000 francs for the purpose of extending her network of railways. On the 1st of February, 1868, for the first time, the new mechanism of the delegations entered on its functions. The Hungarian delegation sat at Vienna, side by side with the Cisleithanian delegation, and proved, especially in the discussion of the Army law, very tempestuous and very sensitive.

In Hungary itself party strife was very keen. To the Deákist party, whose chief rôle was that of conciliator, and which had the majority, three vigorous parties were opposed: (1) the Left, under the leadership of Keglivicz and Jókai, having for its organ the newspaper called the *Hon* (the "Country"); (2) the left Centre, more constitutional, led by Tisza and Ghyezy, and with the *Hazunk* (the "Fatherland") for its organ; (3) the extreme republican Left, having at its head Böszörményi and Madaraz, and for newspaper the *Magyar Ujsag* ("Magyar News"). On the 25th of March, 1868, the Left and left Centre signed an agreement to afford each other mutual assistance, with the object of obtaining the triumph, by constitutional means, of a programme including the suppression of the delegations and the common ministry and the separation of the army. Great excitement was raised by the election of Kosuth by the electors of Fünfkirchen; Böszörményi was condemned to a year's imprisonment for having published a letter of the celebrated outlaw. Notwithstanding this, the diet ratified his election on the 4th of April; but he did not come to take his seat.

The dream of the ultra-Magyars was that the Hungarian army should be separated from the Austrian army and commanded in Magyar exclusively by Magyar officers. The Army law was therefore discussed with animation, and Deák and Andrassy had constantly to remain at the breach in order to procure its vote on the 8th of August, 1868, by the table of deputies, and on the 11th of August by the table of magnates. On the 23rd of June a law dealing with public education took teaching completely out of the hands of the clergy. The financial laws and a law concerning the comitats were also voted, and on the 9th of December, 1868, the diet separated after having accomplished a truly enormous mass of legislative work. The second meeting of the delegation took place, this time at Pest, from the 16th of November to the 4th of December. During this time Francis Joseph had resided at Buda. The end of the year saw the Ghyezy party drawing near to the Deákists and the Tisza party to that of Jókai.

The elections for 1869 were made with an incredible ardour mingled with corruption and violence; there were sanguinary struggles, arrests, murders. Generals Klapka and Turr, exiles who had profited by the amnesty of 1867, protested against such disgraceful proceedings. The Deákists carried the day, though they lost about thirty votes; there were 270 of them in the parliament which opened on the 23rd of April, whilst the Left had 110 votes and the extreme Left 60. The strife of parties was reproduced in the discussion of the address; each brought forward one of its own, but that of the Deákists was voted on the 3rd of June. A judicial organisation was then voted. The delegations met for the third time, and at Vienna. The Hungarian parliament adjourned on the 22nd of December till the 14th of January, 1870.^b

The Magyars displayed a savage energy against the nationalities sacrificed by the Ausgleich. "The Hungarians," M. Laveleye has remarked, "perceive little besides what is conformable to their desires; towards what is contradictory to them they are blind." The Croats were far from being satisfied with

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the conditions it was intended to impose on them; in 1866 their diet had voted various resolutions declaring that Croatia had abandoned nothing of her autonomy, that she had no intention of sending representatives to the Hungarian diet, but would treat directly with the sovereign. They had refused to send their deputies to the parliament of Pest; the Magyar conquerors had compelled the diet of Agram to dissolve a first time in January, 1867—a second time in May, 1867. This diet refused to vote the proposals drawn up at Pest and protested against the annexation to Hungary of the port of Fiume, which was disputed between the two kingdoms. Bishop Strossmayer,¹ the soul of the opposition, who afterwards so distinguished himself at the Vatican council [where he opposed the doctrine of papal infallibility], had been exiled. A doubtful personage, compromised in shady speculations, had been imposed on Croatia as *locum tenens banalis*. The Hungarian government had recourse to a means which recalls the proceedings of Schmerling: it modified the electoral system of the diet and thus obtained a sort of rump parliament with a majority favourable to its designs.*

This artificial majority concluded with the Magyars a treaty which could have only a provisional character and which had afterwards (1873) to be revised. The Croats sent thirty-one deputies to the parliament of Pest—they had no responsible minister at Pest; at Agram the ban exercised the executive power; the finances of Croatia, with the exception of a sum of 2,200,000 florins reserved for the needs of the country, had to be returned to the Hungarian treasury. Doubtless Croatia enjoyed a certain autonomy; but she was sensible of the deep injury she had received by the manner in which the diet had been modified, by the personality of the ban that had been imposed upon her, by the persecutions inflicted on all the organs of the national party. Such was the terrorism which reigned at Agram that the independent newspapers had to appear at Vienna. In 1873 Croatia obtained a more equitable arrangement and a responsible minister at Pest.

Whilst the Magyars were thus crushing the Slav or Rumanian nationalities, they allowed the Germans a free course. On the morrow of the Prussian victories, in 1871, there appeared at Pressburg a review whose tendencies were in favour of the German Empire. It bore the proud title of *Die Deutsche Wacht an der Donau* (the German guard on the Danube); it was the counterpart of the *Wacht am Rhein*. As a result of the agreement concluded in 1867, the Serb voivodeship was suppressed and the Serb countries were reincorporated with the kingdom of St. Stephen; the Hungarians spared no pains in the magyarisation of the country and affected to recognise the Serbs only as a religious sect; they imposed on them Magyar schools and unremittingly persecuted the Serb press.

The *Umladina*, a literary society of Serb students, the *Matica*, another society for the publication of Serb books, were the objects of severe measures. Amongst the Slovaks the spectacle was offered of gymnasiums closed, the *Matica* suppressed; Pan Slavism was the pretext generally advanced to justify these measures, which left behind them a profound irritation. The Rumanians were not more fortunate than the Slavs; on the 15th of May, 1868, they held, near Blasieu, the anniversary of the meeting which they had held for twenty years in the same place. They renewed the demand to be recognised as a nation, side by side with the Szeklers, the Saxons, and the Magyars [who form with them the population of Transylvania, but whose aggregate number is not equal to theirs]. The diet of Pest replied by an annexation pure and simple of Transylvania to Hungary.^a

¹ [In Csuday's *History of Hungary* Strossmayer is characterised as distinguished by profound insight, wide knowledge, and eminent talent for oratory, but, above all, by boundless ambition.]

Hungary from 1871 to 1875

But discord was everywhere—amongst the Magyars themselves, where the Deák party and the Left could not agree; and between the Magyars and their subjects, the Serbs, the Croats, and the Rumanians. The Deák party had proposed that general elections should take place only once in five years, instead of once in three. It calculated that, as the dualistic compact, the *Ausgleich*, had to be renewed in 1877, it would then be master of the situation; whilst if the Left were to triumph at the general elections of 1875, it would be that party which would be in power at the time of the renewal. An attempt was made to effect a compromise between the two parties, but it failed. The Deák party maintained itself in power only by the vote of the thirty-one Croat deputies, as at Vienna the constitutional party only prevailed in the Reichsrath, thanks to the Galician vote.

When Lónyay, the head of the Hungarian cabinet, saw that the Croat nationalist party had won the day in the Croatian diet elected in 1871, he hastened to dissolve that diet at its first sitting and to direct fresh elections, with the intention of either seducing the national Croat party by concessions or, if he failed, of obtaining at Pest the vote of an electoral reform depriving more than one hundred thousand electors of the right to vote and extending the duration of the mandate from three to five years. The Left manœuvred to prevent these two bills from coming under discussion, by causing each of its members to make a long speech on each of the one hundred and four articles of the bill, so as to prolong the discussion till the 19th of April—the date at which the last sitting of the Hungarian diet must take place. Count Lónyay was a manipulator provided with a giddy speed. He had attained to the ministry in spite of Deák and never had any consideration in the parliament, but he was agreeable to the court.

His hand weighed heavily on the Serbs and Croats. He decreed the dissolution of the Serb congress (July, 1872), and appointed Grujic, bishop of Pakracz, metropolitan. A new congress was convoked, to which General Molinary was despatched as royal commissioner, and on the 21st of August he in his turn dissolved the assembly.

During this time the elections to the Hungarian parliament had taken place (July), and the result was the return of 245 Deákist members and 145 for the Left. Miletitch now protested, in the name of the Serbs, against the autocratic proceeding of the Hungarian government. The Croatian diet, in which, in spite of the same proceedings on the part of the Magyars, the national party had got the better of the unionists, sent deputies to Vienna to demand the revision, by agreement with the Hungarian deputies, of Article I of the compromise of 1868; to which request the emperor consented.

On the 6th of September, 1872, took place that famous interview of the three emperors at Berlin, which was the subject of so many comments in the European press and drew the three courts close together in that alliance which the Eastern Question so much disturbed. Hungary only manifested through the delegations the more resistance to the increase of the war budget, so greatly did she fear lest Austria should allow herself to be tempted into interference in European affairs, which Transleithania, occupied only with her own concerns, did not admit. On the 18th of November an unprecedented scandal was produced in the diet: a member of the Left, Csernatonyi, denounced with so much energy as well as evidence the financial jobbery carried on by Lónyay, that the latter had to hand in his resignation.

He was replaced by Joseph Szlávy, the son of an Austrian major, and, like Andrassy, a participant in the insurrection of 1848, which had cost him five

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years in prison. But the system pursued with regard to the non-Magyar peoples was in no way altered by this event. In the first months of 1873 the diet of Agram, moved by the internal sufferings of the country, consented to conclude with the Hungarians a fresh compromise, which gave the Croats only very imperfect satisfaction, and the result of which was to deprive the Serbs and Rumanians of the assistance of Croatia during several years. The new compromise was voted on the 5th of September, by nineteen voices to ten.^b

Szlávy carried on the affairs of government for a short time only. The bad years [which followed on his accession to power], whose effect was still further heightened by wasteful management of the finances, plunged the country into a position of financial embarrassment and sowed the seeds of the discontent which the opposition, divided into two factions, the left Centre and the extreme Left, vigorously fanned with their speeches. The attack from this quarter induced Joseph Szlávy to hand in his resignation, whereupon the king intrusted the former minister of justice, Stephen Bittó, with the formation of a cabinet (March 21st, 1874). Bittó succeeded in persuading one of the leaders of the left Centre, Koloman Ghiczy, to accept the financial portfolio. The new minister took up with great energy the task of regulating the financial conditions, and introduced numerous reforms in direct and indirect taxes on land, houses, incomes, business profits, stamps, salaries, sugar, wine, meat, and the dues on tobacco, but with all this he could not win the left Centre for the government. The left Centre, now under the sole leadership of Koloman Tisza, continued its attacks on the government; the Deák party, which was still in the majority, could not shut itself away from the conviction that it must make concessions to the left Centre for the welfare of the country, whilst the latter party perceived the necessity of abandoning the policy it had hitherto pursued and uniting with the Deák party. Thus was brought about what is known as the "fusion," by which the greater part of the Deák party was amalgamated with the left Centre into one as the liberal party, the consequence of which was Bittó's resignation (February 14th, 1875). The king now commissioned Baron Béla Wenkheim to form a cabinet, and the ministry of the interior was taken over by Koloman Tisza (March 3rd, 1875).^f

Four months later the restraining hand of the great Hungarian statesman, Francis Deák, was removed by death. Hungary was at this time face to face with a deficit of 35,000,000 gulden, and the new ministry made every effort to turn to the best account the resources of Hungary herself. A new loan was raised and the income tax increased. The renewal of the financial Ausgleich with Austria was to take place at the end of 1877, and Tisza endeavoured to take advantage of the occasion to obtain better terms for his own country. After a long struggle a compromise was agreed upon, which satisfied neither party, but was nevertheless accepted again in 1887 when the decennial renewal again fell due.

DIRECT ELECTION FOR THE REICHSRATH

When in 1871 German influence had called the Magyar Andrassy with his dualistic policy to take charge of the highest ministerial office in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the formation of the new Cisleithanian ministry was intrusted to the Carinthian nobleman, Count Adolf Auersperg. The federalistic policy was at once abandoned; the circulation of the manifesto which the emperor himself had signed, recognising the claims of Bohemia, was forbidden, and copies exposed in the streets were seized by the police. In the following spring the provincial diet of Bohemia was dissolved and the exertions of the

Bohemian Germans, backed by the government, which did not scruple to gag the press, resulted in the return of a German majority at the ensuing elections. The indignant Czech minority refused to share in deliberations whose results must necessarily be contrary to their wishes, and the Germans consequently had it all their own way.

The Auersperg ministry now undertook a scheme designed to do away with the inconvenience of the constant struggles with the provincial diets. This was to deprive those diets of the right to elect the members of the Reichsrath, who were to be chosen in future through direct election by the people, the right of voting being vested in the electors for the provincial diets. The Poles headed the opposition to this measure, which was sharply contested; and when it was finally carried both they and the Czechs refused to vote. The Reichsrath was now dissolved, and a new one, elected on the new system, gave the administration a majority of 113.

Before these elections took place Austria's political troubles had been cast into the shade by a violent disturbance in the financial world.^a

THE VIENNA KRACH (1873 A.D.)

In consequence of the war of 1866 Austrian paper had suffered a considerable depreciation, though it was happily of short duration, thanks to the excellent harvest of 1867, which gave rise to a prodigious export of articles of food and in consequence a return of specie to the country, which soon recovered itself.

Moreover, the grant to the Hungarians of an independent constitution and the peace which had thus been made between Austria and Hungary, after the long centuries of social war between them, produced an era of commercial confidence and an extension of speculation which only served to corroborate the happy effect of the good harvest of 1867. Unfortunately, this period of prosperity was not to be of long duration; the exaggeration of the good hopes of the future which the Austrians had conceived and which was also a consequence of the satisfaction which they felt at having obtained a parliamentary constitution, engendered a perfect fever of speculation, culminating in the financial crisis or *Krach* of Vienna in 1873—a crisis whose memory has been preserved in the minds of the Austrians under the name of the "epoch of foundations," because the whole activity of the speculators consisted in founding new financial establishments and inundating the market with their shares.

At first these operations were carried on seriously enough. Thus several great lines of railway were built which had a certain practical purpose and have rendered useful services to the country. But in a moment the foundations became wholly dangerous, for speculation was directed to the creations of banks, each of which set to work in its turn to form new establishments and factitious enterprises of every description. Now we learn from a report published in 1888, on the Austrian economical movement since 1848, that during the period from 1867 to 1873 there were founded at Vienna and in the provinces 1,005 stock companies, most of which failed in 1873. In this number are reckoned more than seven hundred banks. There were at Vienna at this time so many companies for the construction of business houses, and they had acquired so much ground, that in order to carry out their programme to the letter the Austrian capital would have had to increase its size to proportions surpassing the extent of London and Paris together. The frenzy reached its height at the moment of the preparations for the universal exhibition at Vienna in 1873.

A few days after the 1st of May, the date of the inauguration of the ex-

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hibition, all this beautiful dream vanished. As everyone wished to enter into the prodigious benefits promised, all began to sell the securities for which there were no longer any buyers. Stocks fell at a frightful rate, and on the 9th of May, 1873, a day distinguished in the economical history of Austria under the name of Black Friday, the factitious edifice of her new prosperity fell to pieces, burying under its ruins innumerable fortunes which had been honestly acquired. On that day the largest *comptoir de bourse* in Vienna, whose clientèle was composed of the wealthiest and most conspicuous Austrian aristocrats, failed. Two thousand other failures soon followed. At the exchange the market came to a complete standstill; no one wished to receive the stocks purchased the day before, and there was a chaos, a confusion, a general disorder, a despondency beside which the financial disasters which had occurred elsewhere were as nothing.

The same day the largest banks of Vienna formed themselves into a syndicate to constitute a grand committee of succour. Nevertheless, not one of the companies which suffered shipwreck on this occasion managed to reconstruct itself. In 1878 there were thirty-two at Vienna which had not yet finished the liquidation of their accounts. However, the new establishments were not all of a doubtful character: a few great banks created at this period survived the catastrophe, which had, as it were, merely given them the baptism of fire from which they were to emerge only more firmly established.

The extension of speculation has had one advantage—that of bringing into Austria's financial transactions a little modern life, activity, and impulse. In this point of view the *Krack* of 1873 was for that country a period of purification, and consequently a cause of new life. Since the establishment of the parliamentary system, the Austrian legislative body in concert with the government has made it its object to efface the evil effects of the crisis of 1873, to restore the equilibrium in the budget, and to raise the economic resources and the credit of the country. For this purpose the events of 1873 were the cause of a series of measures being undertaken with regard to the Exchange, with a view of preventing their recurrence—measures which, though they may have somewhat hampered speculation and the market, have been not the less salutary.⁹

NEW CHURCH REGULATIONS (1874 A.D.)

The first months of the year 1874 were employed in grave discussion of bills presented by the Cisleithanian government and intended to determine the regulations of church and state in accordance with modern ideas and, it may be said, according to the principles which inspired at the same time the famous ecclesiastical laws at Berlin. These bills were presented to the Reichsrath on the 9th of March; the question in hand was the mode of regulating the nomination of ecclesiastical functionaries. Already, on the 2nd of February, Pius IX had addressed to the Austrian bishops an encyclical in which he condemned the denominational laws. Certain archbishops, those of Vienna, Breslau, and Salzburg among others, openly declared that they would not obey the new laws. Prince Auersperg on his side publicly announced that the government would know how to make itself obeyed, and returned a firm answer to the Vatican. The law, which the chamber voted by a majority of three-fourths, was adopted on the 11th of April by the upper chamber without modifications. Let it be noted that these laws were very moderate. They were submitted to. Pius IX even specially authorised the bishop of Linz to accept them; he had enough of the religious struggle in Prussia against Bismarck and Falk. The emperor sanctioned the new laws on the 8th of May.

THE FORMATION OF THE YOUNG CZECH PARTY

This same year saw the Young Czechs resolutely break with the policy of abstention, which, ever since 1867, had proved of such little use to the Old Czechs, without in any way abating the autonomist claims of Bohemia, but without giving up the hope of obtaining for the kingdom of Premysl a compromise, or *Ausgleich*, like that which the kingdom of St. Stephen had obtained. They declared in September, 1874, that they would take their seats in the provincial diet of Prague, that they would recognise the constitution of December, and that they would go to the Vienna Reichsrath to endeavour to win there a triumph for their ideas; this to the great scandal of the feudalists, like Thun, Belcredi, and Clam-Martinitz. The same month, on the occasion of the great military manœuvres of Brandeis, Francis Joseph made a journey to Prague, where he was received with enthusiasm, but where he refused to hear any autonomistic address. Already the Czechs of Moravia had taken their seats in the Reichsrath in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation on the basis of existing institutions. This did not mean a reconciliation with that German party which, while, adorning itself with the title of *Verfassungstreue* (faithful to the constitution), looked to Berlin alone, aspired to lose itself in German unity, and considered Austria only as a refuge for the time being, in default of anything better.

The Serbs also received some satisfaction; their ecclesiastical congress was held in July at Karlowitz. This congress is the only national instrument which the Serbs possess; and it may be regarded as a large diocesan council, at which clergy and laymen take part together, which appoints the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and administers the considerable funds of the churches, the foundations, and the schools.^b

AUSTRIAN OCCUPATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In 1874 an insurrection broke out between the Slav peoples, Serbs and Croats, of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the causes of this revolt we need not look further than the disorders and excesses of the Ottoman administration. Austria, instead of wholly taking the side of the Christians and playing towards them the part of liberator, was paralysed by her internal dissensions and by the pressure brought to bear on her by her two powerful neighbours, Russia and Prussia. The Triple Alliance, which has its origin in the partition of Poland, was renewed and drawn closer on the occasion of the probable dismemberment of Turkey. In September, 1872, the three emperors had an interview at Berlin, and from that time the oriental policy of the three chancellors, Bismarck, Andrassy, and Gortchakoff, remained more or less uniform. Everyone knows that in this Triple Alliance the chief part was played by Russia and the third part by Austria. When in 1874 the cabinet of Vienna concluded directly with Rumania a treaty of commerce and a convention relative to the railways of the two states, the Porte thought itself called upon to protest against this violation of its sovereign rights. The three chancellors came to an understanding to refuse its claims. "The day will come," cried Arifi Pasha sorrowfully, "when it will be impossible for any human will to curb the torrent which the long series of violated treaties will unchain."

From the first the insurrection of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the cause of serious embarrassment to Austria; she had to propitiate at once the ill will of the Magyars and the anxious jealousy of her own allies. The Hungarians felt that the Slav race was already too numerous in the empire, and had small anxiety to see a new annexation increase the element which must one day submerge them. It was by no means to the interest of Russia and Prussia to

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permit their ally to widen her frontiers and increase her army of warlike populations. After 1874 Austria was observed alternately taking the most contradictory measures: at one time she permitted the Turks to violate her territory with impunity and ravage the frontiers of Croatia; at another she forbade them to disembark arms and troops in the territory of Klek. At Constantinople her ambassador, in conjunction with General Ignatiev, called on the Porte to accomplish those famous reforms which it is forever promising and never executes. The diplomatists who recommended them knew perfectly well that they were not realisable.

In January, 1876, a note from Andrassy summed up the wishes of civilised Europe. The conference which met at Constantinople (December 23rd, 1876) only served to demonstrate anew the impotence of diplomacy and the incorrigible obstinacy of the Porte. It was evident that the existing difficulties could be settled only by the sword. The declaration of war made to Turkey by the principalities of Servia and Montenegro still further increased the embarrassment of Austria-Hungary. The Slavs demanded that the government should take the field, and followed with feverish attention the phases of a heroic but fatally unequal struggle. The Hungarians neglected no opportunity to give vent to their hatred of the Servians and their sympathy with the Ottomans. A subscription was opened at Pest to offer a sword of honour to Abdul-Kerim Pasha, who had just won the victory of Djunis over the Servians. A Magyar deputation presented itself at Constantinople to exchange manifestations of an enthusiastic friendship with the officials and the *softas* (Mussulman students). General Klapka, the famous defender of Komárom, the same who not long before had offered his sword to Prussia against Austria, put his military experience at the service of the Porte. A little later the softas came to Pest to return their Magyar brothers the visit they had received from them. The sultan, to evidence his gratitude towards the Hungarians, sent the emperor-king some fragments of the Corvina library, which had fallen as spoil to the Ottomans. These manifestations, puerile enough after all, were especially directed against Russia, whom the Hungarians could not forgive for the part played by Nicholas in 1849; but they deeply angered the Slavs, who identify their cause with that of the Servians and Bulgarians.

At Pest Andrassy endeavoured in vain to restrain his fiery compatriots and make them understand that street demonstrations could not bring about a modification of the external policy of the monarchy. The Hungarian ministry, far from calming popular passions, associated itself with them. Andrassy caused the arrest of the Servian Stratimirovitch, one of the heroes of the insurrection of 1848, who had offered his sword to Prince Milan Obrenovitch; he threw into prison the journalist deputy Miletitch, who was accused of having desired the victory of his compatriots and negotiated a loan for their cause. To justify these strange measures old laws were appealed to, which declared guilty of high treason those who furnished arms to the Ottomans and other infidels!

Thus the monarchy, divided at home, dragged itself painfully along in the wake of its two powerful allies; in spite of the enthusiasm of the Slavs and the indignation of the Magyars, it had to look on quietly at the successes of the Russians, who, after the fall of Plevna, led their victorious troops to the gates of Constantinople. The Treaty of San Stefano, afterwards modified in some of its clauses by the congress of Berlin, proclaimed the independence of Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro, and increased the territory of those principalities. Bulgaria was erected into an autonomous principality, subject to the nominal suzerainty of the sultan and the effective tutelage of Russia.^a

Powerless as Austria might be to pursue an independent policy, she nevertheless contrived to derive considerable advantage from the situation.^a

The Treaty of Berlin (1878 A.D.)

In accordance with secret arrangements made before the war, Austria was to receive a compensation in exchange for her benevolent neutrality. This compensation was the mandate which was given her at the Treaty of Berlin (July, 1878) to occupy the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina "to restore order." It was from these provinces that had proceeded the signal of the insurrection which had set the whole Balkan Peninsula in flames and which had provoked the victorious intervention of Russia; they might fancy that, the Porte once conquered, they, like Bulgaria, would be erected into autonomous provinces, or perhaps annexed to the congenerie principality of Serbia or of Montenegro. They had no suspicion of the fate which was reserved for them. The preliminary Treaty of San Stefano, signed the 3rd of March, 1878, between Russia and Serbia, simply decided the application to them of "the ameliorations proposed by the conference of Constantinople with the modifications to be decided in agreement between the Porte, Russia, and Austria-Hungary." The Treaty of Berlin, which was signed the 13th of July following, by the representatives of all the great powers in congress, promulgated another decision.

"The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina," ran Article 29, "shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. The government of Austria-Hungary not wishing to undertake the administration of the sanjak of Novibazar, which extends between Serbia and Montenegro in a southeasterly direction and to beyond Mitrovitz, the Ottoman administration will there continue to exercise its functions. Nevertheless, in order to secure the maintenance of the new political situation as well as the freedom and safety of the routes of communication, Austria-Hungary reserves to herself the right of keeping a garrison and having military and commercial roads throughout this part of the old vilayet of Bosnia."

This last clause of the article was very important. The sanjak of Novibazar is that part of Bosnia which divides Serbia from the principality of Montenegro. Now the government of Vienna was deeply interested in the isolation of the two Servian principalities, both enlarged by the Treaty of Berlin, and which at a given moment might intend to join hands in order to act together against the Osmanli. Henceforth, common action, whether against the Turks or against so powerful a neighbour as Austria-Hungary, was manifestly impossible. Austria holds Montenegro by the Bocche di Cattaro, Serbia by the Danube.

On the other hand the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina utterly annihilated the hopes of the patriot Servians or Montenegrins, who had dreamed of reconstituting the empire of Czar Douchan for the benefit of a Slav sovereign. This empire might have become a centre of attraction for the Slav provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia and for the Serbs of Novi-Sad and Temesvár. Austria, therefore, in stifling in their germ these hopes of the great Servian party, was exercising a serious danger. The disappointment at Belgrade and Cetinje was profound. Many patriots would willingly have sacrificed the aggrandisements granted to the two principalities by the Treaty of Berlin on the sole condition of seeing the *statu quo ante bellum* pure and simple re-established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. So long as the two provinces remained in the possession of Turkey it was possible to apply to them the principle *Adversus hostem æterna auctoritas*. Pretexts to intervene for the deliverance of their Slav brothers had not been wanting to the Servians and Montenegrins, but they failed from the moment that Austria took it upon herself to introduce the principles of religious toleration, equality of races, and European administration.

[1878-1880 A.D.]

The Austrian government was no sooner invested with the mandate which it had induced the Berlin congress to confide to it, than it prepared to execute the mission. On the 31st of July and the 1st of August, 1878, the troops commanded by Field-marshal Joseph Philippovitch crossed the Save and penetrated into the new domain of the empire. It was expected that the occupation would be accomplished without a blow; but unexpected difficulties were encountered. It was not without regret that the Bosnian Mussulmans who were the feudatories of the country had seen the severance of the ties which bound them to their co-religionists of Constantinople; they could not with a light heart give up the conditions by which they had profited for centuries, nor reform the abuses to which they owed their prosperity. The orthodox Christians regretted their delayed or lost hopes of union with the Serb countries; the Catholics alone could welcome the Austrian occupation with real sympathy.

For the purpose of occupying the two provinces, a complete army corps and one division of infantry were set in motion. The Turkish government could not officially refuse to obey the commands of Europe, but it privately sent arms, ammunition, and provisions to the Mussulmans of the two provinces. Bands were organised under an intrepid and fanatical chief, Hadji Loja. All able-bodied men between fifteen and sixty-two years of age were enrolled. A revolution broke out at Sarajevo; a provisional government was formed to resist the foreign occupation. Its leader was Hadji Loja, who took the title of "first patriot of the country." The Austrians had crossed the Save without meeting with any resistance; but as soon as they reached the first defiles they encountered well-armed troops who showed great skill in taking advantage of the natural obstacles with which the country is bristling. They saw themselves repulsed at Maglaj, at Gradačac. They ascertained that they had in front of them not only improvised militia but also twenty-six battalions of the Turkish army, and that it was no question of a military promenade. The Bosnians were even in possession of artillery.

There were moments when the Austrians found themselves in a very critical situation. In most cases the natives abandoned the towns, which could not have held out against the hostile cannon, and took shelter behind natural defences, whence they inflicted considerable losses on the army of occupation. The latter left more than five thousand men on the field and was obliged to send for reinforcements before advancing. Sarajevo was not reached till the 19th of August. But the fall of the capital of Bosnia did not bring with it the cessation of hostilities. The war continued in the mountains. Herzegovina was not finally occupied till the end of September, and Bosnia only by the end of October. To secure its possession three army corps had been sent and 62,000,000 florins expended.

The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although it seems to have only a provisional character, is evidently considered by Austria-Hungary as a definitive conquest. If the sultan remains virtually the sovereign of the two provinces, it is Austria-Hungary who administers them, and she certainly has no desire to restore them to their former master. They open to her the route to Saloniki, they offer vast outlets to her commerce, they permit the establishment of easy communication between Hungary and Dalmatia—in short, they constitute an honourable compensation for the loss of Venetia.

It was evident that the new province could not be adjudged to either Hungary or Cisleithania; it had no right to send representatives to the parliament of Vienna or to that of Pest. It is therefore governed in the name of the emperor-king, by the minister of the common finances.^a

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1883 A.D.)

In 1885 a war broke out between Servia and Bulgaria, when Austria, which had acquired a paramount influence in Servian politics, interfered to stop the victorious advance of the Bulgarian troops. Nevertheless, when Russia subsequently forced the resignation of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, the strong sympathy manifested in Hungary for the Bulgarian cause compelled the Austrian government to announce that it would not permit Russia to interfere with the independence of Bulgaria; and when a successor to Alexander had at last been found in Ferdinand of Coburg, then a lieutenant in the Austrian army, the favourable attitude assumed towards him by Austria at one time (1886-1887) seemed to threaten to lead to an invasion of Galicia on the part of Russia. This danger was, however, happily averted by the action of Germany. Andrassy's dream of an alliance with the German Empire had been realised in 1879 in a treaty negotiated by him, but not actually signed till after his resignation. In this agreement the two powers agreed to unite to maintain the *status quo* as established by the Treaty of Berlin, Germany also undertaking to assist Austria in case of an attack by Russia, while Austria pledged herself to render the same service to Germany in case of her being attacked by France and Russia together. Italy had acceded to the treaty in 1883, and this Triple Alliance was now (1887) resumed and its terms were published. In 1891 it was again renewed for twelve years.^a

The accession of Italy to the [Triple] Alliance increased the isolation of Russia, to whom but one ally now remained—the French Republic, which was inspired by a boundless hatred for Germany and which meditated a war of revenge. In politics the idea of revenge was identified with Gambetta, in the army with the future commander in the war, General Chanzy; but after the death of Gambetta on the 31st of December, 1882, and of Chanzy on the 4th of January, 1883, more peaceful days began in France also. The idea of revenge has not indeed even yet been entirely abandoned, offensive action has only been delayed because European conditions are not yet favourable to it; but Russia is fully determined not to submit to the existing state of affairs, and, partly for the sake of winning back the advantages once already obtained in the East, partly with the object of directing abroad the attention of the nihilists who are daily becoming more dangerous, she has several times been on the verge of declaring war.^f

AUTONOMY

The strenuous opposition of the Hungarians to the oriental policy of the central government was a main cause of the fall of the liberal ministry of Auersperg, who handed in his resignation in February, 1879. The presidency of the cabinet was now assumed by Stremayr; but the ruling spirit was Count Taaffe, the minister of the interior. The liberal party was defeated at the elections, and Count Taaffe formed a ministry of members of all parties, which was known as the "ministry of conciliation." It failed of its effect. The liberals' unwise opposition to an army bill ended in their defeat, and this dealt the final blow to the constitutional party. Taaffe was obliged to rely on the support of the clerical party and on the Poles and Czechs, and consequently he was unable to avoid making concessions in the direction of that federalism which was their cherished object. In 1880 an ordinance was passed which obliged officials in Bohemia and Moravia to transact government and law business in the language of those with whom they had to deal, and the result was

[1883-1884 A.D.]

the resignation of many German officials. The attachment to their own nationality of the different sections of the population in Bohemia and Moravia increased, and with it the bitterness between Germans and Czechs. Within the last two decades the proportion of Czechs to Germans in the city population had greatly increased. At Prague, a city in whose population the German element had once preponderated but in which the Czechs had now won an increasing majority, the Germans found themselves exposed to acts of violence against which the authorities afforded them little protection.

In 1883, on the dissolution of the provincial diet of Bohemia, the Czechs hoped to secure a two-thirds majority which might bring about a readjustment of the electoral law in their favour; but this design came to nothing. More successful was the project of reconstituting the chambers of commerce at Prague, Budweis, and Pilsen so as to give the Czechs the preponderance—a measure which derived its importance from the fact that the chambers sent several members to the provincial diet; but when the minister of commerce was proceeding to follow this up by similar measures in regard to the Brünn chamber of commerce, he was met by such protests, both in the house of deputies and from the Hungarian press, that he had to give way.^a

The same course which was pursued in Bohemia and Moravia was also followed in all the other provinces of the crown where Germans and Slavs dwelt side by side. In the provincial diet of Carinthia the Slovenes acquired a majority; even in the purely German provinces, like Upper and Lower Austria, Slav elements began to appear. A spirit of gloom and bitterness took possession of the German Austrians. Nevertheless, they also roused themselves to resistance. Since their adversaries had especially attacked the German schools, they founded, in 1880, the German School Union, with the object of preserving the scattered German islands of their nationality, and opposing the further retreat of Germanism by founding and preserving German schools in the endangered communities. Supported from the German Empire by considerable supplies of money, the union succeeded in stopping in many places the further downfall of Germanism, in spite of every imaginable hindrance which the Slavs, generally supported by the authorities, sought to put in their way. In the parliaments also the German Austrians bestirred themselves. The two clubs of the constitutional party, that of the liberals and the Progress Club, let their party differences rest, constituted themselves, one hundred and fifty strong, as the "united Left," and declared it to be their task to rally round the banner of Germanism and to persist in legal resistance to the Taaffe ministry. For that it was impossible in Austria to form parties according to political views, and that the whole party grouping could only follow national tendencies, was taught by the small success of Count Coronini's attempt to found a club of the left Centre, which declared its good will towards all the nationalities and its independence of the government without regular opposition.

It was with the object of opposing a dam to the rising Slavonic flood that Count Wurmbrand introduced into the house of deputies in January, 1884, a motion to request the government to bring forward a law by which, while German was to be retained as the state language, the employment in office, school, and public life of the language in common use in the province (*Landsübliche*) should be ordained. The motion aroused an extremely excited debate, which lasted five days, and it was finally rejected by 186 to 155 votes. The whole Right, including the five ministers, voted against it. A like fate awaited the motion of Herbst for the revocation of the language ordinance of the 19th of April, 1880. In consequence of these two rejections the members of the united Left considered the question of their withdrawal from the house of deputies. What finally decided them not to quit the scene of the contest

[1884-1886 A.D.]

was the circumstance that Vienna and its environs had been laid under exceptional laws in consequence of the anarchist crimes; for so profound was the distrust of the Taaffe ministry that they feared lest this measure might be turned not merely against anarchists but also against obnoxious political tendencies, which would then have field for free speech only in this house.

But the harmony amongst the Germans did not last long. They split up again into a German-Austrian club and a German club representing a "more rigid shade of opinion," the chief spokesman of which was the deputy Knotz; from this again fifteen deputies under Steinwender separated themselves, à propos of the Jewish question, under the name of the German National Union, and it was not till 1888 that they all found themselves together again as the united German Left. In Bohemia the insupportable character of the national feud—which had recently been manifested, at one time in what is known as the Lesc Kvičala, a bill to forbid the attendance at German schools of Czech children; at another, in a new language ordinance of the minister of justice, Pracak, dated the 23rd of September, 1886, in accordance with which the supreme court of justice at Prague was ordered to despatch all causes handed in in Czechish without translation—led the Germans to believe that the only solution was the administrative division of Bohemia into two parts according to nationalities.^b

However, two motions introduced into the provincial diet, one for the formation of German administrative and judicial circles, and another to give the Czech language an official equality with German, even in German Bohemia, were alike rejected; whereupon the German deputies left the hall and refused to take any further part in the proceedings of the diet. In the Viennese house of deputies an attempt to secure the recognition of German as the state language was frustrated.^{ah}

Matters had already gone so far that in 1885 the address from the house of deputies, in reply to the speech from the throne, indicated "the organic development of the autonomy of the provinces of the crown" as the object to be desired. Gregr, the leader of the Young Czechs, did not hesitate to declare frankly that "the future of the Czechs lies on the Volga." But these centrifugal tendencies were most strongly expressed at the two opposite poles—in Galicia and amongst the Italians. Since 1848 the Austrian Poles had laboured to make Galicia the kernel to which the Prussian and Russian Poles might in some sort attach themselves, and from which insurrection might spread to Posen and Warsaw; and the authoritative favour which they enjoyed facilitated their endeavours to form a Polish state within the state, from which even the German official language was to be ousted and in which the three millions of non-Polish Ruthenians were to count for nothing. Even in the matter of material advantages they allowed themselves to reckon on the support afforded them by the Taaffe ministry, and meditated a preference in their own favour and at the expense of the German provinces in the new regulation of the territorial taxes. Less than ever did the Poles of Galicia feel themselves to be Austrians.

Italia Irredenta

On the opposite side, in the south, the brutality with which the Slavs laboured for the oppression of the Italian element daily supplied the *Italia irredenta* with fresh nourishment and an appearance of justification.^b

The term *Italia irredenta*, or unredeemed Italy, was used to designate those Italian populations which were even now not included in the kingdom of Italy, and hence also the party which was in favour of their union under the government of the Italian peninsula. In Italy itself this party was very strong, and its opinions found an echo not only amongst the Italian-speaking subjects

[1885-1887 A.D.]

of Austria in Tyrol, Görz, Istria, Trieste, and Dalmatia, but also in the Swiss Ticino, the French Nice and Corsica, and in the British island of Malta. The congress of Berlin, while it had conceded to Austria the acquisitions of Herzegovina and Bosnia, had apportioned no corresponding advantages to Italy, and the irredentists, now headed by Garibaldi, began an agitation with the object of inducing the Italian government to permit the occupation of the Austrian provinces of Welsch-Tyrol and Trieste. There were riots in the districts in question and the Austrian government set troops in motion; but the occupation did not take place. For some time the Italian government made no attempt to suppress or even discourage the movement, but in 1881 the French occupation of Tunis made clear to the Italians the advantage of friendship with Austria; the government set its face against irredentism and eventually joined the two imperial powers of Germany in the Triple Alliance.^a

The efforts of the Slavs towards decentralisation and federalisation were gradually striking at the nerve centres of the imperial state. The Poles grew louder in their demand that the direction of the Galician railway should be transferred to Lemberg, whilst it was the opinion of the Czechs that it should follow that of the Bohemian railways to Prague. Vienna threatened more and more to sink into a provincial town, and, what was far worse, the unity of the army seemed likely to be destroyed. In the year 1885 the minister of war, Count Bylandt, could not hide from the delegations his patriotic anxiety lest the process, going on in so many of the provinces of the crown, by which the schools were losing their German character, might be injurious to the army; for in case of war a knowledge of the German language was an unqualified necessity for the non-commissioned officers, and the unity of the army was essentially connected with the unity of the German word of command. A memorial of the deputy Von Dumreicher pointed out that of the volunteers serving for one year about 60 per cent. failed to reach the rank of an officer, chiefly for lack of a knowledge of the language, and that even of those 40 per cent. who passed many had not sufficiently mastered the language of the service to understand and execute a simple order. In face of such conditions the Czechs could not, at the discussion of the Army law of 1888, avoid giving their votes to the provisions which made a knowledge of German compulsory for officers.

But if the German Austrians of Cisleithania had to sustain in defence of their nationality a struggle which was fertile in defeats and losses, the Germans beyond the Leitha saw themselves a prey to the fanatic hatred of the Magyars. In Hungary the whole school system was mercilessly magyarised; the German school union was opposed by a Magyar one whose tendency was not protecting but conquering. In the year 1869 there were in Hungary, according to a statement of the minister of education, Trefort, 5,819 popular schools in which the Magyar language was employed, and 1,232 where German was spoken; in 1884 the former had increased to 7,933; of the latter 676 were left. The prosperity of the German secondary schools of Transylvania was stunted and depressed in every possible way; Saxon land was deprived of its self-government and of the rights which dated centuries back; the academy of law at Hermannstadt was first diligently degraded and in 1887 wholly abolished. Even the higher Magyar nobility abandoned Vienna and took up its permanent residence at Pest. The Germans of Hungary retained only the poor consolation that, like them, the Rumanians and Slavs must resign themselves to acquiesce, willy-nilly, in being absorbed into the dominant race. When, in 1875, the Serb leader, Mileitch, protested in the lower house against making the other nationalities share the burden of the 300,000 gulden demanded by the government for the Hungarian national theatre, on the ground that Hungary was not a state of the Magyar nation, but a state of

[1885-1894 A.D.]

nationalities in which the non-Magyars formed the majority, Tisza poured forth his indignation: it was fortunate for the speaker that the privilege of the house protected him; outside it he would find that the Magyar state was strong enough to cripple its enemies! Whereupon Serbs, Croats, Rumanians, and Saxons left the hall in wild tumult.

REFORM IN THE HUNGARIAN HOUSE OF MAGNATES (1885 A.D.)

A progressive step was marked in the year 1885 by the reform of the upper house, the table of magnates, which considerably diminished its numbers by the provision that no one could sit in it by right of his noble descent who did not pay at least 3,000 gulden in annual taxes. The king was given the right to appoint a third of the members of the upper house from the citizen class, according to merit and capacity. A new *Ausgleich* with Croatia was agreed upon, in place of that of 1873, which lapsed in 1879; and in 1881 the incorporation of the former Croatian-Slav military frontier into the kingdom of Croatia was effected. Since this almost doubled the population of the kingdom, the Croats requested a corresponding increase in their representation in the Hungarian diet; but any increase of the Slav element in this being obnoxious to the Magyars, the latter compelled the Croats to a compromise extremely unfavourable to them, by which the number of Croatian representatives in the lower house was only increased from thirty-four to forty and in the upper house from two to three. This only added fresh fuel to the hatred of the Croats. In Zagorje the oppressive conduct of the Magyar officials caused a revolt of armed peasants, and when the financial deputation in Agram adorned its arms with inscriptions in Magyar as well as Croatian, the angry mob tore them down. The extreme section of the Croat national party under Starcewitch was openly struggling for separation from Hungary; fifteen of them were the cause of such excesses in the Agram provincial diet that it was resolved to exclude them from it, and as they refused to submit they were forcibly removed.^b

But the agitations did not cease. In 1893 the Rumanians drew up a formal statement of their grievances; and although the instigators of the movement were punished, their severe treatment was one of the causes which led to the fall of the Wekerle ministry in 1894. The contest concerning the renewal of the *Ausgleich* was fought out under Bánffy and his successor, Koloman Szell. The desire of the Magyars for the possession of a separate army in which the Magyar language only should be employed has recently been the cause of active parliamentary obstruction over the Recruiting bill; during the dispute it was found necessary to refuse their discharge to soldiers entitled to it and riots were the result. On March 10th, 1894, however, the opposition suddenly abandoned its tactics, and the reconciliation of the combatants took place in a sensational scene in the lower house.^a

When in 1888 the two clubs, the German Austrians and the Germans, joined once more under the name of the united German Left into a new club with eighty-seven members, so as the better to guard against the common danger and to defeat the educational demands of the clericals, the national Germans remained apart with seventeen members. They were also infected by the growing spirit of anti-Semitism. The German parties had originally been the party of the capitalists, and comprised a large number of Jews; this new German party committed itself to violent attacks upon the Jews, and for this reason alone any real harmony between the different branches would have been impossible.

[1890-1893 A.D.]

THE BOHEMIAN AUSGLEICH

Notwithstanding the concessions about language, the Czechs had, however, made no advance towards their real object—the recognition of the Bohemian kingdom. Perhaps the leaders of the party, who were now growing old, would have been content with the influence they had already attained, but they were hard pressed at home by the Young Czechs, who were more impatient. When Count Thun was appointed governor of Bohemia their hopes ran high, for he was supposed to favour the coronation of the emperor at Prague. In 1890, however, instead of proceeding to the coronation as was expected, Taaffe attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the opposing parties. The influence by which his policy was directed is not quite clear, but the Czechs had been of recent years less easy to deal with, and Taaffe had never really shown any wish to alter the constitution; his policy always was to destroy the influence of parliament by playing off one party against the other, and so to win a clear field for the government. During the month of January conferences were held at Vienna, with Taaffe in the chair, to which were invited representatives of the three groups into which the Bohemian representatives were divided, the German party, the Czechs, and the feudal party. After a fortnight's discussion an agreement was made on the basis of a separation between the German and the Czechish districts, and a revision of the electoral law. A protocol enumerating the points agreed on was signed by all who had taken part in the conference, and in May bills were laid before the provincial diet incorporating the chief points in the agreement. But they were not carried; the chief reason being that the Young Czechs had not been asked to take part in the conference, and did not consider themselves bound by its decisions; they opposed the measures and had recourse to obstruction, and a certain number of the Old Czechs gradually came over to them.

Their chief ground of criticising the proposed measures was that they would threaten the unity of the Bohemian country. At the elections in 1891 a great struggle took place between the Old and the Young Czechs. The latter were completely victorious; Rieger, who had led the party for thirty years, disappeared from the Reichsrath. The first result was that the proposed Ausgleich with Bohemia came to an end. But the disappearance of the Old Czechs made the parliamentary situation very insecure. The Young Czechs could not take their place; their radical and anti-clerical tendencies alarmed the feudalists and clericals who formed so large a part of the Right; they attacked the alliance with Germany; they made public demonstration of their French sympathies; they entered into communication with other Slav races, especially the Serbs of Hungary and Bosnia; they demanded universal suffrage and occasionally supported the German radicals in their opposition to the clerical parties, especially in educational matters; under their influence disorder increased in Bohemia, a secret society called the *Umladina* (in imitation of the Servian society of that name) was discovered, and stringent measures had to be taken to preserve order. The government therefore veered round towards the German liberals; some of the ministers most obnoxious to the Germans resigned, and their places were taken by Germans. For two years the government seemed to waver, looking now to the Left, now to Hohenwart and his friends; for a time Taaffe really had the support of all parties except the Young Czechs.

ELECTORAL REFORM

After two years he gave up his cautious policy and took a bold move. In October, 1893, he introduced a reform bill. Universal suffrage had long been demanded by the working men and the socialists; the Young Czechs also had

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put it on their programme, and many of the Christian socialists and anti-Semites desired an alteration of the franchise. Taaffe's bill, while keeping the curiæ of the feudal proprietors and the chambers of commerce as they were, and making no change in the number of members, proposed to give the franchise in both towns and rural districts to everyone who could read and write and had resided six months in one place. This was opposed by the liberals, for with the growth of socialism and anti-Semitism they knew that the extension of the franchise would destroy their influence. On this Taaffe had probably calculated, but he had omitted to inquire what the other parties would do. He had not even consulted Hohenwart, to whose assistance he owed his long tenure of power. Not even the pleasure of ruining the liberals was sufficient to persuade the conservatives to vote for a measure which would transfer the power from the well-to-do to the indigent, and Hohenwart justly complained that they ought to have been secure against surprises of this kind. The Poles also were against a measure which would give more influence to the Ruthemans. The position of the government was hopeless, and, without waiting for a division Taaffe resigned.

The event to which for fourteen years the Left had looked forward had now happened. Once more they could have a share in the government, which they always believed belonged to them by nature. Taught by experience and adversity, they did not scruple to enter into an alliance with their old enemies, and a coalition ministry was formed from the Left, the clericals, and the Poles. The president was Prince Alfred Windischgratz, grandson of the celebrated general, one of Hohenwart's ablest lieutenants; Hohenwart himself did not take office. Of course an administration of this kind could not take a definite line on any controversial question, but during 1894 it carried through the commercial treaty with Russia and the laws for the continuance of the currency reform. On the 12th of June, 1895, it resigned.

BADENI'S MINISTRY

After a short interval the emperor appointed as minister-president Count Badeni, who had earned a great reputation as governor of Galicia. He formed an administration, the merit of which, as of so many others, was that it was to belong to no party and to have no programme. He hoped to be able to work in harmony with the moderate elements of the Left; his mission was to carry through the Ausgleich with Hungary; to this everything else must be subordinated. During 1896 he succeeded in carrying a reform bill, which satisfied nearly all parties. All the old categories of members were maintained, but a fifth curia was added, in which almost anyone might vote who had resided six months in one place and was not in domestic service, in this way seventy-two would be added to the existing members. This matter having been settled, parliament was dissolved. The result of the elections of 1897 was the return of a house so constituted as to make any strong government impossible. On both sides the anti-Semitic parties representing the extreme demagogic elements were present in considerable numbers. The united German Left had almost disappeared; it was represented only by a few members chosen by the great proprietors; in its place there were the three parties—the German popular party, the German nationalists, and the German radicals—who all put questions of nationality first and had deserted the old standpoint of the constitution. Then there were the fourteen social democrats who had won their seats under the new franchise. The old party of the Right was, however, also broken up; side by side with forty-one clericals there were twenty-eight Christian socialists led by Doctor Lueger, a man of great oratori-

[1879-1897 A. D.]

cal power, who had won a predominant influence in Vienna, so long the centre of liberalism, and had quite eclipsed the more modest efforts of Prince Liechtenstein. As among the German national party, there were strong nationalist elements in his programme, but they were chiefly directed against Jews and Hungarians; Lueger had already distinguished himself by his violent attacks on Hungary, which had caused some embarrassment to the government at a time when the negotiations for the Ausgleich were in progress. Like anti-Semites elsewhere, the Christian socialists were reckless and irresponsible, appealing directly to the passions and prejudices of the most ignorant. There were altogether two hundred German members of the Reichsrath, but they were divided into eight parties, and nowhere did there seem to be the elements on which a government could be built up.

The most remarkable result of the elections was the disappearance of the liberals in Vienna. In 1879, out of 37 members returned in Lower Austria, 33 were liberals. Now the Christian socialists were first with 28, then the socialists with 14, and the few remaining seats were divided between the nationalists and the radicals. It was impossible to maintain a strong party of moderate constitutionalists on whom the government could depend, unless there was a large nucleus from Lower Austria. The influence of Lueger was very embarrassing; he had now a majority of two-thirds in the town council, and had been elected burgomaster. The emperor had refused to confirm the election; he had been re-elected, and then the emperor, in a personal interview, appealed to him to withdraw. He consented to do so; but, after the election of 1897 had given him so many followers in the Reichsrath, Badeni advised that his election as burgomaster should be confirmed. There was violent antipathy between the Christian socialists and the German nationalists, and the transference of their quarrels from the Viennese council chamber to the Reichsrath was very detrimental to the orderly conduct of debate.

The limited suffrage had hitherto prevented socialism from becoming a political force in Austria as it had in Germany, and the national divisions have always impeded the creation of a centralised socialist party. The first object of the working classes necessarily was the attainment of political power; in 1867 there had been mass demonstrations and petitions to the government for universal suffrage. During the next years there was the beginning of a real socialist movement in Vienna and in Styria, where there is a considerable industrial population; after 1879, however, the growth of the party was interrupted by the introduction of anarchical doctrines. Most's paper, the *Freiheit*, was introduced through Switzerland, and had a large circulation. The anarchists, under the leadership of Peukert, seem to have attained considerable numbers. In 1883-1884 there were a number of serious strikes, collisions between the police and the workmen, followed by assassinations; it was a peculiarity of Austrian anarchists that in some cases they united robbery to murder. The government, which was seriously alarmed, introduced severe repressive measures; the leading anarchists were expelled or fled the country. In 1887, under the leadership of Doctor Adler, the socialist party began to revive (the party of violence having died away), and since then it has steadily gained in numbers; in the forefront of the political programme is put the demand for universal suffrage. In no country is the 1st of May, as the festival of Labour, celebrated so generally.

THE LANGUAGE ORDINANCES OF 1897

Badeni after the election sent in his resignation, but the emperor refused to accept it, and he had therefore to do the best he could and turn for support to the other nationalities. The strongest of them were the fifty-nine Poles and

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sixty Young Czechs; he therefore attempted, as Taaffe had done, to come to some agreement with them. The Poles were always ready to support the government; among the Young Czechs the more moderate had already attempted to restrain the wilder spirits of the party, and they were quite prepared to enter into negotiations. They did not wish to lose the opportunity which now was open to them of winning influence over the administration. What they required was further concession as to the language in Bohemia. In May, 1897, Badeni therefore published his celebrated ordinances. They determined (1) that all correspondence and documents regarding every matter brought before the government officials should be conducted in the language in which it was first introduced: this applied to the whole of Bohemia, and meant the introduction of Czech into the government offices throughout the whole of the kingdom; (2) after 1903 no one was to be appointed to a post under the government in Bohemia until he had passed an examination in Czech. These ordinances fulfilled the worst fears of the Germans. The German nationalists and radicals declared that no business should be done till they were repealed and Badeni dismissed.

They resorted to obstruction. They brought in repeated motions to impeach the ministers, and parliament had to be prorogued in June, although no business of any kind had been transacted. Badeni had not anticipated the effect his ordinances would have; as a Pole he had little experience in the western part of the empire. During the recess he tried to open negotiations, but the Germans refused even to enter into a discussion until the ordinances had been withdrawn. The agitation spread throughout the country; great meetings were held at Eger and Aussig, which were attended by Germans from across the frontier and led to serious disturbances; the cornflower, which had become the symbol of German nationality and union with Germany, was freely worn, and the language used was in many cases treasonable. The emperor insisted that the Reichsrath should again be summoned to pass the necessary measures for the Ausgleich; scenes then took place which have no parallel in parliamentary history. To meet the obstruction it was determined to sit at night, but this was unsuccessful. On one occasion Doctor Lecher, one of the representatives of Moravia, spoke for twelve hours, from 9 P.M. till 9 A.M., against the Ausgleich. The opposition was not always limited to feats of endurance of this kind. On the 3rd of November there was a free fight in the house; it arose from a quarrel between Doctor Lueger and the Christian socialists on the one side (for the Christian socialists had supported the government since the confirmation of Lueger as burgomaster) and the German nationalists on the other under Doctor Wolff, a German from Bohemia, the violence of whose language had already caused Badeni to challenge him to a duel.

The nationalists refused to allow Lueger to speak, clapping their desks, hissing, and making other noises, till at last the Young Czechs attempted to prevent the disorder by violence. On the 24th of November the scenes of disturbance were renewed. The president, Herr von Abramovitch, an Armenian from Galicia, refused to call on Schoenerer to speak. The nationalists therefore stormed the platform, and the president and the ministers had to fly into their private rooms to escape personal violence, until the Czechs came to their rescue and by superiority in numbers and physical strength severely punished Herr Wolff and his friends. The rules of the house giving the president no authority for maintaining order, he determined, with the assent of the ministers, to propose alterations in procedure. The next day, when the sitting began, one of the ministers, Count Falkenhayn, a clerical who was very unpopular, moved that "any member who continued to disturb a sitting after being twice called to order could be suspended—for three days by the

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president, and for thirty days by the house." The uproar was such that not a word could be heard, but at a pre-arranged signal from the president the Right rose, and he then declared the new order carried, although the procedure of the House required that it should be submitted to a committee. The next day, at the beginning of the sitting, the socialists rushed on the platform and destroyed all the papers lying there, seized the president and held him against the wall. After he had escaped, eighty police carried out the socialists. The next day Herr Wolff was treated in the same manner.

Serious disorders took place in Vienna and in Gratz; the German opposition had the support of the people, and Lueger warned the ministers that as burgomaster he would be unable to maintain order in Vienna; even the clerical Germans showed signs of deserting the government. The Emperor, hastily summoned to Vienna, accepted Badeni's resignation, the Germans having thus by obstruction attained part of their wishes. The new minister, Gautsch, held office for three months; he proclaimed the budget and the *Ausgleich*, and in February replaced the language ordinances by others, under which Bohemia was to be divided into three districts—one Czechish, one German, and one mixed. The Germans, however, were not satisfied with this; they demanded absolute repeal. The Czechs also were offended; they arranged riots at Prague; the professors in the university refused to lecture unless the German students were defended from violence; Gautsch resigned, and Thun, who had been governor of Bohemia, was appointed minister. Martial law was proclaimed in Bohemia and strictly enforced. Thun then arranged with the Hungarian ministers a compromise about the *Ausgleich*.

RENEWED CONFLICT BETWEEN GERMANS AND CZECHS

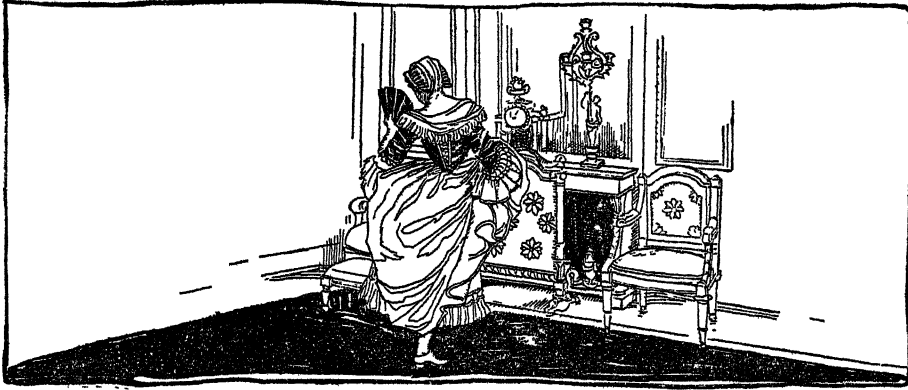
The Reichsrath was again summoned, and the meetings were less disturbed than in the former year, but the Germans still prevented any business from being done. The Germans now had a new cause of complaint. Paragraph 14 of the law of 1867 provided that, in cases of pressing necessity, orders for which the assent of the Reichsrath was required might, if the Reichsrath were not in session, be proclaimed by the Emperor; they had to be signed by the whole ministry, and if they were not laid before the Reichsrath within four months of its meeting, or if they did not receive the approval of both Houses they ceased to be valid. The Germans contended that the application of this clause to the *Ausgleich* was invalid, and demanded that it should be repealed. Thun had in consequence to retire, in September, 1899. His successor, Count Clary, held office for less than three months. The Emperor then appointed a ministry of officials, and used paragraph 14 for the necessary purposes of state. They then made way for a ministry under Herr von Korber.

During the early months of Dr. Korber's tenure of office there was a suspension of hostilities to allow the passage of certain necessary measures, but the lull was merely momentary. In the election in December, 1900, and January, 1901, the most obstructive and fanatical sections, such as the extreme German Nationalists, were the chief gainers. In spite of all opposition, Dr. Korber managed to maintain himself until December, 1904, when he was succeeded by Baron Gautsch, who retained most of the other members of the Cabinet. The agitation for suffrage extension in Hungary gave impetus during the same year to a movement for a similar change in Austria. Enormous mass-meetings of those favouring the change were held, and at one which occurred at Vienna on November 28th more than 200,000 persons were present. In May, 1906, Gautsch was driven from power, and, after a short interim ministry, Baron Keck became premier. Late in the year a universal suffrage law was passed and was signed by the Emperor in January, 1907.

The first general election under the new law was held in May. No less than twenty-one parties were returned to the Chamber, but the chief feature of the election was the success of the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists.

In Hungary the years of the new century have been productive of even greater confusion than in Austria. The Hungarian independence party, under the leadership of M. Kossuth, son of the leader of 1848, have pursued a campaign against the dual government by obstructing all the measures of the Ministry and have themselves declined to take office. In this way they have made it extremely difficult for any Ministry to last for any length of time. Thus, when Count Tisza, who took office in October, 1903, adopted the policy of changing the standing legislative rules in such a way as to prevent the obstructive tactics of the Opposition, a bitter contest resulted. The most striking incidents occurred on December 13, 1904, the day of the opening of a new session of the Reichstag. On that day the Opposition entered the House before the usual time of meeting, assaulted the police when they attempted to interfere, destroyed the furniture and woodwork, and were finally photographed sitting on the heap of ruins. Shortly after this disgraceful scene Count Tisza determined to appeal to the country, and a new election was held in January, 1905. The Opposition succeeded, however, in convincing many of the voters that Tisza was too much under Austrian influence, and as a result the Ministry was decisively beaten. Tisza then resigned, and, after the Emperor had vainly tried to come to terms with the leaders of the Opposition, Baron Fejervary was entrusted with the task of forming a government. The new Cabinet attempted to gain support by a proposal for manhood suffrage on an educational basis, but as the Crown opposed such a step, the Ministry resigned in the following September. The Emperor then attempted once more to form an Opposition Cabinet; but the leaders again refused to promise not to endeavour to secure the use of the Hungarian language in the Hungarian regiments of the army—a matter which for some time had caused much discussion—or to agree to other conditions, and he was ultimately forced to recall Fejervary and approve his suffrage programme for the extension of the right to vote to all literate male citizens over the age of twenty-four years. The extreme Hungarian party opposed the contemplated change because, since the Magyars are in a minority in Hungary, it would lessen their political influence. On February 19, 1906, parliament was dissolved, and in enforcing the dissolution troops were used. In April the Opposition agreed to a compromise. The Ministry then resigned, and Alexander Wekerle undertook the formation of a new Ministry.

During recent years the relations between Austria and Hungary have frequently been strained. From 1897 to 1907 no formal agreement with regard to the financial Ausgleich was attained, and the question of the financial quota of each state was each year submitted for temporary solution to the Emperor. Late in 1907, however, a new Ausgleich was agreed upon, which continued the common customs arrangement until 1917, and provided that commercial treaties concluded with foreign states must be signed by representatives of both Austria and Hungary instead of, as hitherto, by the Austrian minister of foreign affairs. Excise duties are henceforth to be left to each state to be determined and levied. A homogeneous currency is provided; Hungary's proportion of the joint fiscal burden is increased from 34.4 to 36.4 per cent.; and provision is made for a court of arbitration, composed of four Austrian and four Hungarian members, who must choose a ninth member as chairman. Relations will now perhaps be more harmonious, yet the future of the dual monarchy appears to be an uncertain one. The chief bond of the union is the aged Emperor, Francis Joseph. What will happen upon his death, which must occur soon, no one can safely predict.^a



CHAPTER VI

A REVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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THE EMPEROR FRANCIS I AND AUSTRIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF
MARCH, 1848

THE emperor Francis I ended his days on the 2nd of March, 1835, at the age of sixty-seven years, during forty-three of which he had exercised his hereditary rule, fourteen years over the German and twenty-nine over the Austrian Empire. In inorganic fashion and under many vicissitudes this extensive state seems to have been built up in the course of centuries out of old Habsburg lordships, German imperial territories, dominions of the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns, out of the possessions of the Habsburg-Spanish power on the soil of Italy and the Netherlands, with eastern Galicia (Halicz-Wladimir), and the north Carpathian districts of the old kingdom of Poland, that is, from elements and nationalities fundamentally different both historically and politically.

The emperor Francis I wore the German imperial crown more or less as an heirloom which had belonged for many centuries to the house of Habsburg-Austria, until the end of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German nation" (1806), after he had already assumed the title of a hereditary emperor of Austria (1804).

In his time falls the permanent loss of Belgium and the old Habsburg lordships in the west of south Germany, and on the other hand the gain of western Galicia (Little Poland), at the third partition of Poland, and the acquisition of the heritage of the Venetian Republic on the Adriatic. After the second fall of Napoleon, the inheritor of the power of the French Republic, the great territorial robberies of the years 1806 and 1809 had been made good by the "Restoration" of Europe as a result of the congress of Vienna, and the Austrian supremacy in the confederacy assumed the place in Germany of the Habsburg empire. The emperor's declining years were darkened by the rec-

ognition of the painful truth that his first-born and heir, Ferdinand, was incapable of rule, and that consequently a regency, a "cabinet government," in his name, was necessary. But other grave circumstances accompanied this one.

Austria, the chief member of the so-called "Holy Alliance," saw herself outstripped in the Græco-Eastern question by one ally, Russia, and in the German question by the other, Prussia. Emperor Francis, the embodiment of patriarchal absolutism, and his trusted adviser, the chancellor Metternich, lived to see that their obstinate fight against the liberal and constitutional movement in southern and western Europe remained without any assured results, and that the nationalistic efforts after freedom and separate existence were becoming dangerously strong, mainly in Austrian Italy by means of Carbonarism and Mazzinism¹, but that they had also long had a fruitful soil and a sphere of activity in the heart of the Austrian monarchy with its many races and languages. As regards foreign countries, an ominous isolation of Austria and an unmistakable waning of her political credit are visible.

But above all there was a strange dualism in the empire. On this side, in Cisleithania, the western half of the empire belonging to the German Confederation, the emperor ruled as an absolute sovereign; on that side, in Transleithania, as a constitutional "king of Hungary," represented by his brother, the archduke palatine, Joseph, to whom it had been granted to fulfil his difficult office for a full half century (1796-1847) with a keen eye and a firm hand and yet to remain popular. In this contrast between the German Austrian "bureaucratic and police rule" (*Beamten und Polizeistaate*), as the enemies of the system of administration designated it, and the Hungarian "constitutional government," was concealed the chief danger for the policy of Metternich, the guiding spirit of the regency (*Staatsconferenz*) in the days of the emperor Ferdinand the "good" (1835-1848), who made yet another territorial acquisition by the incorporation of the free state of Cracow (1847), after the speedy suppression of the rebellion of Galician Poland in 1846. Metternich did not fail to recognise this danger, without however being able to overcome it, for the conservatives of Hungary (Aarel Dezsewffy and his circle) also set themselves against any encroachment by the Vienna cabinet on the Transleithanian constitution.

The question of Hungarian reform, hand in hand with the preponderance of the Magyar population in public life, a preponderance which had been on the increase ever since 1830, collected round its banner not only its leader Count Stephen Széchenyi, who had given utterance to the significant phrase, "Hungary was not, it will be," and the brilliant liberal aristocrat, the freiherr von Eotvós, but also the strict autonomists Niklas Freiherr von Wesselényi and the two *comitat* deputies Francis Deák and Louis Kossuth. Of these the first remained the most persevering advocate of the constitution in the constitutional "conscience" of Hungary, whilst the second, a man of demoniac force with word and pen, was worshipped as its idol by the radical Magyar youth. In this variable circle, which only too soon became inimical to Széchenyi's influence and authority, the watchword was the national and political Magyarisation of Hungary, and the dominions of its crown, while on the other hand, as a challenge to this, voices in favour of the ideal of a Croat, Slavonian, and Dalmatian kingdom were raised louder and louder by the instinct of self-preservation in the Transylvanian Saxons, the Rumanians, the Slovaks of upper Hungary, the Hungaro-Serbs or Raizen, the Croats, and, especially, in "Illyrism," here represented by Ludwig Gaj.

In Galicia the Polish question had been agitated ever since 1846, though, on

¹ Giovine Italia.

[1847-1848 A.D.]

the other hand, the east Galician Ruthenians, as opponents of the Polish supremacy, remained the government's natural ally. But even in the heart of the hereditary lands of Bohemia and German Austria, there was a crisis preparing, serious both from a political and from a national standpoint. In the struggle which the aristocratic or feudal party in Bohemia (of which Palacky was and remained the historical and political adviser) had been carrying on ever since 1843 with ever increasing vigour against the measures of the Vienna cabinet and in favour of a "Bohemian constitutional law," the liberal Czech party with its nationalistic aspirations came to the aid of the aristocracy as a temporary ally, determined to extend its influence into the neighbouring province of Moravia.

Amongst the German Austrians, especially in Vienna, there arose increasing dissatisfaction with the uneasy position of Austria both at home and abroad, and with the symptoms of her financial and economical maladies, and the discontent showed itself in numerous pamphlets, all printed abroad. Above all, here also was prepared an attack by the privileged orders, on the bureaucratic régime, which was soon, however, as we shall see, thrust into the background and outbalanced by the German liberal and democratic movement in the form of a struggle for a constitution.

But before ancient Austria fell to pieces, the summer lightning of non-German nationalist agitations manifested itself on the soil of the east Alpine districts, as, for example, amongst the Slovenes, at that time indeed still comparatively harmless, and, more particularly, amongst the *Welschtirolern* or Italians of the Tyrol, in the "Trentino" question, which was already of long standing, and as a solution of which the southern part of the Tyrol was to acquire a separate national and political standing.

THE REVOLUTION AND CONSTITUTIONAL AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AFTER MARCH, 1848

The February revolution of 1848 in France, making itself felt in the Austrian Empire, loosed in the whole range of the emperor's dominions a storm which it had become impossible to oppose. The month of March is associated with the break-up of ancient Austria, for which Metternich's enforced retirement, after thirty-eight years of office, had paved the way. On the other hand the movement in favour of German unity, with its endeavour immediately to create a constitutional Germany by means of a national parliament, got the better of the vain attempt of the confederate government to forestall it, and at once drew the confederate territories of Cisleithania into its sphere. Side by side with the white cockade, the token of young constitutional Austria, speedily appeared the German tri-colour, whilst the old imperial colours, the *Schwarzgelb* (black and yellow), were affected by the "reactionaries" as a token of enmity to the constitution.

As an immediate danger to the existence of the state government, signs at once appeared of a nationalist revolution on the verge of breaking out in Austrian Italy, with which country the commander of the forces there, Count Joseph Wenzel Radetzky, had long been familiar; he did not fail to recognise the signs of the times. The desertion of the Milanese to the Sardinian king Charles Albert, the "sword of Italy," was soon after effected. Radetzky had provisionally to abandon the country between the Ticino and the Mincio, and within the quadrilateral of fortresses with Verona as his base to assemble the forces for new attacks. At the same time Daniel Manin, as national dictator, proclaimed (March 23rd) a republic of Venice and Venetian Austria.

The young, immature constitution of Austria postponed its honeymoon,

and the first constitutional ministry of Cisleithania (that of Freiherr Franz von Pillersdorf) was hurried ever swifter and swifter in the democratic current, a significant token of which was the removal of the imperial court from Vienna to Innsbruck in Tyrol; meantime, beyond the Leitha, matters were drawing to a crisis. In Hungary the newly established constitution had instituted a responsible ministry similar in kind to the Cisleithanian, in place of the old Hungarian court authorities and central administrative offices. The advance of the radical Magyar party towards a personal union with Austria hastened the rising of the non-Magyar nationalities of the kingdom of Hungary against the hegemony of the Magyars. Upon this was founded the popularity of the *ban* of Croatia, Jellachich, who soon went into opposition against the Hungarian ministry as insubordinate and thus found himself for a time in a false position relative to the imperial court.

The Slav party also made an attempt to bring about a common understanding, though the Slav congress of Prague was able to do little to bring such an understanding into effect. Similarly in Moravia the feeling in favour of provincial independence or autonomy showed itself to be stronger amongst the Slav inhabitants than the desire to go hand in hand with the Czechs who were thirsting for the pre-eminence. The Poles pursued their own way, but in face of the friendly attitude adopted towards the government by the Ruthenians, the Galician revolution had first no prospect of success, all the less since in Russian and Prussian Poland an impulse towards national movement had no room for free play. For the Whitsuntide rising in the capital of Bohemia a speedy end was prepared by the commandant, Prince Alfred Windischgrätz.

On the other hand, several circumstances seemed likely to renew the historical coherence of Cisleithania with Germany and to strengthen it nationally and politically. These were the strong representation of German Austria in the imperial parliament at Frankfort, and especially the choice (July 29th) as administrator of the German empire of Archduke John, who since 1809 had been the most popular prince of the house of Habsburg-Lorraine, and, in addition, the election of a German imperial government with Anton, Ritter von Schmerling, a constitutional centralist from Austria, as imperial minister of the interior (August); but when it came to the question how effect was to be given to this coherence, insurmountable difficulties had soon to be encountered.

The Austrian diet in Vienna, freshly created in the time of the new Austrian ministry (Wessenberg-Dobblhoff-Bach), as the parliamentary representation of the collective non-Hungarian provinces of the imperial state (July 22nd), was opened by Archduke John shortly after the retirement of the Pillersdorf ministry (July 8th), and here too its three hundred and thirty-eight members soon showed signs of antagonistic principles in questions of nationality and party politics. Here we find first of all the attacks of the Slavs on the political leadership of the Germans, and, on the other hand, the strife between the conservative Right and the liberal and democratic Left. Amid such feuds between nationalities and political parties, amid dogmatic and doctrinarian squabbles, the young parliament of Cisleithania could show only one permanent constitutional achievement—the abolition, on the motion of Hanns Kudlich, of the subjection to the soil (*Grundunterthanigkeit*) and its burdens, by which the peasant class were to be immediately won over to the political movement for freedom. Meantime, Radetzky, the vigorous field marshal, who had reached his eighty-third year, had energetically begun an offensive war against Sardinia on the soil of Austrian Italy. By the end of July, 1848, the Milanese was again in his hands. Only Venice persisted in her secession.

The situation in Hungary, however, soon took an ominous turn, as was shown by the imperial rehabilitation of the *ban* Jellachich, by the retirement from his untenable position of the archduke palatine Stephen, who had been

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wavering between the revolution and the Court of Vienna; by the actual dictatorship of Kossuth, the "saviour of the nation," supported by the national militia (*Honvéd*), and also by the radical reconstruction of the Hungarian ministry. The murder of the imperial commissary, Count Lamberg, already exhibited the climax of national and political passions and gave a foresight of the secession of Hungary.

Quite as gloomy was the aspect of affairs in Cisleithania when the fatal October days of Vienna opened and the war minister, Count Latour, was murdered by a raging mob; whereupon the imperial court (which had returned in August from Innsbruck) fled from the revolution to the fortified Moravian city of Olmütz (October 18th), and the Vienna diet became helpless before demagoguery. Nevertheless, the government, thanks to the strengthening of the Austrian dominion in upper Italy by Radetzky, soon felt itself strong enough to take in hand the siege of Vienna under the superintendence of Prince Windischgrätz and the ban Jellachich, to prevent its attempted succour by the Magyars, to take the city, and, by transferring the diet from Vienna to the small Moravian town of Kremsier near Olmütz, to pave the way for a new order of affairs. The installation of the new ministry with Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, brother-in-law of Field-marshal Windischgrätz, at its head (November 20th) forms the decisive turning point; for the key-note of his circular letter or programme was a "strong central government" and the "integrity" of Austria, against the evident desire for secession on the part of the Magyars.

The change of system now being prepared required first of all a new ruling personality. Emperor Ferdinand the "good" abdicated the throne and his eighteen-year-old nephew, Francis Joseph, introduced with his accession (December 2nd) the period of the "restoration" of monarchy. The winter campaign against Magyar Hungary began, for here the change of rulers and the manifesto of the new sovereign were answered with a protest (December 7th) and an appeal to arms, whilst Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Rumanians, and Transylvanian Saxons saw the pledge of their own future in the imperial camp.

But in the German question also the breach of the national parliament at Frankfort with the new Austrian system of government was imminent. When the formation of Germany into a "narrow" confederation without Austria, the union with her in a "wider" confederation, and finally the imperial scheme with the Prussian king as successor to the German Empire were brought forward, Schwarzenberg's note to Prussia (December 13th) set forth as an ultimatum the reception of the whole monarchy into the German confederacy and into the German customs union (*Zollverein*)—and the Austrian premier's declaration of the 28th of December culminated in the words, "Austria will know how to maintain her position in the newly formed state of Germany." The year 1849 forms in a way the epilogue of the liberal and national movement for liberty, marks the passage to the conceded constitution of Austria, and so introduces the second stage of Austria's apprenticeship, the founding and continuance of the absolutist and unified state.

It is true that the war in Hungary got beyond the new government. Here the national diet had first effected its removal to Debreczen (January), then, by the declaration of independence (April 14th) and Kossuth's governorship, completed with the dynasty a breach that had many consequences. Soon after Budapest too was wrested from the imperials. But this was the high-water mark of the success of the radical Magyar party, at a time when the Sardinian king had already long ago been beaten on his own soil at the battle of Novara (March 23rd), and Venice was face to face with the prospect of resubjection. Since the meeting at Warsaw between the czar Nicholas I and the emperor Francis Joseph (May 15th), Austria was secure of the alliance of Russia, and

the offer of her armed assistance was the more readily seized upon as it became more and more evident that the means of bringing the war with Hungary to a speedy end were very inadequately supplied by the forces which Austria had at her disposal, and which had formerly been under the supreme command of Prince Windischgrätz, then of the freiherr von Welden, and were now under the orders of Radetzky's resolute brother-in-arms, the freiherr von Haynau.

Russia's military columns soon invaded Hungary, and, five weeks after the flight of the disunited revolutionary government from Budapest to Szeged, followed the surrender at Világos of the military "dictator," Arthur Gorgey, and with it the end of the dream of independence and of the civil war of Hungary. Kossuth and his chief followers fled out of the country.

On the 6th of August the western powers had expedited the conclusion of peace between Austria and the Sardinian king Victor Emmanuel, and on the 27th of the month Venice yielded to the arms of Radetzky. Thus the questions concerning the authority of the government were successfully disposed of. But the newly strengthened empire, with Russia to support her, was now able to interfere decisively in the solution of the German question, and on the 9th of March she again emphasised her claim for the admission of the whole of Austria into Germany, while, on the other hand, she rejected the German plan for a constitution as inadmissible. The stone was soon set in motion.

The resolution to transfer to Prussia the hereditary empire of Germany, which was passed at Frankfort by a narrow majority on the 28th of March, 1849, was answered by Schwarzenberg with the recall of the Austrian deputies to the national parliament (April 5th) and he soon beheld King Frederick William IV give way on the question of the empire. In the course of the fruitless negotiations between the German powers concerning the reconstruction of Germany—as at the Pillnitz interview of the Emperor of Austria with the kings of Prussia and Saxony (September 8th)—the old German confederation and the Frankfort confederate diet (*Bundestag*), under the presidency of Austria, soon again appeared as the only possible solution, and on the 20th of December the archduke John, whom orders from Vienna had constrained to remain at his disagreeable post, resigned his thankless task of administrator of the empire. Meantime the situation of internal politics in Austria had also undergone a decided change.

The diet at Kremsier, in which German centralists and Slav federalists (under the leadership of Palacky and Ladislaus Rieger) were soon engaged in a violent quarrel, did indeed just contrive to complete the work of constitution-making which had been begun at Vienna; but the new "strong" government preferred the grant of a constitution dictated by the crown to the parliamentary creation of one, and by a *coup d'état* dissolved the diet which had long been a source of embarrassment (March 7th). This "granted" constitution was nevertheless only an expedient of the moment, and was to prepare the way for the institution of the absolutist unified state.

TEN YEARS OF THE UNIFIED STATE WITHOUT A CONSTITUTION (1850-1860)

It was the aim of the newly strengthened authorities, and also in harmony with the general tendencies of the age in Europe, as quickly as possible to combine the mastering of the liberal, democratic, and nationalist revolution and the revival of the idea of the state as embodied in the dynasty, with a transformation of the monarchy into a single uniformly administrated empire, without popular representation or provincial autonomy and with an absolute form of government; and at the same time it was intended to get rid of the

[1850-1852 A.D.]

dualism as existing before March, 1848, as well as of all the historical claims of the provinces and estates—a measure for which the revolution had already paved the way—and from henceforward to place all the strength of the nation at the service of the monarchial idea and thus to realise the motto of the new emperor: “*Viribus unitis*.”

The phase of transition to this “new birth” of Austria is formed by the years 1850-1851. The new year’s gift (1850) of the Cisleithanian provincial constitution is designed to make the diet to a great extent superfluous and to replace it (April 14th, 1851) by a *Reichsrath* appointed by the emperor as a “council” of the crown. Even before this (January) the minister of justice, Schmerling, the creator, in accordance with the spirit of constitutionalism, of juries (January, 1850), and the minister of commerce, Karl L. von Bruck, an able and fertile-minded political economist who as a liberal and Protestant had become obnoxious, had left the cabinet, where the leadership was now in the hands of the two men in the young monarch’s confidence, the premier Schwarzenberg and Alexander Bach. The latter was now minister of the interior as successor to Count Franz Stadion and was endowed with abilities of the first rank. With them was associated Count Leo Thum, a Bohemian nobleman who as minister of public worship and education had entered on the inheritance of the liberal reform of 1848, and as a friend of science and learning, advised by able men, adhered to its principles; but in church matters and denominational questions was beginning to show more and more rigour towards the Catholics.

The 20th of August, 1851, marks the commencement of the actual transformation of the constitutional state into the unified state without a constitution, by the abolition of the responsibility of ministers, and in another direction by the abrogation of Stadion’s communal law and the jury. Thus the abrogation at the end of the year of the constitution granted on the 4th of March, 1849, appeared merely as the culmination of the reaction for which the way had been long since smoothed.

The twenty-one crown provinces of Austria, loosed from all the historical ties which had formed them into groups, without representation by provincial assemblies, without privileged orders and patrimonial territorial government, henceforth appear under a rule emanating from Vienna and conducted in uniform fashion according to the principles of unification through the agency of superior and inferior officials appointed and paid by the government. German becomes the state, official, and educational language (except in Austrian Italy), and the copious volumes of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* show what an immense work in all departments of public life the “reconstruction” of the imperial state, still in operation in many points, undertook to accomplish and did accomplish.

As Prince Schwarzenberg, the thorough-paced aristocrat and absolutist in mind and will-power, died as early as April, 1852, the whole epoch, namely 1850-1859, is generally called the “Bach” epoch, for the lion’s share of its creations falls to that proud, many-sided man.

Though in more than one direction the internal history of Austria from 1850-1860 exhibits many similarities with that of the state reform of the emperor Joseph II (1780-1790), yet it differs from this in one particular especially. Whilst the so-called “Josephism” had in view and effected the union of church and state, now the opposing stream asserted itself more and more, and the crown yielded to it and to the wishes of Rome by the conclusion of a concordat, negotiated by the Viennese archbishop, Othmar Rauscher, in which the advantages were exclusively on the side of the Catholic church, henceforth free in the state. It was this concordat with the papal chair that threw the gloomiest shadows of “reaction” over “New Austria,” for it enraged liberal-

ism, injured the peace of the denominations, and was necessarily injurious to education.

But the absolutist system, and more particularly its exponent Bach, the statesman who had gone over from the revolutionary party, did not find foes only in the camps of the German liberals as friends of the constitution and autonomists. The feudalists, especially those of Bohemia, cheated out of their territorial jurisdiction, also bore a grudge against the absolute system; and in Hungary Bach was the best hated man, not only amongst the nationalist liberals of 1848-1849, but also with the conservatives who stood forward for the Hungary of the days before March and for her "historic rights." As for their right wing, the "old conservatives" or "notables," in April, 1850, they had still set their hopes on a memorandum to the crown. And even yet, in 1856, this party ventured once more to make an attack on Bach, but again without success, although the "address" which they offered to the crown (printed 1857) overflowed with protestations of loyal submissiveness and of sorrow at the "errors" of Hungary (1848).

It even came to a trial of strength, which the new system had to abandon in face of the growing discontent on the hither side of the Leitha and the passive resistance beyond it. Here, as always and everywhere, all depended on the vanquishing power of success and this again was conditional on the situation in regard to external politics.

Until the year 1852 Austria, in close alliance with Russia, had the upper hand in the German question. Prussia's humiliation at Olmutz (November 20th, 1850), the results of her withdrawal from the affair of the Hessian electorate and the Danish question, the decline of her political credit in Germany, the Dresden conference (December, 1850)—fruitless as far as Prussia was concerned—all this Schwarzenberg had lived to see. His successor was Count Karl Buol-Schauenstein, who could not command the same restless energy and weight as his predecessor.

Czar Nicholas I believed that in consequence of his assistance in the putting down of the Hungarian rebellion, and the aid he had rendered in the Prussian question, he might reckon on the unlimited gratitude of Austria; and her effective interference with Turkey in favour of the menaced state of Montenegro appeared to him as a further pledge of the political co-operation of Austria in case of Russia's taking up arms against the Porte. The fatal half-heartedness of Austria's foreign policy in the Crimean War (1853-1854), her wavering between neutrality and partisanship, in the course of which matters went as far as the conclusion of a convention with the Porte and the temporary but costly occupation of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Dobrudscha, earned her the lasting enmity of Russia, without being able to win for her the friendship of the western powers, at whose head, since the *coup d'état* (December 2nd, 1853), stood the new empire of France with Napoleon III.

The so-called Holy Alliance was therefore finally dissolved. Prussia, since 1857 under the prince-regent William (soon King William I), again won the ascendant in the German question, and from 1852 possessed in Bismarck the best of advocates for her cause at the confederate diet of Frankfurt.

Napoleon III now took up the idea of nationality, the most dangerous for a monarchical state composed of different peoples as Austria was, and he became the active supporter of the policy of the Italian minister, Cavour, which aimed at Italy's unity and erection into a great power. Soon (1859) Austria stood alone in a war with Sardinia and the latter's ally, Napoleon III. The immense requirements of the war essentially aggravated the financial situation, to improve which Freiherr von Bruck, finance minister since 1855, had laboured in every direction; the minister of foreign affairs, Buol-Schauenstein, soon retired (14th May). His successor was Count Rechberg (previously presiden-

[1859-1861 A.D.]

tial envoy at Frankfort). Austria's defeats in Poland, at Magenta, and Solferino, were followed (11th of July) by the preliminary Peace of Villafranca, which sealed the loss of Lombardy to Sardinia, and confirmed the hopes entertained by the nationalists in Venetia of shaking off the Austrian rule.

This war had not only led the Magyar emigration under the banners of Sardinia and alienated the sympathies of the Magyars from the royal standard of Austria, but in its results it reacted in the gravest manner on the existing system of government, against whose further continuance in Cisleithania German liberals, feudalists, and Slav federalists in their various ways engaged in a united struggle; whilst beyond the Leitha the old conservatives and the advocates of the continuity of the administration and of the constitution of 1848 (under the leadership of Francis Deák) greeted its break-up with double joy, the former in the firm expectation that they would now attain to the helm, the latter determined to bide their time and increase the passive resistance.

Bach's dismissal (August 21st, 1859) introduces the transformation of the absolute monarchy into a semi-constitutional state.

The formation of the new cabinet, at whose head now stood the Polish count, Agenor Goluchowski, was immediately followed by negotiations with the old conservatives of Hungary, and with the feudalists of Cisleithania, and by the strengthening of the Reichsrath (March, 1860) through appointment by the crown, whereby the antagonism between liberal minority and conservative majority immediately became apparent and soon led to the dismissal of the Reichsrath (September 29th).

On the other hand, we see (July 1st) the way prepared for the reorganisation of Hungary on the basis of her constitution as it existed before 1848, which amounted to a renewal of the dualism existing previous to the revolution of March. The old conservatives of Hungary endeavoured (July 30th), by means of a compromise with the German feudalists and with the Slav federalists of Cisleithania, to bring about a common action for the maintenance of their interests. This explains the fact that the original draft for the "October Diploma" as the charter of a new constitution came from the pen of a Hungarian old conservative (Count Emil Dessewffy), and that its contents, as well as the accompanying provincial statute, display a tendency to federalism and decentralisation. The German liberals of Cisleithania, the centralists, and autonomists now hastened to raise powerful objections to it, and so precipitated Goluchowski's retirement (December 13th). In his place Schmerling, the representative of the constitution and centralism, comes forward as the new confidential servant of the crown, and steers the ship of state along the lines of a centralised constitutional government.

THE NEW STAGE OF APPRENTICESHIP OF CONSTITUTIONAL AUSTRIA AND THE SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION (1861-1866)

It is significant that Schmerling's fundamental creation of the year 1861, the so-called "February patent," had to be introduced in a way as a "supplement" to the October diploma, and that the new parliamentary representation of the empire—originating as the house of deputies from indirect election, that is, election by the provincial diets, and as the "house of peers" from nomination by the crown—bears the name of *Reichsrath*, a name given in the absolutist era to a council of the crown which was very far removed from a parliament; whilst the assembly of magnates and deputies, summoned to Ofen (Buda) on the 14th of February, felt itself to be indeed a Hungarian diet, and the dominant party (Deákists) announced their fixed adherence to the consti-

tution of the year 1848—that is to say, to the dualism of the period following the March revolution.

Add to this that the “broader” Reichsrath, in which Transleithania, the provinces of the Hungarian crown, were likewise to be represented, became a pure fiction; that the Reichsrath remained in fact a “narrow” Cisleithanian assembly, faced by the Bohemian federalists and the Czech nationalists, who were mistrustful and full of indignation at the pre-eminence and supremacy of the German liberal centralists; and that in Hungary the old conservatives, now thrust into the background, had also a grudge against the new system, while on the other hand the Deákists remained resolved to use all the stubborn force of passive resistance to place obstacles in the way of Schmerling’s centralism.

That statesman’s well-known expression, “We can wait,” here failed in its effect, and even in his own camp soon encountered vigorous opposition. For however valuable the gains of the new era might be, Schmerling’s centralism had still certain hardships even for the German liberals, the gloomy aspect of foreign affairs disquieted them, the Hungarian question weighed on them like a nightmare, and the dread of Slavism and federalism in Cisleithania in itself drew them closer to the Magyars as to natural allies whose confident demeanour and skilful tactics made more and more impression on the hither side of the Leitha.

In the diet (March 31st, 1865) Moritz von Kaiserfeld, the Styrian liberal and autonomist, made a sharp attack on Schmerling’s policy of inertia (*Zurwartungspolitik*), which at most could cite no better evidence of its success than the entry of the Transylvanian deputies into the “broader” Reichsrath (1863) at a time when the old conservatives of Hungary and the feudalists of Cisleithania were conspiring against the minister, and a confidential servant of the crown from that camp, Count Maurice Esterházy, an Austrian minister without portfolio, was successfully undermining the political credit and influence of the minister-president with the court.

Only too soon (June 26th, 1865) the fatal resignation of Schmerling was brought about, and his successor, the Moravian nobleman Count Richard Belcredi, guided Transleithania back into a federalist current, in much the same channel as that of the year 1860, without of course being able to bring about any rotation of the Hungarian question and the “pacification” of Hungary.

For beyond the Leitha there was an obstinate adherence to the fundamental idea of the address drawn up by Deák (April, 1861), according to which Hungary was not in a position to recognise either the October diploma or the February patent, and would only “enter into relations and union with the other constitutional provincial territories of Austria in constitutional independence and liberty.”

In Bohemia, where Old and Young Czechs as conservative and progressive parties were at feud with one another, Belcredi again failed to overcome the opposition. But above all he encountered the natural enmity of the German liberals and centralists, who could not but see in the suspension of the Reichsrath brought about by Belcredi (September 20th, 1865) a stroke aimed at the February constitution, while in his scheme to resolve the monarchy into five territorial groups and orders they beheld a forecast of the disintegration of Austria by way of federation and feudalism, and this at a time when the German question appeared on the scene with complications involving grave consequences to the state.

Ever since Bismarck had succeeded to the office of minister-president in Prussia (September, 1862), he had been determined to make amends for the political defeat of Prussia in 1850 and gradually to sap Austria’s influence in

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Germany. The most significant token of this was the absence of the Prussian king, William I, from the Frankfort diet of princes of August 17th, 1863, at which the emperor Francis Joseph I presided. Although the relations between the two powers grew more strained as the result of a clever move of Bismarck by which he brought the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Count Rechberg, in his train, we find (1864) the two states side by side in the war against Denmark as representatives of the empire, and after its termination in *condominat*, that is, in joint administration, of Schleswig-Holstein. By this Austria injured her credit with the central states and still more with the national liberals in Germany.

But the division between the two powers was immediately apparent in the Schleswig-Holstein question, and on the other hand Bismarck sought (as early as July, 1865) to bring about the armed "neutrality" of the German central states in case of a war with Austria, though in this he was unsuccessful. He contrived to assure himself of a friendly attitude on the part of Napoleon III, and, above all, to conclude (April 8th, 1865) a military alliance with Sardinia, which, sure of the favour of the French emperor and on the way to the annexation of all Italy, was now aiming at the conquest of Venice. This alliance had for its object the complete overthrow of Austria's dominion in Poland. Napoleon III was here reckoning on the mutual weakening of the two chief German powers, whilst Austria was prepared to resign Venice on the outbreak of war, but found the proposed Franco-Italian compromise inadmissible. Of Russia, Prussia was sure in any case, for Czar Alexander II had entered into his father's grudge against the Viennese court as an inheritance, and the fact that on the occasion of the rebellion in Russian Poland (1862-1863) Austria remained unmolested in Galicia, further increased the distrust of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

Now came Austria's double war with Prussia and Sardinia in the summer of 1866. It is true that the German central states—in especial the kingdoms of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg—stood by Austria when the breach between the two great powers was followed (June) by "the fratricidal war" (*Bruderkrieg*), as in the general indignation against Prussia it was designated by public opinion in South Germany; and, besides this, at the seat of war in Upper Italy the Austrian southern army under Archduke Albert and his chief-of-the-staff, Franz von John, won the decisive victory of Custoza (June 24th), to which was soon added (July 20th) the dazzling success of Wilhelm von Tegetthoff—the defeat of the Italian fleet, under Admiral Persano, in the waters of the Adriatic, near the island of Lissa.

But Prussia overthrew the German allies of Austria, one after another, and Saxony shared the ill success of Austria on the battleground of Bohemia. The command of the Austrian northern army had been forced on the most popular general, the master of the ordnance, Ludwig R. von Benedek, in spite of his express refusal; and in the "seven days' battle," after a series of unfortunate skirmishes—in which, besides Prussia's superiority in the needle-gun of the infantry, strategical mistakes and insubordination on the part of individual Austrian commanders were revealed—the Austrians suffered the great defeat of Königgratz-Sadowa (July 3rd).

The resolution of the emperor Francis Joseph to deliver up Venice to Napoleon III and make use of him as an intermediary for the negotiation of a peace with Italy, then push the southern army northwards and so continue the struggle with Prussia even if he had to summon the *Landsturm* (general levy of the people), soon gave way to sober recognition of the fact that peace must be made with the victor. On the other hand, Bismarck's wisdom and foresight in face of the formidable attitude of France and in the interest of the main object of his policy, were successful in restraining the Prussian king

from making annexations at the expense of Austria and Saxony. The formation of the North German Confederation and Prussia's treaties of alliance with the conquered states of South Germany preceded (July 5th-25th) the Nikolsburg negotiations (July 26th) and the definite Peace of Prague with Austria (August 23rd).

Austria withdrew from Italy and from Germany, with which she had been in close historical and political connection for more than a thousand years; and thus the German question was finally solved in favour of the predominance of Prussia and the idea of German unity.

THE *AUSGLEICH* WITH HUNGARY AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL DUALISM OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY DOWN TO THE NEW INTERNAL CRISIS OF CISLEITHANIA (1867-1878)

The entry of the whilom Saxon prime-minister, Ferdinand Freiherr von Beust, who had hitherto represented the anti-Prussian policy of the central states, into the service of Austria as conductor of foreign affairs (October 30th, 1866), opens an era of transition which brings with it the retirement of the minister of the interior, Belcredi, and an *Ausgleich* (agreement) with Hungary.

When, on the 6th of January, 1867, Belcredi dissolved the provincial diets of the Alpine districts and also those of the Bohemian group of territories and of Galicia, because there his federalistic system seemed to be combated, while, on the other hand, in Prague and Lemberg the strife between the various nationalities was raging furiously; and when writs for elections to provincial diets were then issued for the purpose of securing from the new provincial diets an extraordinary Reichsrath, the German liberals responded (January 13th) to this attempt on the part of the government to win a federalist majority with a refusal of the elections, and at the same time issued a declaration signifying that they would only depute an "ordinary" "constitutional" Reichsrath.

In this they could at least count on the support of Beust, whose removal the federalists were endeavouring to obtain; and Beust hastened Belcredi's dismissal, which involved a reconstruction of the ministry (February 7th, 1867). Beust was placed at its head, and soon (March) we also find a trusted follower and old friend of the emperor, Count Eduard Taaffe, included in it as minister of the interior. Ten years later, under the same conditions, he was destined to provoke a fresh state crisis.

Beust, new to the state of affairs in Austria, and rather an acute diplomatist than a solid statesman, had soon made up his mind to make an *Ausgleich* with Hungary according to Deák's scheme or *Formel*—a course which was indeed unavoidable; on the other hand, he was resolved to maintain for Cisleithania the "narrow" Reichsrath as the only representative body possible for the western half of the empire. Thus the imperial rescript of the 27th of February addressed to the Hungarian diet, by its recognition of "statutory continuity" (*Rechtscontinuität*) in Hungary and of her constitution of 1848—implying the final abandonment of the centralistic idea of unification which Schmerling's constitutionalism had still maintained—opened a new era in the existence of the Austrian state; and nothing is more significant of the change of the times and of the state policy than the fact that the formation of the new responsible ministry of Hungary fell to Count Julius Andrassy, who from 1849 to 1850 had been counted amongst those condemned and exiled by the government.

On the 8th of June the coronation of the emperor Francis Joseph took

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place in Hungary with historical display. Transleithania was henceforth only united with Cisleithania dynastically and through the ministries of foreign affairs for war and for imperial finance, and matters concerning the common affairs represented by these three departments were arranged through the medium of delegations selected on either side in the diet and the Reichsrath. For Transleithania there was henceforth only a "king" of Hungary, and here there was a confident presentiment that the centre of gravity of the divided monarchy would be moved ever farther and farther east—a view in which Bismarck also regarded the future of Austria.

The German liberals of Austria saw in Hungary an ally against Slav federalism, and the latter found consolation in the hasty manner in which the Ausgleich had been prepared, especially in the decided inequality in the apportionment of the mutual disbursements or quota for common affairs; for, in accordance with it, 70 per cent. fell on Austria and 30 per cent. on "Hungary." This condition, settled at first for ten years, henceforth forms the chief financial crux of the Ausgleich, and in it, apart from the question of how to bring about a profitable customs- and commercial-union between the two powers and adjust the economic rivalry of Austria and Hungary, originates the lasting difficulty of the renewal of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich from decade to decade.

Transleithania had now become a political body in which Transylvania was absorbed and the old Serbian "Wójewództwo" disappeared. Croatia, also, which had been excluded from the negotiations concerning the Ausgleich in consequence of its efforts for separate existence, had to accommodate itself to the Magyar pre-eminence in spite of the separate position accorded to it with its ban and three provincial ministers. Its Ausgleich with Hungary stipulates for 55 per cent. of the revenues of the province, for the expenses of common affairs, and the despatch of forty-three deputies to the Hungarian diet. That historic heirloom, the old Austrian military frontier, is also on the way to abolition and partition.

In his struggle for national and political self-preservation the Magyar was designedly and recklessly centralist, in opposition to the historical autonomy of Transylvanian Saxonland and all efforts after separate existence on the part of other non-Magyar elements of the population; he introduced his tongue as the legal language of the state, and laid for it a broad and deep foundation in the educational system.

In contrast to this, an essential and deplorable defect is shown by the development of the Austrian constitution, which had been interrupted in 1850, again attempted by Schmerling in 1861 though on other lines, stopped by Belcredi from 1865-1867, and once more taken in hand under Beust in the four fundamental laws of the 21st of December, 1867; the firm establishment of a single state language, the German, as an essential pledge of the predominance of the feeling for the state in compensation for all failings, was wanting and was never to be attained.

So on the 1st of December, 1867, the new ministry of Cisleithania, usually called the *Burgerministerium*—in which we find a Pole, Count Alfred Potocki—comes on the scene under the presidency of Prince Carlos Auersperg, who was replaced by Count Taaffe, provisionally on the 26th of September, 1867, and definitively after the 17th of April, 1869. Besides these there were the three above-mentioned Austro-Hungarian "imperial ministers" (*Reichsminister*) for common affairs, foreign finance, and war. There now begins an epoch of ministerial activity and parliamentarism in Austria which was calculated and destined to produce much that was durable and fruitful.

The three denominational laws (May 25th, 1868) made a beginning, after which Austria finally abandoned the concordat of the year 1855 and prepared

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for its formal abolition. Thereupon followed the new political organisation (Giskra, minister of the interior; Herbst, minister of justice), with its separation of the judicial machinery from the political or administrative government, the funding of the public debt (imperial minister of finance first Von Becke, then Melchior Lónyay, and Austrian minister of finance, Brestl), and also (October) the reform of the joint Austro-Hungarian army by the law concerning universal conscription with a period of three years' service in the line (imperial war minister Freiherr von Kuhn), the formation of the Austrian militia (*Landwehr*) with its own minister (the counterpart to this is found in Hungary in the institution of the *Honvéds* or "defenders of the country," established in 1848), as well as the reintroduction of juries and the new general law concerning national schools.

For the foreign policy of the monarchy the "tragedy" in Mexico—the violent end at Queretaro (June 19th, 1867) of the archduke Maximilian, whom a visionary longing for great achievements and the interested policy of Napoleon III had enticed from Austria into a hazardous position as elected "emperor" of the Mexicans, and whom at the decisive moment France had abandoned to his destruction—was only of some significance in that the emperor of the French, irritated at Prussia's rapid and unforeseen accession of power, was desirous of paving the way to an understanding with the court of Vienna, and under the name of a visit of condolence effected a meeting with the emperor Francis Joseph at Salzburg (August 18th-23rd).

If the Austrian imperial chancellor, Count Beust, veiled all thoughts of vengeance on Prussia, and, on the other hand, the difficulty of putting down the rebellion of the Dalmatian Kriwoschtjie diverted the attention of Austria from the great political question of the threatening collision between France and Germany and fixed it for a time on the south, yet the relations between Vienna and Paris continued and French diplomacy spared no efforts to secure Austria's alliance for the war against Prussia.

But the sympathies of the German Austrians ranged themselves decidedly on the side of Prussia as the pre-eminent power of Germany and her national protector; and in this they were in accord with the view represented by the Hungarian minister-president Count Julius Andrassy, that, for the sake of the dualism and, above all, of the security of Hungary, it was imperative to adhere unswervingly to the position of 1866 and the arrangement between Austria and Prussia as the peace concluded at Prague had established it.

But the main point was that Prussia was certain of the friendly alliance of Russia in the case of Austria's taking arms in favour of France. Thus in July, 1870, the policy of the Vienna cabinet was confined to the path of a strict neutrality, although a military preparedness against Russia, in any case for the protection of Galicia, was kept in view; and soon the world beheld the downfall of Napoleon's empire and the appearance of the German Empire of Prussia, whose recognition by Austria could meet with no difficulties.

But meantime a new crisis in the internal politics of Austria was preparing and bringing a serious danger to the constitutional gains of the years 1867-1868, to centralism, and consequently to the preponderance of the German liberals in the Reichsrath. Already in August, 1868, the Czech federalists and nationalists, encouraged by the successes of Hungary, had announced, in a declaration drawn up independently of the provincial diet of Prague, that they were resolved to win the same kind of separate position for the territory of the "Bohemian crown"; the Galician Poles had brought forward a similar claim in their "resolution" in the provincial diet of Lemberg, and the federalists and clericals of German Austria sided with them in the struggle with the German liberal *Bürgerministerium*. Unfortunately, the latter fell to pieces of itself through personal enmities and political differences; so that it was sub-

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jected (January-March, 1870) to a new reconstruction, and this was soon accompanied by a secession in the Reichsrath, which inflicted a blow on parliamentarism, and by the dissolution of the refractory provincial diet.

The reconstructed ministry lost all credit even with its own German liberal party, and also the confidence of the Crown, now falling more and more under the influence of its enemies. Thus it came again to the perilous attempt to solve the knotty internal problem of Cisleithania by way of federalism, as Belcredi had previously suggested. The first to enter on this path (April, 1870), but hesitatingly, as one who was only half a federalist and anxious to restore internal peace, was the new minister-president Count Alfred Potocki, a Galician magnate; but when he, despairing of any success, retired, February 7th, 1871, it was followed with much decision by his successor, Count Karl Hohenwart, a strict federalist, a champion of the October diploma, and a nobleman of feudalist and clerical views, in whose cabinet two Czechs and a Pole took their seats.

When, on the 12th of September, the new ministry of Cisleithania emphasised the "legal position of the Crown of Bohemia" by a "royal rescript" to the provincial diet of Bohemia, this was immediately followed by the so-called "fundamental articles" of Slavonian Bohemia, of the 9th of October, as an embodiment of its demands and at the same time a protest against the continuance of Cisleithania as a "newly created state structure." Then came Pražák's motion in the provincial diet of Moravia for the union of Moravia and Austrian Silesia with Bohemia. The government wished by means of new elections to oppose the German liberals as centralists and adherents of the constitution with a federalistic majority; but encountered such a vigorous resistance in the camp of the opposing party and also in Hungary, who saw her interests threatened by the federalist experiment, that the imperial chancellor, Count Beust, and Count Andrassy, succeeded in persuading the emperor against the project and brought about the dismissal of the Hohenwart cabinet.

Before this (August), the important interview of the Austro-Hungarian monarch, Emperor Francis Joseph, with the German emperor, William I, had taken place at Wels-Ischl and Gastein, at which the two imperial chancellors, Bismarck and Beust, are said to have come to an agreement as to the bases of a friendly relation. Beust had then no idea that Hohenwart's resignation would be closely followed by his own dismissal (6th of November), and the falling into abeyance of the imperial chancellorship. Count Julius Andrassy, previously minister-president of Hungary, took his place as minister of foreign affairs for both sections of the empire. He became the main pillar of the dualism, the protector of Magyar interests, and, as the possessor of Bismarck's confidence in international politics, also the advocate of a good understanding with Prussia.

Thus in Cisleithania German liberal centralism once more took the helm. The new ministry (November 25th, 1871), usually called the *Doktorenministerium*, with Prince Adolf Auersperg at its head, was to a certain extent a continuation of the Bürgerministerium of the years 1867-1870, worked in the same direction, and hoped by the elective reform bill of the 15th of February, 1873 (minister of the interior, Doctor Lasser), to make an advance towards the establishment of a federalistic majority through the elections to the Reichsrath. These had hitherto been made through the provincial diets; but now direct Reichsrath elections were introduced independently of the provincial diets—a measure which at a previous time it had been attempted to carry out in individual cases, as, for instance, for Bohemia, but which was now adopted by both houses, peers and deputies, and sanctioned by the Crown as a law (April 3rd, 1873). At the same time was an increase of the number of deputies from 203 to 353, and they were henceforth chosen in the

"elective circles" of the province from *curia* or groups representing the various interests: great land owners (85), towns, chambers of commerce (137 together), and four country districts (131).

This reform was followed in January, 1874—in the time of the new administration of the office of minister of education and public worship by Karl von Stremayr—by the "denominational laws," which culminated in the final abolition of the concordat (1868) and brought about a second passionate protest on the part of the Roman curia. This attitude of Rome, the resolutions in contradiction to history and the spirit of the times, the new dogmas of the papacy, prepared in Austria as elsewhere the way for the Old Catholic (*altkatholischen*) movement.

But the greatest difficulty was immediately prepared for the new ministry by the renewal of the financial Ausgleich with Hungary, where Deák's party (January, 1876) blended with the left centre into the liberal "government party" supported the new minister-president, Koloman Tisza (October, 1875), and succeeded in procuring the conversion of the Austrian national bank into an "Austro-Hungarian bank" (June 27th, 1878), as a logical consequence of the state dualism.

When the new phase of the eastern question came up, when the Christian *rajahs* in Herzegovina and Bosnia rose in rebellion (1875), when Russia appeared in favour of the principalities of the Balkan Peninsula which had become insubordinate to the Porte, and when finally the war of Czar Alexander II with Turkey broke out and the Peace of San Stefano (March 3rd, 1878) was forced on the Russians—the Berlin congress (June) assigned to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the hinterlands of Dalmatia and Croatia, and this "occupation" was effected after a tough contest with the predominant Turkish population in those provinces (18th of August). But now the German liberal party committed the fatal mistake of pushing their adherence to principles to an extreme, when they raised a most ill-timed outcry against the occupation, and in this way gave offence to the Crown and cut the ground from under the feet of the ministry of their own party, which had been tottering ever since 1876. The result was that in July, 1878, Prince Auersperg and his colleagues had to request the Crown's permission to resign.

THE ERA OF THE CISLEITHANIAN AUSGLEICH (1879-1898)

The Auersperg German liberal ministry, the *Doktorenministerium*, was soon to vanish from the scene. The imperial minister of finance, Depretis, failed to form a new cabinet, and so, on the 16th of February, 1879, the celebrated Count Taaffe assumed the difficult task. Taaffe, who possessed the emperor's confidence, was a political empiric, a scorner of fixed principles and of parliamentarism, a constant opportunist, and accustomed to find himself at home in every situation. Recently, from 1871 to 1878, he had been governor of the Tyrol. The Auersperg cabinet had been dissolved on the 6th of October, 1878, but had continued to manage the affairs of the state until the 16th of February, 1879. Taaffe had first to construct a new transition ministry with individual members of the previous one, and after the 13th of August he had, as minister-president, to provide for the composition of a government which, as a coalition ministry (including the Old Czech Pražák), should achieve the "reconciliation" of the various nationalities on the basis of the constitution—that is, effect an Ausgleich in Cisleithania.

Since this could be brought about only at the expense of the German constitutional party, the so-called Left, and as the latter set itself against

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Taafe's programme, he endeavoured to secure the adherence of the Galician Poles—who were constantly more and more favoured politically in the matter of their autonomy; of the Old and Young Czechs, and of the federalistic clerical party under Hohenwart's leadership—the so-called Right Centre—who now joined together as the Right, and found themselves in the majority with 168 votes against 145 of the Left (forty deputies remained free lances, not siding with either party). The Right now became the government party.

This decided alteration in internal conditions, so threatening to German liberalism in Cisleithania, somewhat counterbalanced the important agreement concluded between Bismarck and Andrassy. In this the object of the former was to secure Germany against schemes of reprisal on the part of France and the Russian Empire, whose alliance the republic was courting, while Andrassy had in view the protection of the dualism of Austria-Hungary and of the Magyar element against the idea of Slav unity (September 21st-October 7th, 1879). This agreement accomplished the alliance of Austria and Germany in the interests of peace and mutual defence.

This was Andrassy's last political achievement. He resigned immediately; his successor at the foreign office was Heinrich Freiherr von Haymerle (since 1877 Austrian ambassador to the royal Italian court in Rome), who continued in the course of policy marked out by Andrassy; and on his death, soon after (October 10th, 1881), he was followed in his turn by Count Gustav Kálnoky, who did the same, and in unison with Bismarck arranged the expansion of the German and Austrian alliance into a triple alliance—Austria, Germany, and Italy as opposed to France and Russia (1883). From this time forward the triple alliance of central Europe remained the guiding line of continental politics and the point of attack for the Slav world of Austria, as was repeatedly the case even in Hungary with the opposition party.

Taafe's attempt at an *Ausgleich* had to begin with concessions to the Czechs (language ordinance of the 19th of April, 1880) and to the clericals (new school ordinance of the 2nd of May, 1883, as an amendment of some provisions of the school law of 1869), and he was soon embarrassed by comprehensive demands.

On the other hand, the opposition of the Germans in Bohemia to the growing ascendancy of the Czechs was increasing in vigour. The government was anxious to silence it, and in January, 1890, opened the Vienna *Ausgleich*-conference, intended, amongst other things, to investigate the question of the nationalistic delimitation of the judicial circuits, which had been the crying one on the German side since 1886. Besides this, Taafe had also to inquire into the practical necessity of insisting on German as the state language, which was repeatedly emphasised, in especial by the military party and its leader Archduke Albert as chief inspector of the forces. But the German liberal motion (by Wurmbrand) made in the Reichsrath in 1880 and 1884 had against it the main forces of the whole Right as well as the German feudalists and clericals, and was laid aside.

Thus the *Ausgleich* ministry remained in an uncertain attitude, wavering between the German constitutional party, the united Left, and its opponent, the united Right. In February, 1891, the place of the minister of finance, Dunajewski, a Pole, was taken by the German Austrian, Doctor Steinbach. In Hungary also the government's difficulties increased, for their party had against it a growing opposition, which was composed of the so-called "popular party" (*Apponyi*) and the fractions of that "independence party" which aimed beyond the dualism at a personal union of Hungary with Austria. Since Francis Kossuth, the son of the ex-governor Louis Kossuth (who died at Turin, 1893), succeeded in obtaining the rights of citizenship in Hungary

which the opposition would have already claimed for his father in 1889, this independence party possesses in him a leader, though one of moderate abilities.

Meantime, in view of the growing opposition, the minister-president Tisza had given in his resignation; he was followed (March, 1890) by Count Julius Szapáry, who was compelled to retire by the opposition of the clergy in the Protestant question (November, 1892), after which the new minister-president Wekerle became all the more urgent for civil marriage, the regulation of mixed marriages, the legal acceptance of the Jewish faith, and the freedom of religious worship. But Wekerle fell into disgrace with the Crown through the intrigues of the "Kossuth party," and in December, 1894, resigned his post to Freiherr Desiderius Bánffy.

Shortly after this (1895, May) occurred the dispute on the question of jurisdiction between Bánffy and the imperial minister of foreign affairs, Kálnoky, in the affair of the nuncio Agliardi and his attempt to summon the episcopate of Hungary to resist the new church laws. The circumstance that this dispute ended in the retirement of Kálnoky shows that in such trials of strength Hungary—as both before and after—retained the advantage. Kálnoky's successor was the Polish nobleman, Count Agenor Goluchowski, son of the minister of that name who held office in the year 1860.

It is significant that the last months of the "conciliatory ministry" (*Veröhnungsmministerium*) were accompanied by the refractory conduct of the Young Czechs, who in the provincial diet of Prague (May) resorted for the first time to a method of opposition hitherto unheard of—that of riotous "obstruction"—and by a rising of the Slav mob in Prague (September) which resulted in a state of siege. On the other hand, Steinbach's proposition, brought forward on October 10th—a new method of election to the Reichsrath for the curia of the towns and country districts—was destined to make the government popular with the social democrat party, the advocates of the working class—the "small man" (*der kleine Mann*). This party had been gradually increasing in strength, and by its means the opposition of the Left was to be reduced to a yet smaller minority. But as not only the Left but also the German conservative feudalists (the Hohenwart party) and the Poles as agrarians made a decided stand against this bill, the Taaffe ministry suffered a parliamentary defeat and resigned (November 11th, 1893).

The cabinet now appeared as a continuation of that of Taaffe, again under the guise of a coalition ministry, but by means of a compromise with the Left it was far better balanced than the retiring one and composed of German liberals, Poles, and German conservative liberals. At its head was placed Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, the younger, without a portfolio. He also had as little success in pushing through the election reform as in advancing the cause of the nationalist Ausgleich in Cisleithania, and finally came to grief over the opposition of the Left to the bill for a Slav gymnasium in the Styrian town of Cilli. This measure was forced on the government by the Slovenes of Inner Austria and their allies in the Reichsrath, when the Left immediately threatened to secede from the coalition. The Windischgrätz cabinet at once (June 19th, 1895) gave place to a "transition" or bureaucratic ministry formed by the governor of Lower Austria, Erich von Kielmannsegg, which was immediately followed (October 2nd) by a new conciliatory coalition ministry, of mainly German complexion. Its president was the Polish count, Kasimir Badeni, previously governor of Galicia, the man of a "strong hand."

In his brief programme emphasis is indeed laid on "a powerful, patriotic Austria, advancing with solidarity," as the goal to work for, but the government adhered to the Right as the government party and consequently was only too soon compelled to engage in a sharp encounter with the German Left in the Reichsrath. Still, the new government was successful in passing (Febru-

[1896-1898 A.D.]

ary, 1896) the elective reform of Taaffe and Steinbach, in accordance with which every citizen of twenty-four years of age was enfranchised under certain conditions; and consequently the five *curiæ* or "general elective classes" were brought into existence, and seventy-two new members were added to the three hundred and fifty-three of which the house of deputies had hitherto consisted.

The elections in question not only resulted in many instances in the humiliation of the German liberals, who were already greatly divided among themselves and outstripped in influence and political credit by the younger groups on the Left (popular party, German progressive party, free German union, Old German or Schonerer party), but the results also strengthened the social democrats (fifteen deputies) and their opponents, the Christian socialists, a group which was connected with the clericals and the Catholic popular party (it had its origin in anti-Semitism), and which, since the appearance of Karl Lueger as a candidate for the office of burgomaster in Vienna, had acquired for itself the pre-eminence in the municipal council of the imperial capital. They (twenty-seven deputies) became in a certain sense the pointer in the balance of the parliament's resolutions, since the united Right, as the government party, counted without them two hundred and fifteen deputies, and stood facing an opposition of one hundred and seventy-eight deputies of the united Left, exclusive of the social democrats.

Badeni published a new language ordinance for the transaction of official business in Bohemia (April, 1897), in which his chief aim was to win over the Young Czechs; and he also attempted, by a provisional measure (*provisorium*) to get over the difficulties in the way of renewing the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich. These proceedings at once precipitated a tumultuous outburst of indignation in the form of the "German obstruction," and from the 24th to the 26th of October there were fresh tumults in the house of deputies, till matters came to such a pass that the Badeni ministry had no course left to it but to resign (November 28th, 1897).

The Crown now made an attempt at the formation of a "Bureaucratic ministry," of German complexion, through the agency of Freiherr Paul von Gautsch, who had previously been minister of public worship and education; but this was followed, as early as the 7th of March, 1898, by a new cabinet presided over by the ex-governor of Bohemia, Count Francis Thum, a feudalist. In this "reconstruction" a Young Czech, Doctor Kaizl, for the first time took his place as finance minister, and soon a member of the Catholic people's party, the Tyrolese Freiherr von Dipauli, became finance minister.

In Hungary, which in 1897 celebrated with much pomp and stir the festival of the thousandth anniversary of her existence, the so-called independence party and the popular party compelled the resignation of the premier Bánffy (February, 1898), when Koloman Szell took his place and had to accept as a legacy the difficult work of the financial Ausgleich.

On the 2nd of December, 1898, amid these intestine conflicts, closed the fiftieth year of rule of the emperor Francis Joseph, who was now sixty-eight years old, and whose reign had been fraught with severe trials and abrupt changes of political system. The violent death of his son and heir, Rudolf, on the 30th of January, 1889, the murder of the empress Elizabeth in Geneva, September 10th, 1898, by the mad act of an anarchist, are the tragic incidents in his personal life as a ruler before his jubilee. A successor to his throne was appointed in Francis Ferdinand, the eldest son of his deceased brother, Archduke Karl Ludwig, heir of the house of the dukes of Modena-Este, which had, however, been dispossessed in Italy—a house closely connected with that of Habsburg-Lorraine. This affair, as well as the marriage of the archduke Ferdinand with the countess Chotek, was a much agitated state question, especially in Hungary.

THE MEETING-POINT OF THE CENTURIES.

The years 1899-1906 afford by no means a cheerful view of the internal affairs of Cisleithania. In 1899 (September 23d) the Thum Ministry had to yield to the attack of the German Opposition. It was followed by a "bureaucratic ministry" got together at command of the Crown by the ex-governor of Styria, Count Manfred Clary Aldringen, who was honestly anxious for a political and nationalistic Ausgleich in Cisleithania, as is shown by the abrogation of Badeni's language ordinance.

He failed in his mission, and within a few weeks it became necessary (December 21, 1899) therefore to reorganise the new "bureaucratic ministry" under the presidency of the Minister of Railways, Heinrich von Wittel, so that at least the provisional arrangement for the Ausgleich with Hungary might be disposed of. But in January, 1900, Ernest von Korbner took Wittel's place as President and Minister of the Interior of the newly constructed "bureaucratic ministry," where, besides the "native minister" for Poland, room was also found for one for Czech Bohemia. Despite the difficulties arising out of the growing pressure of Slav demands, the question of the renewal of the financial Ausgleich with Hungary, and other matters, the new Premier managed to maintain himself until December, 1904, when he suffered defeat and was succeeded by Baron Gautsch, who had been Prime Minister for a short time in 1897 after the fall of Badeni. One of the problems which face the new Ministry is the reform of the suffrage.

Besides this the Welsch Tyrolese or Trentino question, the pressure of the Italians in Tyrol for complete administrative separation from German Tyrol, imperatively demands a decision. The foundation of Slav and Italian high schools appears merely as a consequence of nationalistic struggles, whilst on the other hand, the agitation for calling into existence again a university at Salzburg seems only a necessity of clerical party tactics. The movement in Cisleithania in favour of a so-called "break with Rome," the ostentatious conversions to the Protestant faith amongst the German population, spring from sentiments of German nationalism and from indignation at the attitude of the German Austrian clerics in discounting those sentiments; whilst in the Austrian clergy the Slav agitation possesses an important ally, and amongst the southern Slavs of Austria efforts are being made in favour of the introduction of the old Slav liturgy.

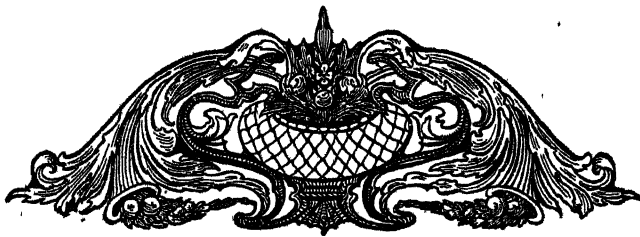
On both sides of the Leitha the advance of the extreme and radical parties is constantly becoming more perceptible; only in Hungary, where, moreover, the clerics remain nationalistic in their views, has the government still a strong, coherent liberal party at its disposal, whilst in Cisleithania this is not the case. Especially deplorable is the division into parties and the disunion among themselves which has been increasing in the ranks of the German population ever since 1879, and their intestine war to the damage of their own great cause and of the German leadership in the parliamentary life of the empire.

The Oriental question is moving towards a new and formidable crisis. Any moment may lead to the advance of the Austrians from Novi-Bazar, and bring in its train complications of incalculable extent, either over Albanian affairs with Italy, or in the Montenegrin, Servian, Bulgarian question with Russia. For the present nothing is more desirable than the inclusion in the monarchy proper of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only in fact, but also in name, as "New Austria," and the abrogation of the treaty with the Porte, dated the 21st of April, 1879, in accordance with which Austria-Hungary administers those countries as a trust, while the Sultan remains their sovereign—a relation which was and remains a fiction.

[1899-1906 A D]

The unhappy consequences of the costly changes of political system, of unfortunate wars and occupations, of heavy financial and economical crises, and—as throughout Europe in the last decades—the unlimited increase of the demands of the military administration for the maintenance of the armed peace, find their reflection in the history of Austro-Hungarian finance, of the national debt, of the debit and credit in the state accounts—a history full of pathological interest. The machinery of state and communal taxation works on unceasingly, without being able to find many new points of attack or contriving to adjust itself to the ability of the taxpayer.

The most ominous fact for an agrarian state such as Austria-Hungary is the decline in the peasant farmers and the crowding of the country population into the great and ever-growing cities. This is by no means counterbalanced by a remunerative expansion of trade and commerce by land and sea. The state idea, which no longer possesses its essential hold in power and success upon the new generation that has grown up since 1866, is ominously declining before the disintegrating nationalist movement in the direction of federalism on the part of the polyglot population of the empire; and although this movement appears to be still far enough from its aim, and the centre of union and gravity still remains in the dynasty, and though the vitality and innate force in the life of the state must not be underestimated, while the power of self-interest and the instinct of self-preservation still holds together the people of the dual state, even in spite of themselves, nevertheless the foundations of its existence may soon have to be defended against a final and far-reaching shock.





CHAPTER VII

THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUNGARY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

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"THE greatest of the Hungarians," Count Stephen Széchenyi, wrote in 1822 as a motto for the diary which he kept in German: *La Hongrie n'est presque pas comptée parmi les nations!* (Hungary is hardly reckoned among the nations.) Shortly before, his father had descended to the tomb, despairing of the future of his native country. Herder believed that he foresaw the extinction of the Hungarian language. And now Hungary is an important element in the political life of Europe, and her people have also demonstrated their ability and determination to progress both economically and intellectually. This change, at a period which nevertheless was not favourable to the development of the smaller nations, I will now briefly describe in its causes and progress.

Down to the end of the seventeenth century Hungary was in constant and active contact with the political and intellectual movements of the West. But when the house of Austria and Catholicism acquired the ascendant, they did their utmost to prevent this contact from which Protestantism, then very powerful in Hungary, derived its force. Under Maria Theresa and Joseph II the government did indeed endeavour to do a good deal for the improvement of the country, which, owing to the Turkish wars and internal anarchy, had remained in a very backward state; but their best intentions were laid open to suspicion and rendered fruitless because they attacked not only noble-privilege, but also the nationality and self-dependence of the realm. Joseph II, by introducing German as the official language, gave the very impulse that was needed to secure a better cultivation and an improvement of the Hungarian speech, which had hitherto been somewhat neglected in favour of Latin. The diet of 1790, which confirmed the constitution, was the first to prescribe the study of the Hungarian language in the higher educational institutions. The

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antagonism to the dynasty ceased. The privileged classes of Hungary had indeed a common interest with the throne in opposing the French revolution and its teaching, but the nationalist movement did not cease to work. It is just from this epoch that the continuity of our literature begins.

Of all this nothing was known in Europe. It was known only that Hungary was a country of great natural resources, but neglected; it was known that its troops had fought bravely in all countries, but still it was regarded merely as a province of the Austrian Empire erected in 1804. As a fact the government of Hungary, albeit independent according to the letter of the laws, was merely a dependence of the Vienna administration. After the downfall of Napoleon, in the general exhaustion following on enormous efforts, the court thought to clear from its path the last obstacles to absolute rule. An attempt was made to raise recruits and demand taxes without consulting the diet. All this was opposed by the organs of autonomy, the *comitatus*—that is, the assemblies of nobles. This induced the king (emperor) Francis I to summon the diet once more in the year 1825.

The Hungarian constitution, in the antiquated form it presented at this time, appears rather as a hindrance to progress than as a security for freedom. Nevertheless it had a real value, as is fully manifested by the enthusiasm with which men fought for it and the sacrifices made for it. With all its defects and weaknesses, it not only maintains the privileges of the nobles, but also embraces all the remains of the political independence of Hungary which the conflicts of centuries had left intact. Briefly: it was the legal bulwark against absolutism and against the endeavours of the Vienna court to germanise Hungary and incorporate her with the empire. Every attack from Vienna made the constitution still dearer to every patriot, and even caused the abandonment of abuses to appear as a betrayal. Effectual reform was to be thought of only when the nation itself should undertake it on a legislative basis.

This basis had now been won; from 1848 the constitutional work suffered no interruption and this epoch was the most fruitful and in many respects the most glorious of our modern history. At first the diet merely confined itself to securing the constitution and to the endeavour to add clauses making absolutism with the illegal recruiting and collection of taxes impossible. But soon a much higher and better ambition was awakened—that of developing the nation's own forces, and bringing the institutions and civilisation of Hungary nearer to those of the most advanced states—in a word, the ambition to convert her into a free modern state.

In so far as great movements can be the work of an individual, the merit of this change is due to Count Stephen Széchenyi. A man full of intellect and fire, and yet always with an eye to the practical, a perhaps unique mixture of warm feeling and cold calculation, of imagination and the calm understanding of things present, Széchenyi was at this time in the prime of manhood. (He was born in 1791.) His education had been almost exclusively foreign; it was only as an officer in Hungarian garrisons that he had made a closer acquaintance with his own country. As a captain of hussars he had distinguished himself in the Napoleonic wars, and had employed the years of peace in extensive travels, beholding with his own eyes the progress of Europe and the stagnation of his own nation. He had even thought of emigrating to America in order to satisfy his restless desire for achievement. But his patriotism conquered. The whole of his tremendous ambition was devoted to one aim: that of arousing his nation from its slumber, and making it free, cultivated, and rich, England especially serving him as a model.

A great sensation was made when, in the sitting of the *Ständetafel*, on the 3rd of December, 1825, during the discussion of the erection of the Magyar Academy, the magnate in uniform said shortly, "if such a society comes into

existence I offer it my annual income—60,000 gulden.” For him intellectual development stood in the first rank. For if Hungary advanced in this direction, not only was her language preserved, but her independence was better secured, as though by laws and formulas. His example found imitators, the fund increased, and in 1830 the academy was able to begin its labours.

There was no lack of patriotism, and even in the first decades of the century disinterested men had been found who erected institutions of public utility. Thus in 1832 Széchenyi's father founded the national museum, and his uncle Count George Festetich, the first school of agriculture at Keszthely. Széchenyi's office was to guide this public spirit into the right channels, and not merely to make the necessary reforms welcome to all, not only to indicate their logical sequence, but also to arouse the enthusiasm of the ruling classes to the point of action and sacrifice. Socially indefatigable, he still found time to sketch the picture of the new Hungary in a whole series of works which begins with the *Credit* (1830). To preserve a nation for mankind was his aim, and that nation should remain true to its word, its king, and its fatherland. It was a great step, when Széchenyi dared to declare in a society wholly feudal that the value of a people consists in the number of its scientifically constituted bodies. Universal liability to taxation, the emancipation of the serfs, the removal of noble-privilege on landed properties were his most important demands. Only by these means could a free state be developed. To enhance the commercial strength of the country he took part in the starting of the steamship service on the Danube, blew up the rocks of the Iron Gate, and laid the foundations of the Ketten bridge which was to unite Budapest and make of it a true metropolis. This undertaking had also a political importance, for the nobility, hitherto exempt from all customs and taxes, had here to renounce their privileges and take the bridge-toll on “their maiden shoulders.” Hungary was to be drawn into the commerce of the world, her products were to appear in the world's market. Intellectual and economical progress was the more needful in order that the foreign notions concerning capitalists and workmen, which were then invading the country unhindered, might not endanger the independence and efforts of the nation. “We cannot command history to stand still. The past is gone by; let us go forward!” is the essence of his teaching.

The success of this energy shows that public spirit existed in the country and only needed a leader to enable it to take effect. From 1830 the diet followed the path of reform unceasingly; the resistance of the government and of the upper house was overcome. Only in 1837 came a counter blow, when the government attacked the freedom of the press and of speech. At that time Louis Kossuth, the editor of the first parliamentary gazette, and Baron Nicholas Wesselényi, a friend and travelling companion of Széchenyi and an impetuous champion of peasant emancipation, were thrown into prison. The diet of 1839-1840 took cognisance of the matter and the government had to release the prisoners. This was mainly owing to Francis Deák, the leader of the *Standetafel*. The burdens of the peasants were regulated and diminished, the grievances of the Protestants adjusted, the Magyar tongue was recognised and introduced as the state language.

Up till this epoch the national movement had followed a uniform course. The diet occupied itself mainly with political questions; in it the opposition was pre-eminent, whilst Széchenyi turned his attention to social and economical matters and carefully avoided any encounter with the government. But although by diverse paths, both aimed at the same goal. This unity had its fruit. Hungarian literature then matured her first masterpieces. The idea that Hungary is once more to win for herself a place among the nations is the main theme; and Vörösmarty's poem *Szózat*, the appropriate national anthem

[1840 A.D.]

of Hungary, is the poetical expression of the hope and fear which filled men's minds at the time. Men began to believe in the future of Hungary, and even foreign countries began to give sympathetic attention to this movement. But in proportion as the movement grew, as its results and objects became evident, the dangers which threatened it multiplied.

Will not a free Hungary, intellectually and economically independent and devoted to progress, endeavour to loose the bonds which attach her to Austria and which are in many respects so oppressive and even degrading? Will she not, reviving her ancient traditions, set herself against the dynasty? Széchenyi, loyal and devoted to his king from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, attempted to banish this doubt by saying that the interests of Hungary and her king were in reality the same, and that her close union with the whole monarchy and her political position were the first considerations. But centuries of struggle had accumulated so much distrust in government and people alike, that even a Széchenyi could not entirely dissipate it.

The other dangers were still nearer and more threatening. As is well known, Hungary is inhabited not by Hungarians alone. Hitherto property, intelligence, and political rights had been almost exclusively in the hands of the Magyars, and the best strength of the rest of the population had joined with them in order to acquire some influence. The emancipation of the peasants, the representation of the people must change all this. Croats, Germans, Slovaks, and Rumanians together were superior in point of numbers. Would not these peoples regard the supremacy of the Magyar language as an oppression, would they not endeavour to develop their own nationalities independently? The Croats were already stirring; amongst both northern and southern Slavs signs of Panslavism appeared; in a word, simultaneously with the acquisition of freedom, the problem of nationalities rose into prominence. This Széchenyi foresaw, and he also indicated the way to meet it. Avoidance of all violence and oppression, and on the other hand the development of Hungary both intellectually and economically, in order to preserve and increase her traditional preponderance, must, in his opinion, lead to the calming of antagonisms and reconcile the other inhabitants with the dominant nation. "Every better Hungarian helps the cause—every worse one repels and makes enemies," was his watchword. He also hoped for magyarisation, but in the most ideal fashion, through intellectual and material and liberal labour, unceasingly continued.

It is easy to sketch the fairest plans; to execute and give legal form to the idea is harder; but the hardest of all is to transform and guide the world of ideas, the whole being of a nation. This Széchenyi had to learn by experience. After the first successes, after the high-soaring expectations, his foresight, his carefully considered schemes appeared at fault. That clear understanding could not master the passions rooted in the deepest recesses of the soul, the impulse towards immediate possession of the object aimed at. And this impulse found a powerful leader in Louis Kossuth. After his release from prison, Kossuth founded a newspaper and preached the gospel of reform with glowing enthusiasm, with all the ornaments of his language and all the methods of appealing to the imagination which his rhetoric commanded. Széchenyi found himself obliged to stand forward, not against the policy, but against the tactics of the tribune of the people. The first champion of democracy, the poor advocate and newspaper writer continued to hold his own in the literary contest against the high-born aristocrat, the great man whom he himself called the "greatest of the Hungarians."

It was, however, something more than a personal antagonism, than the difference of position and temperament, which separated the two founders of modern Hungary from each other. Széchenyi, who had seen his country so

weak and had watched every sign of life with such anxious affection, looked upon internal peace as the first necessity, "in order that the tiny seed might unfold itself into a mighty oak." It was for this reason that he so jealously guarded the public opinion which he had created, for this that he sought to avoid any collision with the dynasty. Kossuth, on the contrary, in whom the traditions of the old struggle for liberty were revived, beheld with confidence the progress of his nation and was convinced that it must lay hold on every source of power which the constitution offered. If the exercise of legal rights should meet with resistance, he relied on the good cause, on the enthusiasm, on the patriotic sentiment of Hungary. Széchenyi declared with prophetic discernment that this course would only lead to revolution, to the endangering of all that had been won, to inevitable defeat; but his Cassandra cries were lost in air. It was not only the youth and the women who applauded Kossuth; the most earnest men of the opposition, Deák and Wesselenyi amongst them, took part with him. Széchenyi was left alone, and as the young aristocracy were uniting to form a new party, that of cautious progress, and the government, under the influence of the chancellor, Count George Apponyi, showed itself well disposed towards economical reforms, he approached the government, undertook the management of the department of communication, and devoted his energies to the great work of regulating the course of the Theiss and its tributaries.

Economical questions still further embittered the antagonism on either side. Széchenyi desired to make the development of agriculture and cattle-raising the first consideration; Kossuth, to render assistance to trade and industry, which had hitherto been neglected and stifled by the Austrian system of customs. We see that in this Széchenyi was still conservative, in keeping landed property in view and going out of the way of a collision with Austria; while Kossuth attacked the customs tariff, and through it the supremacy of Austrian industries, and at the same time wished to acquire influence for the democratic sections of the population who dwelt in the cities. Under his guidance, the "protective union" came into existence in 1844, its members pledging themselves to employ only articles of home manufacture.

The opposition, united against the government, was however divided on the important question of the future form of the administration. Kossuth wished to preserve the comitat as the best support of the constitution, while the young energies, the doctrinaires, including Baron Joseph Eotvos and the great writer, Baron Sigmund Kemény, saw the abuses of the old self-administration, and thought to secure the power of the state and with it the future of the nation by means of centralisation after a French pattern and by a responsible parliamentary government. The attacks which, in order to give a majority in the diet, the Apponyi government made on self-administration endeared the latter still more to the opposition. In the diet of 1847, which King Ferdinand V opened in the Hungarian language, the opposition had a majority; Kossuth, deputy for the Pest comitat, was its recognised leader. The debates for the most part turned on the illegal influence of the government on the comitat, an influence which the opposition wished by all means to make impossible.

It was, then, an active, rich political life which had developed here, where a few decades before a complete intellectual marasmus prevailed. And, into the midst of this eager progressive movement, fell like a bombshell the news of the February revolution in Paris, of the rising in Italy, of the awakening of the nations. The system of the Holy Alliance, and with it the narrow bureaucracy and Metternich's absolutism, was nearing its end.

Kossuth seized the moment. On the 3rd of March he moved that the diet should solicit the king to appoint a parliamentary government, but at the

[1848 A.D.]

same time to give Austria also a constitution. The future of the dynasty might rest on the most secure basis—that of liberty. By this Kossuth wished to put an end to the contrast between absolutist Austria and constitutional Hungary, the relation which Széchényi denominated “the mixed marriage”; he wished to secure Hungary’s statutory independence, but in no case to sever the tie which bound Hungary to the dynasty and Austria. The estates accepted the motion unanimously, the magnates hung back, the government meditated dismissing the diet. The rising in Vienna on March 13th, in consequence of which Metternich was forced to fly, the commotion in Pest on March 15th, and the revolution in Milan, soon put an end to hesitations. Austria received a constitution and Hungary her first independent ministry.

The new government, headed by Count Louis Batthyányi, included the best names in the country: Széchényi, Deák, Kossuth, Eotvos. Prince Paul Esterházy, the first nobleman of the realm, was appointed as minister at the court to manage the relations with Austria. The diet at once hurried through the most pressing reforms—the union with Transylvania, popular representation, universal liability to taxation, the abolition of serfdom with compensation to the landowners, the abolition of ecclesiastical tithes, equality of rights for all Christian denominations, state control of the universities, and a national guard. The programme of the patriots was carried out to a great extent as Széchényi had always dreamed, the greatest change had been peacefully completed without a drop of blood being shed. Universal rejoicing greeted the king when he came to Pressburg to confirm the new laws on the 11th of April, which was now to be celebrated as the national festival. The nobility, which of its own accord joined with the nation, had renounced great privileges, and assumed great burdens, deserves the gratitude of every friend of mankind.

Thus the Hungarian renaissance had attained its goal; the nation’s unwearying labour had borne fruit. Hungary, by her own efforts, without and in spite of her government, had become a free, independent, progressive state. The new blossoming of her literature, the interest in art and science, the sympathy with the prevailing ideas of the century gave hope of a fair future, when fresh complications again hazarded everything.

The Vienna court had indeed yielded to the pressure of circumstances, but it was not willing permanently to resign the influence it had hitherto exercised on the finances and army of Hungary. The refusal of the Hungarian government to take over a part of the national debt further strengthened the antagonism. It was not possible to come forward openly, it was enough to stir up nationalist feeling. The Croats under their new ban Freiherr Jellachich, the Serbs under the patriarch Rajachich, and later on the Rumanians in Transylvania refused to acknowledge the new government. The benefits of the new laws were not considered; a racial war with all its horrors was on the point of breaking out. On the 10th of June King Ferdinand did indeed condemn the attitude of the ban and summoned the Croats to acknowledge the Hungarian ministry, but the intrigues did not cease, and Hungary had to prepare to defend herself against internal foes. It was at this time that the first ten Honvéd battalions were organised.

The ministry remained loyal and hoped to persuade the king to come in person to his faithful country of Hungary. But the conviction that the rebels were receiving support from the government, and even from certain members of the dynasty, continually gained ground. On the 11th of July the diet, after a great speech by Kossuth, granted two hundred thousand men and 42,000,000 gulden for the defence of the country. Negotiations were entered into, it was hoped that peace might yet be preserved on the basis of the laws; but when the king dismissed the deputation from the diet without any satisfaction, when, on the 9th of September, Jellachich crossed the Drave at the

head of a great army, when the Reichsrath in Vienna, in which the Slavs were in the majority, refused to receive the Hungarians—then even the most peaceably disposed were forced to realise that the only choice lay between the cowardly abandonment of their privileges and armed resistance.

Never perhaps in the course of history was a thoroughly loyal people driven into revolution in such a way as was now the Hungarian nation. Széchenyi's powerful mind gave way under the strain of this breach between king and people. He was taken, a living ruin, to the lunatic asylum at Dobling, where he survived during twelve years of insanity. In September the ministry resigned; the king's representative, the palatine archduke Stephen, quitted the country; Jellachich advanced on Budapest. Then the diet appointed a commission of which Kossuth was the soul, and the death struggle of Hungarian liberty began.

In these gloomy days Kossuth's fiery eloquence, his conviction of the just cause of Hungary, his ceaseless activity, the charm of his person supported the self-reliance and courage of the people. The country became a military camp. Jellachich driven back (September 29th) marched on Vienna. The October rising in Vienna assisted Hungary to gain time. Then followed the abdication of the emperor Ferdinand and the accession of Francis Joseph I (December 2nd, 1848) whom the Hungarian diet, however, did not recognise as king. Every loophole for reaching an understanding was refused and in the middle of December the main army of Austria under Prince Windischgratz marched to subvert Hungary. The Honvéd army suffered reverses; in the beginning of 1849 Budapest fell into the power of the enemy. The diet fled to Debreczen. To its envoys, who endeavoured to treat, the prince gave the famous answer that he did not treat with rebels. Windischgratz deemed the campaign ended and occupied himself with the new organisation of the country.

But Görgey had led his army northward to the mountains; the valiant Bem, in whose forces the poet Petöf was fighting, maintained himself in Transylvania, in the south Damjanics defeated the Serbs, and beyond the Theiss Kossuth organised the army of the people. From March the Hungarians, under the leadership of Görgey, Damjanics, and Klapka, took the offensive. In April Windischgratz was driven back to Pressburg, and at the same time Bem in Transylvania defeated the Austrians, and the Russians who had come to their assistance. Besides the fortresses of Buda, Temesvár, Arad, and Déva, only the western borders were now in the power of Austria. Under the impression made by Windischgratz's advance, the court had dissolved the Reichsrath in Kremsier and had announced the grant of a constitution in which Hungary appears merely as a crown domain. Under the impression of the Hungarian victories the assembly at Debreczen, on Kossuth's motion, declared the dethronement of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty (April 14th, 1849). Kossuth, who appeared as the incarnation of the revolution, was elected governor. The form of government was not determined, but a strong republican party was established. The capture of Budapest by Görgey (May 21st, 1849) placed the cause of Hungary at its zenith.

It had thus been shown that even with the help of the nationalities Austria could not master the Hungarian movement. This induced the emperor Francis Joseph to accept Russian intervention, which had already been offered. One hundred and sixty thousand Russians under Prince Paskevitch crossed the Carpathian passes; from the east another Russian army under Lüders broke into Transylvania, and from the west, Haynau, the master of the ordnance, led the main Austrian army against the great fortress of Komárom. Hungary would scarcely have been able to resist such overwhelming odds even under the most favourable conditions, but now in addition the disunion be-

[1849 A.D.]

tween Kossuth and Gorgey crippled her forces. Gorgey withdrew from the line of the Waag towards Komárom, and after several battles turned to meet the Russians. Haynau pressed impetuously forward, occupied Budapest and Szeged, and at Temesvár defeated Bem, who was hurrying up from Transylvania. The diet had fled to Arad; thither Gorgey also betook himself. Here Kossuth laid down the government, and Gorgey became dictator with the design of surrendering to the Russians. The capitulation followed at Világos on the 13th of August. At the end of September Klapka surrendered Komárom: the war was at an end; Hungary lay vanquished at the feet of the czar.

Into the soldier's place stepped the hangman. On the 6th of October the execution of thirteen Honvéd generals took place at Arad and that of Count Batthyányi in Pest. Gorgey was pardoned at the instance of the czar, and spent eighteen years in confinement in Carinthia. He lost more than his life: the complaint of treachery was made against him, clouding the memory of his earlier heroism, and it was reserved for a later generation to demonstrate the truth of the verdict which even then Bismarck passed on him, that not bribery, but the perception that it would be useless to prolong the struggle had induced him to lay down his arms. Kossuth, Bem, and most of the ministers found an asylum in Turkey, while officers and officials were thrown into prison by hundreds or enrolled as common soldiers. Haynau, as the emperor's *alter ego*, went to work with a savagery which recalls the Russian doings in Poland. There seems to have been no idea that the Hungarian nation would yet have to be reckoned with.

Hungary seemed to be lost: according to the views of the Viennese statesmen, she was to become a mere name, to sink into a province of the great unified Austria. A dumb, deathly stillness brooded on the banks of the Danube and the Theiss, and with restrained fury in its heart the nation endured its fate. And yet the victims had not fallen in vain. The great world to which Széchényi and Vorosmarty had appealed followed the events of the war with the closest attention. The people that could fight thus for freedom and life seemed worthy of independence. Kossuth was hailed in England and America, not only as a great orator, but also as the representative of liberty and modern ideas.

As at an earlier time Kinsky had followed Caraffa, so now after Haynau's reign of terror came the system of Bach, the Austrian minister, who was anxious by any means to incorporate Hungary with Austria. The whole administration was germanised, the constitution destroyed, several provinces were cut off from the kingdom. In the time of the emperor Joseph centralisation under the banner of humanity and progress advanced against the antiquated Hungarian constitution. But now the constitution of 1848 might content even the most liberal, whilst absolutism not only oppressed the nation but was also an enemy to all intellectual culture. And when Bach ventured to point to the results of his system, it was Széchényi who, from his solitude at Dobling, in his *View*, which appeared anonymously in London, laid bare the weaknesses and illusions of the bureaucracy supported by gendarmes. The emperor of Austria, he wrote, can no more be ruler of Hungary both by right and might than a man can be at once the father and spouse of the same female.

In these years of trial our nation was animated by the memory of the great struggle, and literature made the nourishing of patriotism its chief object. At this time János Arany wrote his epics on Attila and the Huns and on the brilliant and chivalric epoch of Louis the Great. Maurice Jókai by his romances depicting all the beautiful traits of Hungarian life made their own country dear and valued by all. As liberty had once united the whole people, so now did the common oppression. Parties, orders, denominations, and even nationalities were welded together far more than they had ever been be-

fore. "Our nation, our language, shows fairer blossom from day to day," one wrote in 1859. The great work of the laws of 1848, the release of the serfs, the universal liability to taxation, was maintained by the alien rule. The removal of the customs in regard to Austria was turned to the advantage of material interests. The regulation of the course of the Theiss was also continued. The population, the prosperity, increased apace. Neither the sanguinary nor the peaceful work of the Vienna cabinet could cripple the vitality of Hungary. Only one safeguard seemed lost—trust in the ruler, loyalty. Men placed their hopes in Kossuth, and every political complication was considered from the standpoint of whether it might not call forth the outbreak of a new and successful revolution. When the Austrian army was defeated in Italy, in 1859, the court feared a general rising with the support of Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel. Besides, there was no more popular name in Hungary than that of Garibaldi. Many patriots kept up close relation with Kossuth and the emigration.

In these circumstances and under the pressure of great financial difficulties, the emperor Francis Joseph, who had meantime ripened into manhood, set about the heavy task of remodeling the monarchy. The October diploma of 1860 had at least restored the old comitat constitution, and the coronation diet was summoned for the spring of 1861. In it two parties stood facing each other: the one did not acknowledge the change of rulers effected in 1848; the other, under the leadership of Francis Deák, desired, first of all, the restoration of the statutory continuity (*Rechtscontinuität*) before it would negotiate. The February patent of 1861, which again proclaimed a unified Austria, made the union yet more onerous. In that gloomy time, when many looked for the recovery of freedom by armed force and foreign assistance, this great man appeared as the incarnation of law, of the national conscience. When the negotiations failed in their object and in July the diet was dissolved, he declared the nation was ready to endure a little longer rather than give up its rights; "for what violence seizes can be won back at a favourable opportunity, but when a nation itself surrenders anything for the sake of avoiding trouble its recovery is always difficult and doubtful." Thus Schmerling's endeavour to incorporate Hungary under constitutional forms once more suffered shipwreck. Even in the Vienna Reichsrath itself influential voices were raised in favour of Hungary's rights.

After the *provisorium* and the fall of Schmerling, the emperor, acting under the influence of Deák's famous "Easter letter," again summoned the diet in the autumn of 1865, in order to prepare the Ausgleich. Francis Joseph was determined to conciliate the nation; besides the lessons of history, the great interest of his noble consort, the empress Elizabeth, had an immense influence on his decision. But the complete restoration of the constitution of 1848 encountered great obstacles. Neither the position of the monarchy as a great power nor the rule of the dynasty was held to be secure if Hungary, united with Austria merely by a personal union, was to have her army at her own disposal. The commission of the diet discussed with great earnestness the question of how the foreign affairs and military forces of the monarchy might be ordered in common without touching the self-government of Hungary. In this discussion Deák's knowledge and judgment gave him great weight, and the report which served for the groundwork of the Ausgleich is chiefly his work. But before the diet could discuss this report there broke out the great war against Prussia and Italy, in which Hungary, not yet conciliated, could not participate in a whole-hearted fashion.

The intimate connection between the development of Hungary and that of the general situation of Europe, but especially between Hungary and German unity, is unmistakable. So long as Austria stood at the head of Germany, so

[1835-1879 A.D.]

long as the house of Habsburg possessed the highest title of Christendom, it was almost inevitable that the idea of the empire should play the chief rôle in all political calculations, that Hungary should be subordinated to this idea, and that everything possible should be done to germanise her. But when in 1848 the union of Germany under the Prussian hegemony began, this idea lost much of its force. The thought that the dynasty driven out of Germany must seek for its support in Hungary undoubtedly played a great part in Kossuth's policy. The idea was not yet ripe. Austria recovered her influence in Germany, and in connection with this the germanisation of Hungary under Schwarzenberg, Bach, and Schmerling began anew.

But now, when the battle of Königgratz put an end to all the dreams of Austrian supremacy, when Venice, the last remains of the Austrian possessions in Italy, had to be given up, when the ancient imperial idea with all its claims on world-rule was borne to the grave—the future of the dynasty and the position of the monarchy as a power rested on the conciliation of Hungary and the development of her strength. Austria having again become constitutional, free Hungary could renew her alliance with her. The Ausgleich was effected, and it was a great turning point, the end of evil days and the pledge of a better future, when Francis Joseph and Elizabeth were crowned with all the solemnities of ancient ceremonial on the 8th of June, 1867.

A few months before this a responsible ministry had been appointed for Hungary. At its head stood Count Julius Andrassy, who had taken part in the revolution, emigrated, and, returning, had joined with Deák, who called him a providential statesman. He had soon won and justified the monarch's full confidence without sacrificing his popularity. In 1868 an arrangement was made with Croatia, by which the internal administration, the judicial and educational departments of the neighbouring districts were placed under the autonomous government of that province. The main tasks for the government and the Deák party were and long remained the defence of the Ausgleich against the very numerous opposition which saw in it a restriction of the rights of Hungary, and the revision of the financial and military institutions which were the outcome of the Ausgleich. The new burdens, the necessity of setting aside money for the construction of railways, as well as a certain want of sound judgment in public economy, soon made it necessary to raise loans and brought the state finances into disorder. To cure this the leader of the opposition, Koloman Tisza, went over with the greater part of his followers to the government party, which now (1874) assumed the name of the "liberal" party, which it still bears. Tisza succeeded in remaining fifteen years at the helm and in bringing the finances into order, in which task the finance ministers Széll and Wekerle rendered good service.

Count Andrassy had also made his influence felt in the domain of foreign policy. In the time of the Franco-German war he was in favour of the preservation of neutrality. When in Austria, under the government of Count Hohenwart, the Slavs attained to rule and the Czechs came forward with great demands, he contended against federalism as endangering the Ausgleich, and obtained the dismissal of Hohenwart. In 1871 he himself assumed the conduct of foreign affairs. He it was who gave the policy of the monarchy its eastern direction, carried out the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 1879 concluded the alliance with Germany against Russia which has ever since subsisted. Since the Bosnian campaign nothing has disturbed the external peace of the monarchy. The relations of the nation to its truly constitutional ruler have remained untroubled, and the love of the people for its king has been exhibited on every occasion—in a particularly affecting manner on the sudden death of the heir to the throne, Rudolf, and at the murder of Queen Elizabeth. The increasing confusion in Austria has scarcely

been able to produce any effect on Hungary; it has merely rendered more difficult the renewal of the *Ausgleich* and the commercial treaty.

First the political struggle and then the financial situation hindered reform, and Tisza's motto was *Quieta non movere*. Nevertheless, the ever-increasing difficulties in the sphere of legislation concerning marriage finally necessitated a radical reform of church policy, which was carried out under the Wekerle ministry (1892-1894), after a severe contest. Under the succeeding Bánffy ministry the Hungarian state made great progress, but the parliamentary absolutism which he exercised brought on a parliamentary revolution, to which he succumbed. His successor, Koloman Széll, made a compact with the party of the minority, and in accordance with this introduced purity of elections and the jurisdiction of the curia (supreme court of justice) in electoral questions. The many necessary reforms of the administration, as well as the healing of the evils in the economical situation, are probably the chief task of the internal government of Hungary in the near future.

Hungary is a state with thoroughly modern institutions, but with partly mediæval economical conditions. The work of Kossuth and Deák has borne fruit; that of Széchényi towards the social development of the nation still waits for its continuator. Equality of political rights has been obtained, but a wide gulf still divides the ruling and lower sections of society; for a great, prosperous, cultured burgher class, which may constitute the kernel of the nation, has not yet been entirely developed. It is upon this—upon how it may be brought into existence, upon the extent to which, besides the great political capacity and the historically developed virtues of the nation, the value of its intellectual and material labours may also make itself felt—that the development and progress of the Magyar state probably depend.



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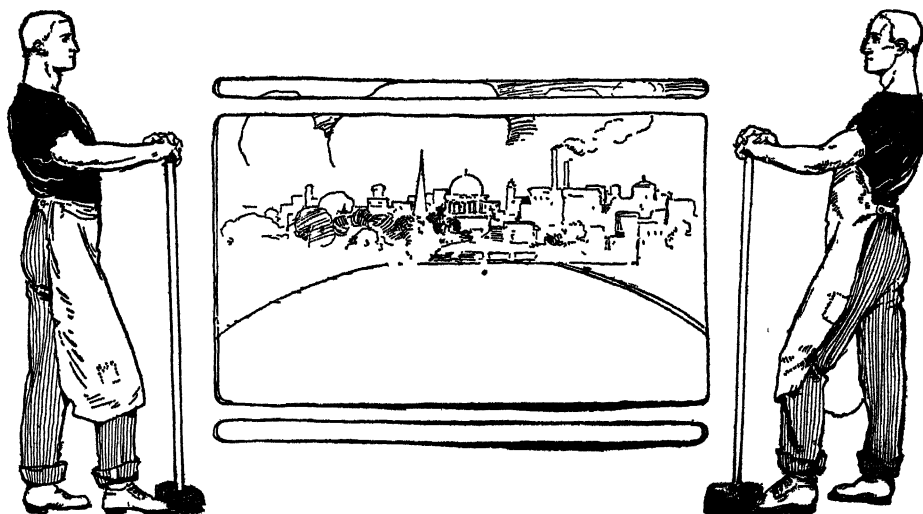
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BOOK III

THE HISTORY OF MODERN GERMANY

INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY FROM 1740 to 1840

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

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THE century of German history which lies between the years 1740 and 1840 and is covered by the reigns of three kings of Prussia (Frederick II, Frederick William II, and Frederick William III), and the Austrian sovereigns (Maria Theresa, her sons, Joseph II and Leopold II, and her grandson, Francis), owes its political character to the dualism which existed from 1740 onwards between Austria, the old leading power, and the rising kingdom of Prussia, which had rapidly grown into a state of European importance. The century is further characterised by the development and intensification of German national feeling, which, after the collapse of outward forms that had subsisted for a thousand years, till finally they lost all significance, aimed at and demanded the establishment of a homogeneous state, a new German empire. Lastly, for Germany this was the century during which liberal ideas, heralded by the philosophy of enlightenment and triumphantly vindicated in France earlier than elsewhere by the Revolution of 1789, gathered new force in Germany likewise and brought about the transformation of the absolutist régime and the differentiation of society according to estates into the modern type of political organisation.

The dualism between Austria and Prussia began as a struggle for the possession of a province—the possession, in fact, of Silesia, passing gradually into an acuter and more comprehensive phase, until it became a contest for supremacy in Germany. The conquest of Silesia by the youthful king, Fred-

[1772-1778 A.D.]

erick II, established a balance of power between Austria and Prussia, and definitely removed the latter from the ranks of middle states of Germany. Saxony and Hanover, her north German neighbours and hitherto her rivals, and Bavaria, whose ruler had reached out his hand towards the imperial crown, withdrew without territorial gain from the struggle for the dominions left by the last of the Habsburgs; the thoughts of aggrandisement these middle states had cherished were all alike frustrated, whether their greedy eyes had been cast on the Austrian or on the Prussian frontier. Except for the loss of Silesia, Maria Theresa maintained possession of her ancestral heritage; and, after the episode of the Wittelsbach Empire, she won back the highest temporal dignity in Christendom for her husband, Francis of Lorraine. But without Silesia, she said, the imperial crown was not worth wearing; for Austria, once thrust forth from Silesia, had thenceforth but one foot in Germany.

The desire of regaining Silesia and restoring Austria's unquestioned superiority to a dangerous rival was the motive which actuated Kaunitz, the Austrian chancellor, in his project of overthrowing Prussia by means of a coalition of the great continental powers and reducing her territory to the Brandenburg possessions, which were all she had owned at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The attempt proved abortive. In the Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great, allied with England and the neighbouring electorate of Hanover, then subject to the British crown, warded off the attacks of the Austrians, French, and Russians, of the Swedes and the imperialist forces. He issued from the great struggle without loss of territory, and with his power and prestige in Europe so greatly enhanced that nine years later he was able to win a fresh province for his kingdom by diplomatic action alone, without recourse to arms. Through the instrumentality of Prussia the dissensions between Russia and Austria, which appeared as if they must lead to a fresh outbreak of war, were adjusted in 1772 by an agreement at the expense of Poland, in spite of the fact that Russia would fain have kept Poland undivided under her own hegemony. West Prussia, the district about the lower Vistula and the ancient colony of the knights of the Teutonic order, which Frederick II thus withdrew from the Russian sphere of influence, was inhabited by a population in which the German element preponderated; while Galicia, which fell to Austria as her share in the partition, had a population of Poles and Ruthenians. Thus again the dominion of the Habsburgs lost its hold upon Germany, while the realm of the Hohenzollerns forfeited nothing of its purely German character.

Frederick II did not aim at obtaining a commanding position in Germany nor at wearing the imperial crown. The extension of his territory seemed to him a more important matter than the acquisition of an empty title; for to such insignificance had the imperial dignity sunk in the ancient empire. His *Fürstenbund* (league of princes) of 1785, an association which he formed with a number of estates of the empire, and not the reform of the empire for its object, but was designed (in view of the renewal of the old alliance between Austria and Russia) to act as a check on the policy of Joseph II, which aimed at territorial expansion in Germany and at the enhancement of the authority of the imperial government. Thus, as early as 1778, Frederick had successfully combated, sword in hand, the intention of the court of Vienna to annex Bavaria. The union of Bavaria and Austria—which Maria Theresa had tried to effect in 1743, during the war with Charles VII, the emperor of the Wittelsbach line—would not only have amply indemnified Austria for the loss of Silesia, but would have furnished her with a compact territorial sovereignty in south Germany. This would inevitably have rendered the differences between north and south, and in most cases the differences between religious

[1790-1815 A.D.]

confessions, more marked than ever; the dualism of Germany would have been perpetuated, and the accession of the commonwealths of southwest Germany to the federated states of the north, which actually took place in 1871, would in all likelihood have been forever beyond hope.

A fresh outburst of hostilities between the two great German powers, which seemed imminent after the death of Frederick the Great and Joseph II, was prevented by the Convention of Reichenbach (1790). And presently, for the first time in half a century, an alliance was concluded between the two ancient adversaries. Their common opposition to the French Revolution led the armies of the emperor Francis and King Frederick William II across the Rhine. The disastrous result of the military operations against revolutionary France resulted in a vehement outburst of the quarrel they had so lately laid aside; and at the Peace of Bâle (1795) Frederick William II broke with his ally. Prussia found ample compensation for the cession of her far from extensive possessions on the left bank of the Rhine in the secularisation of spiritual principalities and (so the great detriment of the national character of the German state) in the larger Slavonic domains, inclusive of Warsaw, the capital, which fell to her share in the second and third partitions of Poland. At the Peace of Lunéville Austria again received none but non-German provinces—Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia—in indemnification for the loss of Belgium and Lombardy.

Inspired with inexpugnable mutual distrust, Austria and Prussia entered upon a fresh struggle with France independently of one another, while the crumbling Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, thoroughly subjugated by the conqueror and heir of the French Revolution, gave place to a Rhenish confederation under the protection of France. By the Peace of Tilsit Frederick William III of Prussia lost all his dominions west of the Elbe and the greater part of the Polish acquisitions of his two predecessors, and in two wars the house of Austria lost the Tyrol, its possessions in Swabia, Venice, and the whole seaboard of Illyria and Istria, together with part of Carnuthia and Carniola.

The comradeship of Austrians and Prussians in the war of Liberation waged by all Europe against Napoleon, and the memory of the evils that had accrued to both nations from their long quarrel, threw the antagonism between them into the background during the epoch of peace inaugurated by the Vienna Congress of 1815. Prussia's policy turned aside (as we all know) from the traditions of Frederick the Great. On more than one notable occasion, Frederick William III, Hardenberg the chancellor, and (to an even greater extent) his successors in office, made Prussia's line of action in the affairs of Germany subservient to the point of view of Austrian policy. At the instigation of Austria, who scorned to resume the imperial dignity offered her, the Congress of Vienna, instead of accepting the Prussian proposals, which aimed at the establishment of a strong executive government, gave the new Germany the form of a very loose confederation. In this arrangement the interests of the middle states, who would have liked best to combine in a separate confederation and so form a "third Germany" independent of the two great powers, were at one with the policy of the Hofburg at Vienna. Prussia ultimately assented (as Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Prussian plenipotentiary, said) in a solution which did not answer to her expectations, rather than forego the creation of a national Germany in any form. On the other hand, Prince Metternich, the Austrian chancellor, regarding the matter from his own point of view, even after the lapse of forty years (in a memoir written in 1855) speaks of the solution of the German question provided by the *Bundesacte* (act of confederation) as "the only one at any time conceivable in principle or feasible in practice."

The courts of Vienna and Berlin were strengthened in the conviction of the solidarity of their mutual interests by their joint championship of the principle of legitimacy, which was at that time reduced to a set theory to oppose the ideas of the French Revolution and the sovereignty of the people. The two now coalesced with Russia—who in the eighteenth century had been the ally now of one and now of the other—in the system of the Holy Alliance, which was based upon the principle of legitimacy. This alliance, created by the czar Alexander on September 26th, 1815, repeatedly endangered by differences that arose between Austria and Russia out of their dissimilar attitude toward the oriental question, was nevertheless adhered to and respected in theory by all three courts for many decades.

The presidency of the diet of the German Confederation which sat at Frankfort had fallen to the lot of Austria as a legacy and result of her ancient historic position in Germany. But even then the economic leadership of the nation had passed from the elder to the younger power, by the establishment of the German customs union (*Zollverein*). The Prussian customs law (*Zollgesetz*) of May 26th, 1818, "based on free-trade principles as compared with the tariffs of all great powers at that period, protective in character compared with those of the petty states," was at its first promulgation accompanied by the declaration that all neighbouring states were at liberty to join the Prussian system. A treaty concluded in 1828 between Prussia and Hesse-Darmstadt contained *in nuce* the constitution of the German customs union to be; which was completed when in 1834 the customs union concluded between Bavaria and Wurtemberg in 1828, and a large number of the members of the so-called "middle-German trades union," became parties to the Prusso-Hessian agreement.

Austria, which had consolidated her *Mauith System* on a prohibitive basis, and whose immature industries needed protection against foreign competition, was not in a position even to contemplate joining the customs union, much as Metternich would have liked to wrest this confederation within the confederation, this *status in statu*, from the guiding hand of Prussia. One of the fathers of the customs union, Motz, the Prussian minister, regarded this economic organisation as "the real united Germany," in contradistinction to the pseudo-union of the German Confederation, and pointed out the possible political significance which this union of customs might acquire "in the event of a dissolution of the German Confederation in its present form and its reconstitution by the exclusion of all heterogeneous elements." Dahlmann, the historian and professor of civil law, called the customs union "Germany's sole success since the war of Liberation."

The establishment of the German Confederation was a bitter disappointment to such Germans as had looked for the political regeneration of Germany and the creation of a living national entity as the outcome of the patriotic rising of the year 1813. And what this same confederation did, no less than what it left undone, increased the grief and indignation of the nationalist opposition, and brought home to the reigning monarchs, more and more vividly as time went on, the conviction that the existing state of affairs was rotten, undignified, and intolerable.

Even in the worst period of political decadence the Germans had never wholly lost their national self-esteem (which had been kept alive in the age of Louis XIV by perpetual wars with France), in spite of the accessibility of the Germany of the period to the influences of French culture and its subservience to every turn of French fashion. About the middle of the eighteenth century the feats of valour performed by the Prussians and their north German allies in the Seven Years' War were realised and celebrated as a national triumph throughout the length and breadth of Germany. Presently German literature

[1810-1819 A. D.]

and German philosophy began to set up a new ideal of culture in opposition to the doctrines of the French *éclaircissement*. Klopstock when in his poems he substituted Teutonic mythology for the mythology of classic antiquity, Lessing when he impugned the authority of the French classicists, Herder and the youthful Goethe when they entered the lists for "German method and art," Schiller when he put forth his proud motto, "Here no strange gods are served henceforth," and stigmatised the nation as base that "did not joyfully stake its all for honour's sake"—were all animated by the same spirit. It is true that, hand in hand with this development of national sentiment and national pride, there went at first the sentimental adoration of the rising generation for Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and afterwards an enthusiastic admiration of the new liberty of France and the hero-worship with which the personality of Napoleon inspired even a section of the German people. But in the days of Germany's lowest humiliation, after the collapse of the old state of Prussia and the formation of the confederation of the Rhine, when the last remnants of German manhood gathered about the Prussian flag, the heroic spirit of Stein, Gneisenau, Scharnhorst, and Blücher laid hold upon the best thinkers and poets likewise. This spirit of patriotism, this faith in the fatherland, found its loftiest expression in Fichte's *Addresses to the German Nation*; the inspired preacher of political idealism admonished his fellow countrymen that they, being the nation of ideas and the guardians of a primeval treasure of living tradition, were under a greater obligation than any other people to see to the maintenance of their own existence; and proclaimed prophetically that the vivifying breath of the spirit-world would lay hold upon the dead bones of the body of the German nation and join them together, bone to bone, "that they might arise glorious in a new and transfigured life." Kleist, Körner, Arndt, and Schenkendorff struck in poetry the notes suited to that iron time. When Arndt returned home from Russia with Freiherr vom Stein in January of 1813, he found a nation "transformed to the very depths of its being, an ocean full of movement and life," a loftier spirit of "God's grace and God's blessing."

Even during the days of foreign domination, Jahn, the "father of gymnastics," had published his book *On German Nationality* (1810) against the outlandish coxcombry and love of foreign fashions which had brought matters to such a pass that no man would now recognise the "proud Germans" spoken of in the days of Charles V. After the expulsion of the French from Germany Arndt put in a plea for the foundation of German associations to cherish national customs, German feeling, and the sense of national unity, as distinct from particularism or the spirit of exclusive provincialism. Such associations flourished for a time in several towns in southwest Germany, while the "German *Burschenschaft*" (a patriotic association of German students) spread from Jena to all the universities after 1815—"based upon the relation of the younger generation in Germany to the growth of German unity," and intended to promote the development of every power in a Christian and patriotic spirit for the service of the fatherland. The outrages committed by individual members of the *Burschenschaft* led to the dissolution of these societies by the confederate governments and to the Karlsbad decrees of 1819 restricting the liberties of the universities. But the agitation among the educated classes in favour of unity was not stifled by these repressive measures; at the universities the rising generation filled itself full of strong national feeling, and at the beginning of the thirties Otto von Bismarck, then a student at Göttingen, laid a wager with an American friend that the goal of German unity would be reached in twenty years. Arndt's cry of 1813, "*Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein*" (The whole of Germany it shall be), never thenceforth died away in German lands.

The yearning for national unity was accompanied by the demand for constitutional government. The nationalist movement and the liberal movement acted and reacted upon each other. In the opinion of the champions of the idea of unity, united Germany was likewise to be a free and constitutional Germany.

The century that lies between the years 1740 and 1840 witnessed at its commencement the utmost extension of absolute sovereignty in the territorial states of Germany. Frederick II entered upon the heritage of the absolute monarchy which his father before him had established like "a rock of bronze." After her first war Maria Theresa abrogated a large proportion of the privileges still pertaining to the estates of her hereditary dominions, with the declaration that at her accession she had only ratified the privileges handed down for good, not those handed down for evil. Her son, Joseph II, abolished the last remains of representative government left to the estates. In Bavaria, Baden, and other states a representative constitution was equally a thing of the past; in the electorate of Saxony and the principalities which were combined to form the electorate of Hanover it was seriously curtailed. In Würtemberg and Mecklenburg alone did the opposition that represented the estates of the realm still make head against the absolutist aspirations of the sovereign power. Absolutism trampled privileges and private interests under foot in the name of the *salus publica*; its reforms represented the principle of progress as then understood. But this "enlightened despotism," with its maxim, "Everything for the people and nothing by the people," was soon subjected to the sharp criticism of a new political thesis. One of the spokesmen of the physiocratic school, the elder Mirabeau, enunciated the proposition that the true constitutional principle consisted in resistance "against the governing fever—the most deplorable malady of modern governments." Even in Germany enlightened despotism of the old school paled before this ideal. It is true that the republican propagandism which took its rise in France gained less firm foothold on the right bank of the Rhine than it might otherwise have done, by reason of the speedy collapse of the democratic French republic; but Napoleon's enlightened despotism—of which the states of the Rhenish confederation and, above all, the kingdom of Westphalia, the appanage of the junior branch of the Bonaparte line, served as an example—differed materially from the older enlightened despotism, inasmuch as it was based on the abrogation of the prerogatives of the heretofore privileged classes, and kept in view the principle and aim of the French Revolution—namely, the remodelling of the historically developed but degenerate state of things on the principles of reason and natural law.

The statesmanship of the German courts found itself face to face with the question of the attitude it should take up toward these demands and results of the French Revolution. In Prussia the ground was already prepared. For decades the government officials of the school of Frederick the Great had passed beyond the qualified liberalism of enlightened despotism, and absorbed ideas which tended to the establishment of political equality. We see the effluence of these tendencies as early as 1795, in the *Preussische allgemeine Landrecht* (Prussian common law). The catastrophe of 1806 opened the way for reforms long contemplated though hitherto delayed by *vis inertiae*, and a vigorous determination, like that of Freiherr vom Stein, insured their success. The fundamental idea of these reforms was to give both magistrates and people a larger measure of independence than either had enjoyed under the old system, in which the magistrates were held in tutelage by the king and cabinet, and the people by the magistrates. Thus uniformity, promptitude, and energy were to be infused into the clumsy and rusty mechanism of government, and the subjects of the realm, set free by the emancipation of the peas-

[1815-1819 A.D.]

ants and by liberal public institutions, were to be granted a share in public life and so inspired with a sense of individual responsibility. And, finally, Stein planned in his perfected political structure a participation of the Prussian people in imperial legislation and administration by means of the estates of the empire and the provincial estates, and a representation of the various interests and professional classes.

After Stein's resignation Frederick William III again and again promised his people national representation, most solemnly of all by the manifesto of May 22nd, 1815. Moreover, at the beginning of the German war of Liberation the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had declared, in the Proclamation of Kalish, that Germany should receive "a constitution in harmony with her primitive national spirit." The act of confederation of 1815 did not give popular representation to the German confederation, but Article XIII of that document stated, at least as regarded the several German provinces, that there was to be a representative constitution in all states of the confederation.

These promises were made the starting-point and juridical basis for the constitutional propaganda of the ensuing decades. The army regulations and the conversion of the old mercenary army into a system of national defence, based on the principle of the universal obligation to bear arms, were turned to account for the advancement of the cause of constitutionalism. At the triumphal celebration at the University of Kiel after the war of Liberation, Dahlmann said, "Peace and joy cannot securely return to earth until, even as wars have become national and thereby victorious, times of peace likewise become so, until at such times also the national spirit is consulted and held in honour, until the light of good constitutions shines forth and eclipses the wretched lamps of cabinets." What Dahlmann described as a liberal political programme was "the endeavour to gain the victory for moderate opinions," but the theoretical preceptor of the advanced "liberals"—for so they styled themselves, adopting a party designation which had first come into vogue in the constitutionalist contest in Spain—was Rotteck, professor of civil law at Freiburg. In his *Ideas concerning Constitutional Estates* (1819) in which he takes *Landstände* to mean a representative committee of the whole body of subjects of the realm, Rotteck throughout takes his stand upon the doctrine of natural law and regards the people as the natural depositary of political authority, and the government as merely the artificial organ to express the mandates of the popular will, though he proceeds to modify these Rousseau-like tenets by concessions to the monarchical principle.

The spread of liberalism, however, met with a barrier in an opposite tendency of the spirit of the age—in romanticism. Even as in the sphere of art and learning the romantic school loved to steep itself in the temper of past times, as it sought out and held up to admiration mediæval works of architecture and painting and monuments of language and history, showing how they had played their part in the sphere of religion, in the revival of faith in the Middle Ages, and the strengthening of the empire, so in the domain of politics they waxed enthusiastic over the patriarchal Germania of the old order of government and society. Hitherto the theory of politics had been pursued almost exclusively by the disciples of the doctrine of natural law, but now (1816) Haller published his *Political Science Rehabilitated*, in which he challenged the ideas of the sovereignty of the people and the origin of the state by "social contract"; ideas against which Haller advanced the thesis that the state came into being by inherent right, and rested on natural merit or on the grace of God. The word "constitution" he styled "the poison of monarchies," since it implied an authority in the democracy. Haller's theories were destined long to rule political education in such circles as dubbed themselves

the "conservative" party, after the example of the French; and the *Restauration der Staatswissenschaften* made its most illustrious disciple in the person of the crown prince of Prussia, afterwards King Frederick William IV. Thus the liberal and conservative principles were consolidated.

The Austria of Metternich, the leading state of Germany, borrowed from this discussion of the theoretical principles of constitutional order such arguments as suited the views of its own policy. The politicians of Vienna, using the term *landständische Verfassung* (constitution representative of the estates) to denote the reverse of the modern representative constitution, were inclined to regard the latter as altogether inadmissible. At the ministerial conferences held at Vienna in 1820, the assembled plenipotentiaries of the states of the German confederation inserted in the *Schlussacte* (final act), which they jointly concocted, an article which was notoriously aimed against the modern doctrines of the division of power and the sovereignty of the people, for it determined that all political power was necessarily vested in the head of the state and that the sovereign was only bound to call in the co-operation of a constitutional representative body in the exercise of certain definite rights. In order to fulfil the letter of the act of confederation the emperor Francis tolerated provincial diets of no political importance whatever in such of his provinces as belonged to the German confederation; and, apart from any doctrinary considerations, a glance at the confused medley of nationalities on the map was enough to negative the idea of popular representation in Austria. For this reason Metternich was all the more concerned to persuade the other German great power, behind which Austria could not afford to seem (in the eyes of public opinion) to fall in the matter of national institutions, that for Prussia also the introduction of popular representation was "incompatible with the geographical and internal conditions of the empire." As a matter of fact Frederick William III rested satisfied with establishing, in 1823, provincial diets in which representatives of the great landowners and peasant proprietors and of the cities likewise were allowed an advisory voice. On the other hand, the south German states of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden obtained in 1818 and 1819 constitutions which occupied an intermediate position between the old system of estates and the modern representative system. In the north German states of Hanover, Saxony, Brunswick, and the electorate of Hesse the forms of the constitution of estates were not modified until 1830, and then under pressure of revolutionary agitation.

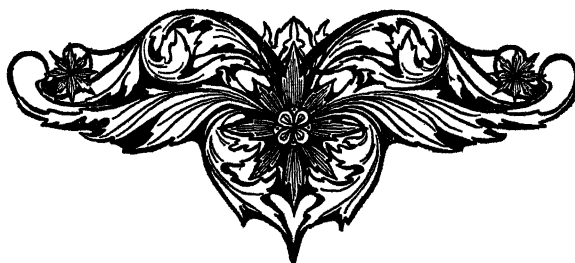
This agitation of 1830, which spread to Germany from France and Belgium, was here essentially constitutionalist in its demands, the impulse towards nationality receded into the background before the claims of liberalism; the constitutional states of the south and the dominions of the two great absolutist monarchies, Prussia and Austria, were untouched by the irradiation of the revolution of July. After the success of the constitutionalist cause in the middle states of north Germany, the liberal movement was followed by a wave of radicalism, which plunged the governments of the southwest into fresh alarms by the great demonstration at the Hambach festival in 1832, the first German mass meeting, and by revolutionary attempts here and there. Within the *Burschenschaft*, which again began to come to the fore, liberal and revolutionary tendencies now preponderated over the nationalist and romantic tendencies of the older generation, and among the band of "young German" poets much was said concerning the harm wrought to liberty by the narrow-minded principle of nationality. The excesses of the radicals gave the parliamentary leaders of the constitutionalist party occasion for a new pronouncement (1832) against the employment of violent measures; and from that time forward the forces of German liberalism were divided into a constitutionalist and a radical wing.

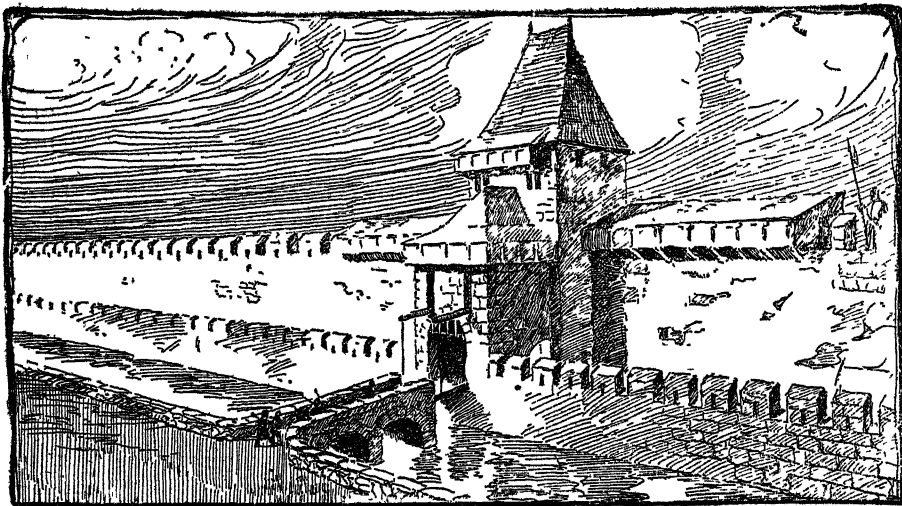
[1831-1840 A.D.]

In Prussia the desire for a constitution did not find open expression during the old king's lifetime. Meanwhile a political work fraught with consequences of the highest importance to the welfare of the government and people was being noiselessly accomplished, by the organisation of a well-regulated system of administration, by a frugal and prudent management of the public revenues which restored public credit and the balance in the national finances, by a sagacious and far-seeing economic policy which culminated in the foundation of the customs union already referred to, by the cultivation of the old military spirit in the new army system created by Scharnhorst and Boyen, by the patronage of art and science in the large and liberal spirit in which the university of Berlin was founded in the very hour of the new birth of Prussia. Had Frederick William III been able to bring himself to give his people the representation he had promised them, the government might have been spared the revolution. And in that case it is certain that Prussia would long since have made the "moral conquests" in Germany which the man who was destined to be the first emperor of the new empire spoke of as worthy to be striven for as early as the year 1831.

A contemporary French observer, Edgar Quinet, in an essay on Germany and the Revolution published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1832, predicted truly the further course of the nationalist movement in Germany: the unification of the German nation by the agency of Prussia, the rise of a great man, who should see and know his star in the full light of day. But Quinet was mistaken if he thought that there existed between the king and people of Prussia a tacit agreement to postpone the triumph of the cause of liberty in order first to work together for the extension of the dominions of Frederick the Great. Neither king nor people was guided by any such tactics. The fact was rather that the leaders of the German liberal party were only waiting for the accession of the next sovereign to lay their wishes and claims before the throne, while the king was so far from conceiving of himself as the heir to the policy of Frederick the Great that he overlooked and blinded himself to the natural antagonism between his own kingdom and Austria, and to the German dualism which still lurked latent in the existing state of things, and believed that the salvation of Germany lay in a firm conjunction with Austria and in the reactionary system of Metternich.

Another generation had to pass away before the change foreseen by Edgar Quinet set in—when the great man whose coming he had prophesied arose, and clearly realised that the conditions of German dualism on either side could be definitely settled only by a great war; and when, in the struggle for the hegemony of Germany, the policy of Prussia accepted the alliance of liberal and nationalist ideas.





CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF BRANDENBURG

[TO 1640 A.D.]

OUR chief concern in the present chapter, as Professor Koser's introduction would imply, is with affairs that date from the accession of Frederick the Great. It was only from this time that Prussia was able definitely to challenge the supremacy of Austria in the German hierarchy. Until this time the elector of Brandenburg was only one of several great German princes, even though latterly he had borne also the title of King in Prussia. The early history of Brandenburg has received incidental treatment in the general story of the Holy Roman Empire. But in view of the important future to which this principality was destined it will be of interest to take a retrospective glance and, through a somewhat more detailed study of Brandenburg, to trace the stream of the great modern empire of Germany to its source.

In explanation of the title of the present chapter we must bear in mind that Prussia did not originally bear the same relation to the other principalities of Germany which its later dominance might lead one to infer. The term "Prussia" was originally applied to the dukedom of what is now called East Prussia, and it was only in 1701, when this dukedom was converted into a kingdom, that the term spread its significance so as to include the whole state of the previous electoral princes of Brandenburg. Moreover, it was not until 1806, when the Holy Roman Empire was finally dissolved, that Prussia became an independent kingdom; until then it had always been feudally dependent on the emperor. Brandenburg, the electoral principedom, begins to assume its political supremacy in Germany with the Great Elector; and the territorial possessions of the Brandenburg Hohenzollern included Brandenburg, East Prussia, Cleves, Mark, and Ravensburg, to which the Peace of Westphalia added hither Pomerania with Kammin, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden.

The early history of Brandenburg can be traced from the foundation of the North Mark in the reign of Henry I (*circa* 930), after successful conflicts with

[1230-1245 A.D.]

the Slavs, from whom this mark seems to have been designed to protect the Saxons. The opposition of Saxon and Slav, Christian and pagan, made intricate by innumerable combinations of one territorial unit with another, is the characteristic of more than two centuries—from the reign of the first to that of the fourth Henry. At the beginning of the twelfth century Henry IV and the empire are united with the Slavs and Wends to suppress the Saxon. The victories of Wefesholz and Kothen marked the rise of the Saxon cause, with which is identified the glory of the house of Ballenstedt and the humiliation of the last Salian emperor, Henry V. But the final triumph was reserved for Albert of Ballenstedt, the Bear, as he was called, who continued the war against the emperor, won possession of the markgrafschaft of Lusatia, and became master of the whole territory that had once belonged to his maternal ancestors. Lothair, the ally of Albert, now became emperor, deprived his friend of the markgrafschaft (for it had been acquired without ecclesiastical sanction), and invested him in compensation with the North Mark.

Of Albert the Bear Von Ranke says: "He succeeded in his design of crushing together the races that had contended violently with one another from time immemorial, so that they were merged into the Slav and German elements, under the predominating influence of the latter. He was always a close ally of church institutions, without the help of which his ambition could not have been fulfilled; he united the two greatest impulses of the time, that of religious incentive and that of territorial acquisition. So the country became part and parcel of general and of German civilisation. Albert is a great and worthy figure to head this history—a man of strong characteristics."

The element of religious dissension, the contrast between the pagan and the Christian elements in the people of Germany, is still further illustrated in the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic order (1230-1283). Originally the order consisted of a few knights who were banded together for the cultivation of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and for the destruction of the infidel. Hermann of Salza, the first great grand master of the order, conceived the idea of transferring the centre of activity from Syria to eastern Europe. His first attempt was made in Transylvania in 1225, but met with no success. The knights of the order were then summoned to the aid of the Polish duke Conrad of Masovia in his conflict with the Prussians. In 1231 they constructed a fortress ring which they gradually pushed farther and farther. In the same year Landmeister Hermann Balko crossed the Vistula. The order founded Thorn in 1231; Marienwerder in 1233 after the battle of Sirguna; and Elbing in 1237. A great rising, supported by the duke Swantopolk of Pomerellen (1242-1245), was at last subdued, and justice was shown to the converted Prussians. The country was divided into four bishoprics—Pomeranien, Lobau, Ermland, and Samland. The order then made a bold stroke in the northeast, and founded



ALBERT, SURNAMED ACHILLES,
ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG
(1414-1486)

Memelburg, the modern Memel, in 1252; in 1255 many of them joined a crusading army under Ottocar II of Bohemia and Otto III of Brandenburg, which defeated the heathen Prussians, destroyed their idols, and baptised the vanquished by the score. Ottocar then founded the city of Königsberg.

Another desperate rising of the Prussians took place in 1260, by which all that had been won was again placed in jeopardy. Once again the fierce zeal of mediæval Christianity contended against the heathen. Mitau was founded in 1265; Semgallen reduced in 1273; Samland fell in 1265; Bartenland submitted in 1270, the Natangen in 1277. Landmeister Conrad Thiesberg put the finishing touch to the struggle by the subjection of the Lithuanian territory of Sudauen, which until 1283 had remained still free. The conquered people was reduced to utter slavery; but freedom was given to the faithful, and they provided the nucleus of a German aristocracy.

THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN

The period from 1134-1319 was that of the Ascanian line, which Albert the Bear had founded. Thus, during nearly two centuries, one dynasty had governed the mark, which had rejoiced in vast territorial expansions. In 1240 Berlin had become a fortified post of the mark, and it soon took the place of Brandenburg as a political centre of the markgrafschaft. With Waldemar's death in 1319 the Ascanian line became extinct. The history of Brandenburg now becomes merged into that of Bavaria and of Luxemburg, and a period of anarchy, lasting nearly a century, reduced both the territorial and internal conditions of the mark to a state far less prosperous than it had enjoyed in the height of the Ascanian period; it is at this point that we must look to the house of Hohenzollern for any ideas of state development. In 1192 it had received Nuremberg from the emperor Henry VI, and its area had gradually increased. In 1363 the dignity of imperial prince was added to this house. Finally, in 1411, Frederick VI, burggraf of Nuremberg, was given control of the mark of Brandenburg by the emperor Sigismund. On the 30th of April, 1415, he was formally invested with the office and the dignity of elector. (The recognition of Brandenburg as an electorate had been formally granted in the papal bull of 1356.)

Three points in the reign of Frederick should be noted: (1) his successful control of the lawless Quitzows and other robber barons; (2) the mildness of his policy towards the adherents of Huss; (3) the candidature for the imperial throne in 1438, when the houses of Hohenzollern and of Habsburg came into competition for the first time.

Frederick II, the son and successor of the elector (1440-1470), had to struggle with the large towns, which resented interference in their national affairs. He subdued Berlin, however, and built a royal castle within its walls; and also gained possession of Neumark, which had been given in pledge by the Teutonic order in 1402.

Albert Achilles, the brother and successor of Frederick II, reunited the Franconian lands to Brandenburg. The Prussian historian cannot claim that his policy was purely Prussian, for it was coloured by his devotion to the emperor. His *Dispositio Achillea* provides the first instance of the legal establishment of primogeniture; this was a family ordinance securing the future separation of Brandenburg and Ansbach-Bayreuth, and establishing the custom of primogeniture in each. John Cicero, the next elector (1486-1499), did comparatively little to extend the importance of Brandenburg; but Joachim Nestor, who succeeded him, introduced Roman law to secure a uniformity of procedure and to establish a fixed and central court of final jurisdiction in Berlin,

[1535-1617 A.D.]

instead of the travelling court that used to attend the sovereign on all his journeys. In spite of the growing predominance of Protestantism, Joachim I remained a Roman Catholic. He left the Neumark to his younger son John, in violation of the family law; and so Joachim II (1535-1571) succeeded to only part of the electorate. Both brothers became Protestants and played an interesting part in the development of the Reformation.

John George (1571-1598) permanently reunited the Neumark with Brandenburg, and proved a valuable state financier. The prosperity of Brandenburg grew rapidly, and the population was augmented by Protestant refugees from France and Holland. The reign of Joachim Frederick (1598-1608) is memorable for the foundation of a state council (*Staatsrath*), from which the bureaucracy of modern Prussia was ultimately evolved. John Sigismund (1608-1619) inherited the duchy of Prussia, and the territories of this elector were more than doubled in extent during his reign, covering at his death an area of thirty-one thousand square miles. His administration is of sufficient importance to justify us in pausing to consider it somewhat more in detail.^a

JOHN SIGISMUND (1608-1619 A.D.)

It was certainly a most difficult and responsible heritage which the elector John Sigismund received upon the sudden death of his father. John Sigismund was born November 8th, 1572, on the Moritzburg at Halle, and ascended the throne in his thirtieth year, so that a long reign was expected. Under the care of their good and pious mother—the markgräfin Catherine of Küstrin, daughter of John Küstrin, celebrated as being the brother of the elector Joachim II—he and his younger brother John George together received a most liberal and thorough education. Simple-minded, of a contemplative rather than a practical disposition, easily moved, he early showed a want of concentration and a decided lack of perception. In the hard battles which he had to fight from the very commencement of his reign—for the possession of the duchy of Prussia on the one side and the inheritance of Cleves on the other, as well as against the malicious intrigues of a fraudulent government—he often showed himself wanting in real capability and energy. But he possessed one virtue which inspired him with strength and determination in the most trying circumstances—he obeyed his conscience: “God help me to fill the high but difficult position,” he once wrote, “so that I can account for it with a clear conscience to God and my fellow creatures, both now and in the hereafter. I am his servant.” With this as his standard he fulfilled his duty.



A GERMAN NOTARY

Contrary to the exaggerated zeal of the strict Lutheran court chaplain and cathedral provost, Simon Gedicke, who instructed him in religion, he showed from the beginning distinct broad-mindedness regarding the religious questions raised by the disputes between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. Already

as a youth he had taken the oath, possibly at the instigation of his instructor Gedicke, and affirmed by writing that he would profess and follow the then avowed and recognisedly true religion of God's word in which he had been brought up—which was contained in the Bible, in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in the three established symbols of the Augsburg creed submitted to the emperor Charles V in 1530, and in the same apology for Christianity of the Smalkaldic Articles, the *Longer* and *Shorter Lutheran Catechism*, and the *Formula Concordia*; and that he would remain true and steadfast, swayed by no man. He also had to promise that he would make no further changes; that he would neither hinder nor prosecute any servants or teachers of this creed in the schools and churches, nor let any one of the above mentioned doctrines be altered in any way. But perhaps it was just the exaggerated zeal of Gedicke and his Lutheran companion which caused or at least helped the young markgraf, afterwards elector, to acquire a strong aversion to the intolerance of the denominational Lutheranism, and as we shall see later to espouse the Reformed creed.

The dark storm clouds of the Thirty Years' War stood threateningly in the sky as John Sigismund's reign drew to a close. In the spring of 1618 the dangerous state of Duke Albert Frederick of Prussia, who had long been suffering from a mental disease, called the elector and his wife [Albert Frederick's daughter] to Königsberg. The electoral prince was also summoned. On the 26th of August the duke died, and the elector John Sigismund had to thank the king Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who had been victorious in Poland, that neither the king of Poland nor those Prussians who preferred the Brandenburg rule opposed his inheritance of Prussia. Gustavus Adolphus had been implicated in the war with Poland, which broke out from the quarrels and claims to the throne arising upon the extinction of the house of Rurik in Russia.

Sweden Seeks an Alliance with Brandenburg

Both powers, Poland and Sweden, tried to profit by the situation in Russia to advance the extension of their rule on the Baltic Sea; and Gustavus Adolphus, with a view to the invasion of Poland, entered Livonia and penetrated as far as the Düna. The possession of the provinces of Karelia and Ingermanland was the result of his victory. In the autumn of 1618 he concluded a treaty of peace for twenty-one years with the Polish army; but the fresh outburst of enmity which occurred soon after was evidently anticipated, for in Warsaw the treaty was not even confirmed. King Sigismund III, nephew of Gustavus Adolphus, not only laid claim to the Swedish throne—though he and his descendants were greatly disliked, chiefly on account of their Catholic religion—but he also, like Sweden, endeavoured to obtain control of the Baltic Sea. Here, as everywhere, discussions were rife as to whether the Catholic or the Protestant religion should have supremacy in northern Europe.

Under these circumstances it was important for Gustavus Adolphus to obtain a treaty with the electorate of Brandenburg. With this object in view, he had made several overtures in 1617, and had pointed out that the king of Poland would never renounce the idea of conquering Prussia, and that the concessions in favour of Brandenburg were dictated by necessity, not by good will; an agreement between Brandenburg and Sweden would be advantageous to both sides. He commissioned the landgraf Maurice of Hesse to facilitate such a treaty. During John Sigismund's stay in Prussia the treaty between Sweden and Brandenburg seemed agreed upon. To strengthen his position Gustavus solicited the hand of the second daughter of John Sigismund, the

[1618-1620 A D]

beautiful Marie Elenore, then in the full attractiveness of youth, whom he had met on a secret visit to Berlin. But the settlement of a formal engagement was repeatedly deferred. The electoral prince George William opposed the union and favoured the suit of Prince Wladyslaw, of Poland, eldest son of Sigismund III, hoping thereby to gain the support of the Polish court in the trouble which threatened him from the Catholic League of Brandenburg. Marie Elenore herself was adverse to a marriage with the Polish prince, as she knew she would be forced to become a Catholic. When Gustavus Adolphus went to Berlin to make a last definite settlement for his marriage, the electress Anna besought him to postpone it again, as her husband was very ill and his mind was so weak that the union would bring great trouble to both him and the country.

Towards the end of 1618 John Sigismund was struck down by an apoplectic fit, after having just recovered from a seizure of two years before, which had warned him of his approaching death. Maimed and broken in spirit and body, he returned to Berlin in June, 1619. Overwhelmed with all his cares and the disturbed state of Bohemia, which boded the outbreak of a general war, and prematurely aged by all the hard battles and struggles which had filled his troubled life, he now longed for peace and rest; he had often confessed to those around him that he was tired of life, and that if it should please God to free him he was ready to go. In the autumn the electoral prince was sent for, and John Sigismund, being no longer able to carry on his work, formally gave over to his son, on November 12th, 1619, "the hard and difficult position of ruler of his country." In order to be completely removed from all the noise and disturbances of the court, and to prepare himself in quiet seclusion for the end of his earthly career, he was removed from the castle in a litter to the house of his valet Antonio Freytag. Here his illness made such rapid strides that on December 23rd, attended by his wife, his heir, his three daughters, and many councillors and servants, his weary and troubled life came to a peaceful end.^b

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN RELATION TO BRANDENBURG

The territories of John Sigismund were inherited by George William (1619-1640), whose want of decision was pitifully exhibited in the long struggle of the Thirty Years' War. Carlyle has said of him, "When the Titans were bowling rocks at each other, George William hoped by dexterous skipping to escape share of the game." His vacillation is all the more glaring when viewed in direct contrast with the firm and creative will of his successor.

We have already had occasion to tell the story of the Thirty Years' War from the standpoint of Austria, and we shall revert to it when we come to the history of the Swedish warrior Gustavus Adolphus. But here we must view the contest from another standpoint; we must note its influence upon the principality of Brandenburg,—the nucleus of the future German Empire. The great Prussian historian Von Ranke has left us a masterly treatment of the subject, which we quote at length. Clearness of presentation will of course necessitate some repetition as to matters of fact; but chief interest will centre on the consequences rather than on the incidents of the great struggle.^a

It was the internal conditions of Austria [Ranke says] which led to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. In Bohemia and Austria themselves the two tendencies in politics and religion which divided the world came into immediate conflict. The government, which aimed at a compromise, was upset; another filled its place, which, in accordance with its nature, followed

[1620 A.D.]

a strong Catholic line of intention. After the death of the emperor Matthias the succession to the imperial throne fell to the lot of the most distinguished representative of this line of thought, Archduke Ferdinand of the younger branch of the German line of the house. He it was who strengthened the hitherto loose tie with Spain. Brandenburg acquiesced in this election because it could not be prevented. Nevertheless the Bohemians, both those of Czech and those of German origin, had fallen into a state of open rebellion. Things went so far that they even thought of withdrawing their crown from the house of Austria.

So it was now a step of universal historical importance when the leader of the union, Frederick V of the Palatinate, determined after some consideration to take up the cause of that union; in him was reflected the Protestant principle in its present state of advancement. It can easily be understood that this principle depended for its chief furtherance and a most far-reaching development upon the step taken by Frederick V. What a fair prospect, if only other considerations of high importance had not been put on one side! Up till now it had always been made a sticking point in general German policy not to allow the claim of the Bohemians to exercise free power of election. Only once, under George Podiebrad, had this power been fully exercised, but not without disadvantage and danger for Germany. Since then, the claim by heredity, corresponding as it did with the circumstances of Europe and Germany, had again come to enjoy a preponderating validity. In accepting the choice that had fallen upon him, Frederick V of the Palatinate put himself in conflict with the prevailing dynastic ideas. It strengthened Bohemia in her national tendencies, but it weakened the connection in which her territories were involved with Germany. Those who had up till now been his friends and allies could not and dared not support him. The most respected Protestant electoral prince in Germany, John George of Saxony, went over to his enemies. Even his stepfather, the first Stuart on the throne of England, withdrew his sympathy from him.

The exclusive principle of Catholicism, on the other hand, acquired fresh leverage, in that it figured as the prop of the title by heredity, on which secular power in Europe from time immemorial had almost wholly rested. The emperor was still in a helpless plight, but Maximilian of Bavaria, the best armed prince of the empire, came to his side, and as the king of Spain, in pursuance of an agreement entered into with Ferdinand, espied his own interest in the deal and did not fail to provide continuous co-operation, an army was brought into the field by which the Bohemian forces which could not succeed in consolidating themselves in an organised military form were routed and annihilated in the first serious onslaught, as well as the allied troops of Transylvania and the German auxiliaries. The battle of the White Mountain decided the ultimate fate of Bohemia. A bloody reaction followed, almost unparalleled in the extent and gravity of its effect: at one blow Utraquism, the Lutheran faith, and the Reformed confession were suppressed or abolished. Only in the neighbouring territories, whose overthrow had been determined by co-operation from the elector of Saxony, did the Lutheran confession still survive.

Brandenburg suffered its share of this blow in so far as it belonged on the whole to the system which was doomed in the struggle. But the weight of the event recoiled at once upon her peculiar position as a power. Twice already had the evil growing from the investment of the house of Austria with the crown of Bohemia been stifled by the Hohenzollern princes. The first time, in the fifteenth century, the question had been waived—otherwise a Polish prince would have come to the throne, and, as it was, there was no reason to suspect that this acquisition, in view of elements of opposition in the country,

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would entail any threatening increase of Austrian military power. These elements were still powerful when, in the sixteenth century, Bohemia became definitely incorporated with the house of Austria. Moreover, at that time the younger line in this house, in opposition to the older, joined the German princes. Now, however, the emperor was unrestricted master in Bohemia. From that time Bohemia formed a real base for the power of Austria, which rapidly fell back into her earlier association with Spain and found powerful support in strong Catholicism.

BRANDENBURG RECEDES BEFORE AUSTRIA

At the first glance we see to what an extent this caused Brandenburg to recede as a power, both at that period and for the future, before the power of Austria. Moreover, from the Bohemian affairs rose a great territorial struggle between the two houses. The house of Brandenburg still held the dukedom of Jägerndorf for its lawful possession. John George of Jägerndorf, who was not regularly recognised by Austria and who was from top to toe a zealous Calvinist, had joined the opposition formed by the estates against the emperor. He appears as lieutenant-general in upper and lower Silesia, and accordingly held to the king of the palatine house, whose cause, so to speak, was his own; nor did he consider that cause lost even after the battle on the White Mountain. His troops occupied Neisse and Glatz, and would not allow themselves to be dispersed even after the agreement with the elector of Saxony concerning Silesia. His patents exacted of the Silesian estates that they should remain faithful to the old confederation, and take warning by the example afforded by the terrible execution in Prague. But already the emperor Ferdinand had published a ban against him which was executed by the imperials and Saxons. Their power was far in excess of his: he saw himself compelled to leave the country and to flee to Transylvania. This involved for the house of Brandenburg not only the loss of the country but also of a great position, the influence of which extended over Bohemia and Silesia.

Brandenburg was also not a little affected by the consequences which the Bohemian affair had brought upon upper Germany. Ferdinand did not scruple to avenge with the full weight of his imperial authority the insult which had been inflicted upon him as king of Bohemia: he published the imperial ban against his unfortunate competitor. From various directions the armies of Spain and the Netherlands on the one hand and Bavaria on the other over-ran the unfortunate man's hereditary territories. The union was far too feeble to offer any resistance. Its disintegration and the course of events entirely robbed Brandenburg of its influence in upper Germany, but there was a particular necessity for submitting to this loss. The disintegration of the union formed part of the conditions necessary to enable the elector George William and his cousin in Franconia to receive the investiture of the emperor. At this moment these circumstances were complicated by the fresh outbreak of war between the Spaniards and the United Netherlands. It so happened that the site of their engagement was the territory of Cleves and Julich. Spinola and Prince Maurice were face to face, each in his hostile encampment. The elector George William made a treaty with the republic by which his rights were secured. He himself could contribute practically nothing to the situation; the manner of its determination depended on far other powers than those at his command.

Of all the consequences of the battle on the White Mountain the most important, for Brandenburg as well as for the empire, was the emperor's undertaking to accomplish, together with the suppression of his opponent in the

Palatinate, a change in the concerns of the empire; this being effected by the transference of the electoral dignity of the Palatinate to his friend and supporter, the duke of Bavaria, to whom fell also a considerable portion of the confiscated land. A similar transaction had been effected in the war of Smalkald by the transference of the Saxon electorate from the Ernestines to the Albertines; at that time, however, such a transference had less significance because it did not alter the relations of the conflicting confessions. But under Ferdinand II this was exactly what was intended. An effort was made to found, in the council of electors, a Catholic majority such as already existed in the college of princes; by this majority the Catholic reaction would become supreme.

THE CONGRESS OF RATISBON

At the imperial congress held for this purpose at Ratisbon in the beginning of the year 1623, Saxony and Brandenburg opposed a scheme which threatened to rob them of that consideration in the empire which they derived from the electoral dignity; for, in the teeth of a Catholic majority, of what avail would be their votes in the college? With one accord they emphatically declared that the pronouncement of the ban had been irregular, that it was at variance with the electoral charter agreed to by the emperor, and that to recognise such a ban must imperil the position of all the other states, especially the smaller ones. The Brandenburg ambassadors further dwelt upon two points in the negotiations: in the first place, they said, the conduct of the emperor was liable to misinterpretation, because it was calculated to benefit his own interests; and, furthermore, it was most improper of him to rob of their hereditary portions the children of the count palatine and the agnates who were not concerned. But these representations did not impinge upon the resolutions already adopted by the spiritual electors. The emperor appeared to be less inaccessible than they were; in order to dissuade him, the Spaniards brought to bear considerations which concerned their position in Europe; but in the end he refused to break with the papacy, which was all in favour of the policy declared. Moreover, the duke of Bavaria was already far too powerful for the emperor to risk offending him. As the Brandenburg ambassadors foresaw the issue of the deliberation, they considered it necessary to secure for their elector the right of repudiating all share in and obligation under the decisions about to be taken. By the will of the majority the emperor thought himself authorised to proceed to distribute the feudal land. Saxony and Brandenburg signified their disapproval of such a course by refusing to allow their ambassadors to be present at the ceremony. But it appeared all at once that Maximilian of Bavaria was in close harmony with the spiritual electors, and was to become one of the most powerful members of this college, in which from henceforward Brandenburg and Saxony were of little account.

THE ALLIANCE AGAINST AUSTRIA

Ruinous for Frederick of the Palatinate as had been the consequences of accepting the crown of Bohemia (for it involved him in universal disapprobation), a fate no less ruinous was now to overtake the emperor; for the publication of the ban was regarded as illegal, and the house of the count palatine had numerous and influential friends. A great alliance was sealed in its favour; starting with England, this was to embrace on the one side France and Holland, on the other Denmark and Sweden. Bethlen Gábor was drawn into the understanding. The great question for Brandenburg now was whether or

[1626 A.D.]

not it should join this alliance. A fleeting idea arose that it would be well to give to the elector himself the personal direction of the war to be undertaken by Denmark in the empire and by Sweden in the territory of Poland; this would have been consonant with the geographical position, with the situation in general, and with German interests. But the elector, who possessed no armed force worthy of the name, was far too feeble.

True, he had one party round him which was in favour of entry into this alliance. This consisted chiefly of men of Calvinistic counsel, who, above all, kept in view the concerns of religion in its relation to Europe, and who thought to continue the policy of John Sigismund. Opposed to these, however, were the estates of the country, who saw their salvation only in association with the emperor; moreover, they did not wish to contribute to a war which might turn out to the advantage of the Calvinists. The elector complained bitterly that the thought and bearing of the inhabitants were solely directed to peace and enjoyment; his appeals and warnings were not listened to. The estates reproached him for leaving them without proper guidance. The danger was increasing, yet they thought it sufficient to occupy the fortresses in which the best property had been put for safety. Moreover, even at the beginning, they were willing to provide only three thousand men; and later on, as their enthusiasm diminished, the number dwindled to nine hundred. It was in their view sufficient if they maintained an attitude of respect towards the imperial majesty. How indeed could they have confidence when Count Schwarzenberg, the chief minister of the elector, was of the Catholic confession and meant to avoid a breach with the emperor under all circumstances? In this way the court and the country were torn by conflicting sentiments which did not admit of solution; the people could not even nerve themselves to maintain a strong neutrality. The necessary result of this was that the position of Brandenburg was made to depend on the issue of the war between the two great world powers, in which it did not dare to take part.

WALLENSTEIN'S IMPERIAL ARMY

What unparalleled vicissitudes were presented by this world-struggle! The first great spectacle was that of an imperial army, an army at last truly imperial, although led by an independent general who himself had mustered it, pressing into north Germany under Wallenstein with the intention of opposing that great alliance which had for its object the restoration of the expelled king of Bohemia.

It was a piece of good fortune for Brandenburg not to have taken part in the alliance; had it done so it would probably have been routed on the spot. The victory of the army of the league and the emperor over the king of Denmark now transferred the balance of power to the authority of the emperor and of the league in north Germany. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony found themselves compelled to recognise Maximilian of Bavaria as a fellow elector with them. Brandenburg was ready to make every other possible concession, if it could only preserve the claims of the palatine house. And by the second campaign the mark was directly affected. When Wallenstein, who in the mean while had secured a free hand by resting in Hungary, came from Silesia and turned to a decisive attack on Denmark, he occupied the passes of the Havel, regardless of the electors; the Danes, too, were entering the country on the other side. But it was not in the territory of Brandenburg that the battle was to be fought. Nowhere could the Danes offer serious resistance; the imperial general completely mastered them by a successful movement to the peninsula.

WALLENSTEIN'S POLICY

For himself he thus secured an unparalleled position in the empire; the emperor rewarded his services with the dukedom of Mecklenburg. In order to maintain this dignity Wallenstein thought it well to bend before the hostility of Brandenburg and to win that electorate over to the imperial party. Of considerable importance was the territorial aggrandisement of which he held out a prospect to Brandenburg. In the elector he encouraged the hope of a favourable decision of the matter of Jülich and Cleves, and of indemnity for Jägerndorf. Above all, he promised his most active interest in the reversion of Pomerania, where there seemed to be a near prospect of a long-foreseen occurrence, namely the death of the last duke of old Pomeranian origin, by which Brandenburg was to acquire possession of the country. To this he added an indication that Mecklenburg should become the property of Brandenburg on the failure of its own line. Hereto he imposed only one condition, which was that Brandenburg should make common cause with him in his hostility to the Swedes.

The elector, who was the vassal of Poland, to which country he owed his investiture as duke of Prussia, offended by King Gustavus, who had taken arbitrary possession of Pillau, was indeed moved to consent. He sent a small body of troops to the help of the Poles; but this was just the occasion on which the power of Brandenburg was subjected to the deepest humiliation. When the troops of the elector caught sight of the Swedes, who were led by the notorious Bohemian fugitive, Count von Thurn, and who were their superiors both in numbers and strategical position, they threw down their arms; they were then for the most part incorporated with the Swedish army. The sense of their own weakness had combined with their religious sympathies to bring about this result. King Gustavus Adolphus had adopted an attitude in which he figured as the sole rallying point of the Protestant cause. The succour which the imperials sent to the Poles, still more the attempt which became visible at that time on the political horizon to establish a maritime connection between the powers of Spain and Poland, had wounded him in the nearest interests of his family and of his empire; for as king of Sweden he was still not recognised by the Poles. It was to counteract these plans that he sought to master the Prussian coasts for himself. If we regard the events of centuries in combination with one another we shall be unable to deny that his great and victorious policy brought about the first disaster which the Poles had suffered since the Perpetual Peace of 1466, by which the Prussian domains were made subordinate. Thus far Gustavus was considerably more the ally of the elector than his opponent; and the elector himself very soon recognised that the policy to which he was compelled to yield in Germany would be his ruin in Prussia; his own minister, Schwarzenberg, heard rumours in Vienna of an intention again to establish Catholicism in the territory of the Teutonic order and to restore it to the church.

But it was owing to the great progress of Catholic restoration by which this idea had been called forth, that Protestantism in Germany and the elector himself in person were immediately threatened. At the instance of the princes of the league the Edict of Restitution had been promulgated, announcing the intention of renewing the hierarchy in the full range of its influence. This step, while it threatened the existence of the Protestants, also roused every Protestant feeling. Even in the mark a respectful attitude towards the imperial majesty could not go so far as to run the risk of that ruin which now threatened. George William could not blind himself to the fact that this meant his ultimate downfall. Halberstadt had already gone over to an impe-

[1632 A.D.]

rial prince, Magdeburg to a Saxon prince; there was a prospect, too, that the bishoprics of the mark would be re-established and ecclesiastical property restored; on the top of this was to come the reduction of Prussia. This was the final aim of Catholic policy; an elector of Brandenburg could not possibly look on in silence and see this accomplished. The dependence of George William on the ruling powers in the empire was not so absolute as to prevent him from feeling most keenly the injustice that was inflicted upon him. With sentiments of this nature he now turned his gaze toward Gustavus Adolphus, the husband of his sister, who, although he combated Poland, had never ceased to declare that in doing this he was striving to put a check upon the grasping policy of the house of Austria. As from a religious point of view he opposed the league and the elector Maximilian, so from a political point of view he opposed General Wallenstein.

RESISTANCE AGAINST AUSTRIA

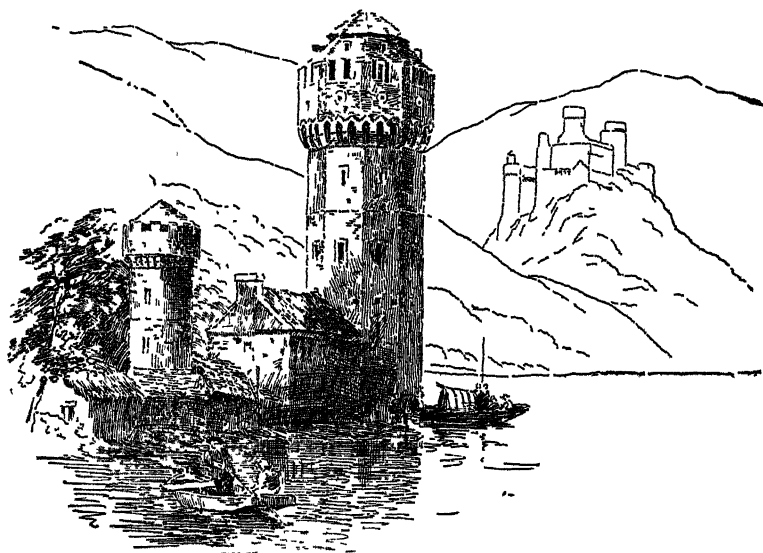
The ruling spirits of the time were Maximilian and Wallenstein, with Gustavus Adolphus in opposition to them; but a fourth ruling spirit rallied to the side of Gustavus in the person of Cardinal Richelieu, whose life and soul were absorbed in anti-Austrian interests, and who wished for nothing better than to obtain for the king of Sweden a free hand against Austria, for the accomplishment of which it was above all necessary to bring about an agreement of Austria with Poland. England played in with France, with whom, it is true, but a short while ago it had once more been at loggerheads. In view of all these great influences George William had now also to make a decision; true, his immediate regard had to be centred upon the preservation of the dukedom of Prussia, but it was to his advantage that the Polish magnates were themselves opposed to restoring Prussia to her ancient condition, more particularly because they feared that King Sigismund would receive as a fee from the emperor a portion of the land for one of his sons.

The sharp edge of the differences between the elector-duke and the king of Sweden, as well as between the latter and Poland, would be removed if they all found a common opportunity of resisting the tendencies encouraged by the house of Austria. There was one interest for the elector which ran counter to such a combination of political aims. The great reversion which Wallenstein had raised to life would become of doubtful consequence the moment that the Swedes became masters of the Baltic; remote as such a contingency was, yet another disadvantage lay close at hand; in the first place the elector had to submit to the occupation of the Prussian coast-lines. To set this off he made one important condition against which Gustavus Adolphus struggled for a long time, but in which he at last acquiesced at the instance of the foreign ambassadors: this was the temporary occupation of Marienburg and Hoefft, by which the connection of the dukedom with the electorate was facilitated. The main point is that the elector, in defiance of the considerations militating against such a course of conduct, decided to enter into a friendly relation with Sweden, in which decision he was steadfast during a number of years, in spite of all that it cost him. True, it was only a standstill that was at this time effected; but it was destined to last six years—an invaluable respite in this crisis.

For such a space of time the king obtained a free hand against Austria. If he now determined to undertake the great work, it was not at the instigation of Brandenburg or other distinguished German princes, but above all under the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, who, although a prince of the Catholic Church, was driven by his own personal situation to save Protestantism in Germany.

[1630 A.D.]

What is Protestantism, if not the form taken by affairs which have diverged from the papacy and all that the papacy bore inevitably in its train? Gustavus Adolphus knew that the north German towns, especially the north German agricultural districts, wished to preserve their present position; for them, too, the independent position of the church which had been won was the essence of existence. What might become of them, asked he on one occasion, if a second Maurice of Saxony were to place himself at the head of them? The German princes of the time were too comfortably situated, too much restricted by traditional limitations, to undertake anything on their own responsibility. It



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is just this which makes of the man a figure in the history of the world—that in the contest of his day he perceives and grasps the moments governing the crisis, the relative disparity of ideas. Thus Gustavus Adolphus appeared in Germany in the summer of 1630; he disembarked in Pomerania, territory on which it must have given the elector of Brandenburg no satisfaction to see him; here he took up a firm position. By the side of Cardinal Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus took up an attitude of singular greatness, in so far as he superimposed upon political motives that religious inspiration which had the truest and liveliest existence for himself. Together they formed a new combination of universal significance to confront the superior weight acquired by Spain and Austria in their alliance with the Catholic restoration. It was inevitable—fatalistic, that they should meet in Germany.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

Immediately upon his first appearance in Germany Gustavus Adolphus took up a situation territorially and politically destined to be of the most lasting importance for the empire in general, and particularly for Brandenburg. As has been already mentioned, the hereditary succession in Pomerania, the chief object of the political ambitions entertained by the ancestors of the elector of Brandenburg, was nearing its solution. It was obvious that in a little

[1680 A.D.]

while Bogislaw XIV would die without issue entitled to inherit. Already homage had been done to the elector in anticipation of this event. In the treaty which Bogislaw could not now refuse to make with Gustavus Adolphus, although there had been much preliminary hesitation, this claim had been considered without being expressed throughout in unequivocal terms. The main point established was that as presumptive successor to the duke the elector should accept the duke's treaty with the king of Sweden; and that in the event of the anticipated contingencies, he should provide the king with money to cover the accumulated cost of the war from his own pocket, and not from the treasury of the country. No doubt it was this point that caused the Brandenburg ambassador, who came upon the scene after the day on which the agreement had been made, to demand of the king a promise that the restoration of Pomerania should be gratis. The king expressed himself in very generous terms; he had come to support his friends, not to rob them. But for all this he would not have rested content with the restoration of the former condition of affairs. At the very outset he demanded a security for himself, which as he said could not depend on words—paper and ink—but must depend on real guarantees. With these conditions—that the costs of war should be provided, that he should remain master of Pomerania until they were paid, and that he should have real security—the king set foot on German ground.

It is perfectly obvious that it could not be easy for the elector of Brandenburg, from whom these stipulations were not in the slightest concealed, to regard the king as an ally in Germany. He would have preferred forthwith to give his adherence to the emperor and the empire; but all attempts made by the Saxon and Brandenburg plenipotentiaries at the college diet of Ratisbon to effect a withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution, or such a modification of it as would enable the constitution of their states to remain intact, were fruitless; a majority of the college stuck firmly to the edict. Wallenstein had once promised the Brandenburg minister that an exception would be made in favour of his master; but Wallenstein himself was compelled, by the majority which adhered to the Edict of Restitution, to resign. It was thought possible to repel the king of Sweden even without him, and some thoughts were entertained of inflicting new confiscation on those who should adhere to his side: such designs would have to be thwarted immediately. In Ratisbon there was an idea of forming for this purpose a union of all the evangelicals under the presidency of the two electors. The deliberations wavered long between loyalty and opposition; at the assembly at Leipsic the latter was determined upon.

Without reflecting, we may easily assume that the rising of Gustavus Adolphus and his victorious advance along the Oder lent the necessary enthusiasm. But as yet no agreement with the king had been arrived at; the probability that such an agreement was imminent was certainly taken into consideration. Already people began to talk of the conditions to which the king would have to acquiesce. Chief among these were the restoration of everything which he had conquered or should conquer, without indemnity, and the stipulation that he should conclude no peace in which the evangelicals received no satisfaction. We see that this is not altogether in agreement with what Gustavus Adolphus had allowed himself to promise in Pomerania. Moreover, he confronted Brandenburg with two further demands; for his security he demanded that the fortresses of Kustrin and Spandau should be open to him. The elector pleaded in his distress that by doing so he would offend emperor and empire. The king's reply was that as the emperor himself did not adhere to the imperial law, but acted as it suited his caprice, it was not likely that an elector could fail to be justified in doing what his situation demanded. It is easy indeed to understand that George William fought obstinately. The Swedes had possession of the Prussian coastlands; they established themselves

in Pomerania, and they now demanded the evacuation of his most important fortresses. What weighty consequences were involved in consenting to all this! But it could no longer be evaded; either they must join the side of the foreign king, or expect the most disastrous effects from the party which ruled emperor and empire. Several negotiations and meetings were broken up; for a long time they resulted in nothing—what seemed to be determined upon on one day was revoked on the next.

BRANDENBURG ALLIES ITSELF WITH THE SWEDES

The eyes of all were directed to Magdeburg, which was besieged by Tilly—a venture by which the fate of both electors must at one blow be decided if they did not secure for themselves a firm support in the king of Sweden. At last, afraid that even the Swedes would regard him in a hostile light, George William determined to provide them with the right of occupation of Spandau and, in a limited form, even of that of Küstrin. Gustavus Adolphus promised to defend these places against all enemies and at the conclusion of peace to restore them. We see to what a dependence upon the king Brandenburg had sunk; and yet as circumstances of extremity also comprise within them moments of salvation, so in this act lay the germ of a returning independence. The imperial party had stopped the elector from taking any active part in the defence of the country: they would not under any circumstances consent to his withdrawing troops from Prussia; permission to do this was granted by Gustavus Adolphus. The elector was to be enabled to make military preparations similar to those for which the Protestants had received instructions in the decree of Leipsic. In these armaments we may see one of the first foundations of the Brandenburg army, which began its formation at that time in a Protestant spirit, in alliance with the Swedes.

Magdeburg meanwhile had fallen; the elector of Saxony was beaten in his own territory and punished with measures of violence. Even he no longer hesitated to open his passes to the Swedes, and to conclude an alliance of which the main condition was that neither party could make peace without the other, or even enter into negotiations for this object with the enemy. So a coalition of the two electors with the king was effected, which now actually succeeded in making a stand against the powerful foe and overthrowing him.

The result of the victory of Breitenfeld was, above all, that a permanent end was put to the restitution of ecclesiastical property—a gain for Brandenburg that cannot be too highly estimated. The king maintained, and with some truth, that he had saved Brandenburg from total destruction, though it cannot be denied that he inflicted upon the country a depressing subordination and proved a formidable bar to the house in the realisation of its greatest prospect.

The character that these relations were to assume in their further development depended less upon the resources and efforts of Brandenburg, which did not make much weight in the scale, than on the trend of affairs illustrated in the great episodes of the world's history. As long as the king lived a sound relationship was maintained. Gustavus Adolphus did not disguise the fact that he wished to retain the sea coast, especially the greater part of Pomerania: he contended that Brandenburg might be indemnified by secularisation, and that the spiritual authorities were the less entitled to oppose such a course since they were the source of the whole war trouble. From all that transpired later we may assume that there was some talk of an equalisation of the interests on both sides by the marriage of the electoral prince of Brandenburg with the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

[1632 A.D.]

But neither in the lifetime of the king nor after his death was any definite arrangement made. Allied with Sweden, but again overshadowed by her; saved by her, but again subjected to her oppression—Brandenburg incurred the risk of losing through the Swedes that great province the acquisition of which emperor and empire had assured to her.

In the marks the position was similar to that in Prussia. Here, as well as there, it was Brandenburg's interest to withstand the encroachments of the Swedes, and yet at the same time a greater interest was consulted by submitting to them. For without the Swedes a re-entry of the Teutonic order into the marks must have been looked for, and in Prussia the church property must have been taken back. The position in the territory of Jülich and Cleves was in accordance with this; without the help of Holland and the advantages which Holland at that time gained over the Spaniards in Wesel and Bois-le-Duc, the imperial sequestration pronounced by Tilly would have been maintained and the elector possibly deprived of his title.

It was the states-general that prevented this; but in return they disposed of the country, of which they possessed the greater part, without much regard for the allies. The immediate interests of those concerned were thus far from simple. In certain aspects the allies again appeared as enemies. Owing to the relations of Jülich and Cleves and Pomerania with the German Empire, there was a constant need of having regard to the emperor, even after a certain balance had been restored in Germany to the contending parties by the battle of Lützen, in which the Swedes maintained the field but lost the greatest king and general that they had ever had. The relations of Brandenburg to the great European powers took a similar form of development. Again the intention was stirred in the Spaniards, who at that time had no longer anything to fear from England, of renewing the war against France with full vigour.

THE SECRET COUNCIL

It may be easily understood that under circumstances like this the policy of Brandenburg remained undecisive and wavering. The elector George William possessed enviable social qualities; he was humane, polite, bounteous; but, after the manner of the princes of his day, inclined to seek comfort in the small pleasures of life: a fine horse, a fleet greyhound could make him forget the cares of government. His intellectual endowments were not below the average standard, but in such tempestuous times it required extraordinary capacity to steer a safe course. George William was not without ambition: his thoughts dwelt on what history would one day say of him, and he wished above all to figure before his contemporaries as an honourable and trustworthy man. In the complexity of affairs which characterised the epoch, however, the careful control of one matter or of another fell chiefly to his secret council. But in this council two conflicting tendencies were to be observed: one was represented by the members who had come to him from the governments of his father and of his grandfather, among whom the chancellor Goetze enjoyed the most prominent regard; to his side rallied Knesebeck, Leuchtmar, and Pfuel, who formed a close bond of association among themselves on account of the distaste they conceived for the colleague whom George William had given them in Adam of Schwarzenberg, who was particularly favoured with his confidence. Schwarzenberg had made himself indispensable to the elector in the intricacies of the Jülich and Cleves affair; Catholic as he was, he held firm to Brandenburg. And so it happened that the universal conflict which split up the world penetrated to the secret council of the elector and disintegrated it. The older councillors were for Sweden, Schwarzenberg for

[1633-1634 A.D.]

the emperor; nevertheless they all wished to have credit for keeping in view only the interests of their master. That such was the intention of the older councillors had never been questioned; they had a support in Luise Juliane, the mother of the electress, who belonged to both houses, the house of Orange and the house of the Palatinate, and who kept the elector, who was accustomed to listen to her, mindful of their interests. With opposing tendencies like these at court, how could men expect firm and energetic decisions? This court itself was invaded and rent asunder by the war-tossed elements dividing the world. Happily the association in imperial concerns with Saxony, to which Brandenburg had clung for a decade without intermission, exercised a certain check which George William would under no circumstances consent to abolish.

In the summer of 1633 the French ambassador Feuquières appeared in Berlin to urge the elector to enter the Treaty of Heilbronn. As an offset he promised him the support of France, especially in the matter of Julich. The elector gratefully took up this guarantee and entreated Louis XIII for his immediate intercession in the points of disagreement with the Netherlands, as well as for his support in the concerns of Prussia and Pomerania, especially if matters ever came to really serious negotiations for peace; with regard to the immediate alliance with him, however, which would have been sealed by entry into the Treaty of Heilbronn, he postponed a decision until the outcome of communications to be held with the court of Saxony. From this court he could not alienate himself, for Saxony was his neighbour, and in similar circumstances would be expected to act in a similar way towards himself.

Meanwhile everything took on a new colour from the fact that Wallenstein, who had again given a check to the emperor's cause before and after the battle of Lützen, and who acquired a still more independent position on the second assumption of his command than he had done on the first, proposed terms of peace in which the chief interests of the Protestant princes were assured; not only should they not be compelled to restore the property of the church, but also the joint constitution of the empire should be established on the lines of their scheme of government—either with or against the will of the emperor. More than once George William came into touch with the arms and designs of Wallenstein, in whom he placed little confidence.

THE MISSION OF ARNIM

When the plans of Wallenstein were matured, in the first weeks of the year 1634, Hans George von Arnim of Dresden (where there was a great tendency to favour the view of Wallenstein) was sent to Berlin in order to win the approval of the elector of Brandenburg. The majority of the elector's councillors met the envoy in an attitude of disinclination and contrariety, although the general plans for reform were chiefly their own; they insisted on first coming to terms with the Swedes, whom they still continued to regard as their allies. Schwarzenberg alone listened to Arnim, who then tried to win the elector himself to his side. The prince was at that time compelled by illness to keep his bed—a circumstance, however, which did not deter him from granting an audience to Arnim; the uncertain character of George William's policy is illustrated by this interview. He could not declare for Sweden, because he had been told that if he remained in alliance with this power he must cease forever to reckon upon the acquisition of Pomerania. But he had great scruples about entering into a closer union with Wallenstein on account of his unreliable nature; the man's policy in the end, said he, would be an alliance with France and Sweden; otherwise, if he fell out with the emperor, the em-

[1625 A.D.]

peror might gain the upper hand and again become master of Germany. For himself, the one result was as insupportable as the other—the complete supremacy of the French and Swedes as intolerable as the return of imperial tyranny. To one thing alone he adhered—to his determination that the association with Saxony must be preserved. “No,” he exclaimed, “from Saxony I will not divorce myself!” The issue proved that George William, in spite of all his weak-kneed complaisance, had not judged wrongly. What he had probably foreseen actually took place: when the split came between Wallenstein and the emperor, it was the emperor who maintained the authority.

And herewith took place, as George William had prophesied, a general reversal of the situation. The army of Wallenstein joined the emperor; and so the imperial policy, ably supported by the Spaniards, acquired a preponderating influence. After a few months followed the battle of Nördlingen, which turned the tide in another direction. The defeat suffered by the Swedes robbed them of their popularity in Germany, which rested more upon fear than natural liking.

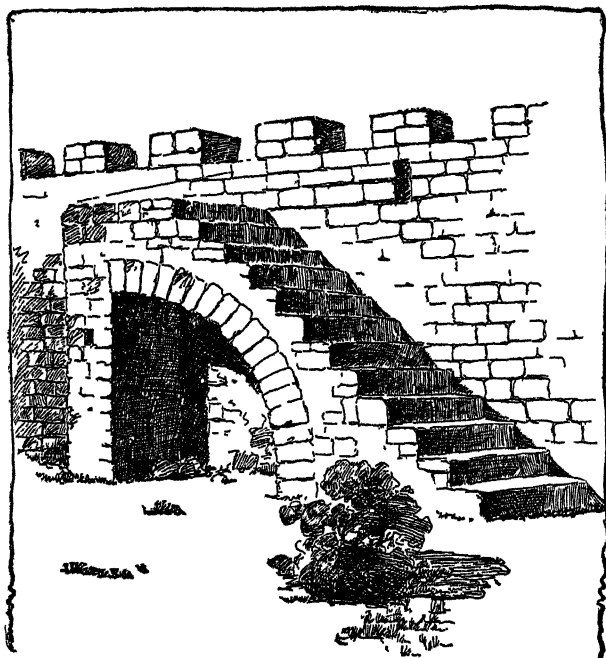
THE PEACE OF PRAGUE

The elector of Saxony, in consequence of this change, felt himself moved to conclude the Peace of Prague, in which, it is true, the emperor now allowed the Edict of Restitution to lapse; in religious matters a condition was to be restored similar to that existing before the issue of the edict in the year 1627. The accession of Brandenburg was reckoned upon, which at the same time comprehended a separation from Sweden, inasmuch as the association of the two princes with Sweden had been the outcome of the opposition to the edict. But was Brandenburg in this also to follow the example of Saxony? It is obvious that by the Peace of Prague no satisfaction was afforded to the just demands and claims of Protestantism which had begun to be oppressed long before 1627. But amongst other ideas the provisions of this treaty contained one of the most difficult questions which have ever been put to the policy of Brandenburg; they embraced the condition of the state and the essential quality of its being at that time, and they seemed to decide its future.

In the narrative of his journey Feuquières observes that George William would be the mightiest prince in Germany if his territories had not been taken possession of by others; Julich and Cleves, so far as his claims to possession prevailed against those of the count palatine of Neuburg, were in point of fact withheld from him by the Dutch; he could draw no revenues from them. The same was the case in Prussia, held by the Swedes; in the chief territory, the mark, upon which the title of elector rested, several strongholds had been evacuated in favour of the Swedes: the elector was directing his whole attention to Pomerania, to which, in the event of the death of the frail old duke, his right of succession could not be disputed; he wished to live only long enough to conclude a treaty with Sweden. Instead of the Peace of Prague George William might have wished for another peace, which should have made possible a peaceable understanding with France and Sweden; he was terrified at the thought that he had to go over from one side to the other—that he had to fight against those with whom he had previously been in alliance. But the general circumstances did not make for peace, but most decidedly for war. As a result of the battle of Nördlingen the Spaniards were powerful enough to penetrate into France, where they terrified everybody, with the exception of the great cardinal and his trusted Father Joseph, who then succeeded in making France capable of resistance. In this war Europe was divided even more than before into two parties. Between them the elector of Brandenburg

[1685 A D]

had to choose; the consideration of his situation drove him to the imperial side. It was still not possible to hope that Holland, in Julich, or Sweden, in Pomerania, would renounce their claim to the position they had taken up; and from France in its present plight no successful interposition with regard to these two powers could be expected. The authority of emperor and empire was too deeply rooted to admit of being dispensed with. The estates of the mark were partly, at all events, sound partisans of the emperor; moreover, did not the claim to Pomerania rest upon a share in the reversion of the emperor and the empire? Only with their help could it be carried to a successful conclusion. By union with the emperor a tolerable situation in general German affairs might be expected. And what would happen if the demand



DETAIL OF FORTIFICATION, MIDDLE AGES

for agreement were repudiated and a breach opened with the emperor? The elector was told that Sweden could lay waste his country; the emperor could rob him of it: he was reminded of the events of the Palatinate—the destruction of the elector palatine, whom no foreign interposition had succeeded in restoring to his position.

So it happened that Schwarzenberg maintained the preponderating influence over the other members of the secret council who remained faithful to their Protestant sympathies. Undoubtedly the most important question was embodied in the article of the Peace of Prague which provided that if the elector of Brandenburg would enter the agreement he should be assured of the reversion especially of Pomerania and the feudal possessions going with it, and should receive the protection of the emperor. What offer had Sweden to set against this promise? Moreover, whatever might be said in the course of the negotiations, there was no doubt of the intention of this power which had established itself on the German coastlands. Its policy ran precisely

[1635-1637 A.D.]

counter to the claims of Brandenburg. It seemed an advantage of the peace, which could not be valued too highly, that the oldest and greatest reversion of the house should be taken under the protection of the emperor and the empire.

Brandenburg did not intend to make the interest of Austria entirely and absolutely her own. On entering the peace she added certain limitations, especially the repetition of the favourable reservation of the rights of the palatine family, as well as of the college of electors, and the proviso that she should not herself be compelled to contribute to the carrying on of war against those who were excluded from the amnesty.

In his reply, the emperor neither expressly repudiated these limitations nor expressly acquiesced in them. But from the demand itself we see that Brandenburg was not altogether inclined completely to abandon her own policy. The same intention was evident when it was determined, according to the emperor's wish, to raise his son, the king of Hungary, to be king of the Romans. In the charter which was drawn up and set before him, no opportunity was lost of guarding against encroachments similar to those purposed by Ferdinand II. Publications of bans, such as the recent one, were expressly forbidden if unaccompanied by the consent of the council of the electors, even in the case where there should have been a good excuse for them—that is, where the crime was notorious and undoubted. Also in the Pomeranian affair the assembled electors took sides for Brandenburg. They rejected the claim of Sweden to occupy a portion of Pomerania as security for the payment of the indemnity money; they condemned the treaty made by Gustavus Adolphus with Bogislaw XIV; they would hear nothing of satisfaction for Sweden: there was no ground for it; what Sweden herself had spent was very trifling.

GEORGE WILLIAM AN ALLY OF THE EMPEROR

On this basis George William joined sides with the emperor. His whole zeal was directed to the acquisition of Pomerania for his house in alliance with the emperor and the empire: to effect this he suffered himself to be seriously prejudiced in his territorial independence; he agreed to the demand that the troops which he had in the field should be immediately taken into the service of the emperor and the empire. But the results of the war which was undertaken under these auspices were far from satisfactory. The Swedes maintained themselves not only in Pomerania against the attacks of the imperial troops and of the Saxons, but they also penetrated into the mark itself. And here were evidenced the ruinous consequences which a change of political system always involves when it has not the support of the populace. While Schwarzenberg brought the elector over to the side of the emperor, the Swedes retained the sympathies of the inhabitants; this could be seen at the first military engagement, when Wrangel penetrated into the mark. Not only did he nowhere find any resistance, but the town of Berlin assured him that it had no share in the counsel and decisions of the court. So in Pomerania was to be observed also the conflict of religious interests opposed to the peace, with the authority of the empire which had led to it. The last years of the duke of Pomerania were deeply saddened and overclouded by this conflict. In his soul he struggled against the supremacy of the Swedes, whom nevertheless he saw plainly growing stronger and stronger in his country. His death (May, 1637) had chiefly the effect of causing the great subjects of contention, which occupied not only Pomerania but the whole empire, to stand out in full prominence.

POMERANIA

As a result of the first treaty the Swedes immediately laid claim to Pomerania. The elector of Brandenburg, who had never agreed to this treaty, published patents which assured the right of occupation, and raised recruits with which, in conjunction with the then advancing imperial army, to take immediate possession of the dukedom, where his claim had long been recognised. This time the star of good fortune rose upon the enterprise. The Swedes were repelled from the borders of the mark in every direction; they lost Havelberg, the Werbener, and Schwedt. In the spring of 1638, Klitzing appeared at the head of the Brandenburgers with a force of considerable magnitude for these times, two thousand infantry and four hundred dragoons; and succeeded in taking in a rapid assault the town of Garz, to the possession of which considerable value had always attached, and in carrying off the Swedish commanders as captives. In upper Pomerania the Swedes were confined to a few coast occupations, Stralsund, Anklam, and Greifswald: it looked as if there were still some likelihood of the country being acquired for the empire and Brandenburg. We are assured that it must have been possible at this juncture to bring about a treaty suitable to the interests of the two parties in Sweden.

But once more it became evident that the war, which had arisen from a general European combination, could not be terminated by provincial and local efforts. In the conflict of Spain and France, which governed the whole crisis, a moment was reached in which France would not have been averse to a suspension of hostilities: in that case she would possibly have abandoned Sweden to her fate. But when the conditions proposed by both sides came to be discussed, the impossibility of coming to terms was made clear. In order to satisfy Spain, the cardinal would have had to forego the most important results of his foreign policy; so far from doing this, he determined once more to rally all the forces at his command and to give a new impulse to the old alliances which had become slack. Most important of all was that with Sweden, by means of which, eight years ago, the supremacy of Austria in Germany had been shattered: it was not to be permitted that they should be chased from Germany. Thanks to the subsidies offered by France, the Swedish imperial council, which believed it had a right to maintain what had been won, was then also enabled to make fresh armaments.

It was of no slight advantage that Sweden, in consequence of the Treaty of Stuhmsdorf, had nothing to fear from the Poles. [This treaty between Sweden and Poland had been negotiated by the French diplomatist Count d'Avaux, and was concluded in September, 1635. By it the contracting parties agreed to an armistice for twenty years; the dukedom of Prussia was assigned to Poland and Sweden's right to Livonia recognised, the Catholic inhabitants being granted freedom of worship.] The treaty was so far favourable to Brandenburg, inasmuch as possession of the Prussian coasts was restored to the elector in exchange for the evacuation of Marienburg. But another great disadvantage was associated with this: the twenty years' suspension of hostilities was chiefly due to the efforts of France, which realised her ambition in enabling the Swedes to direct their forces to Germany. Thus Brandenburg, while seeking to remove the Swedes from Germany, in alliance with the emperor and the empire, committed the political blunder that enabled this very people by the treaty sealed in Prussia to concentrate their forces in that country. The Swedish general could then raise a superior force in Stettin (in the summer of 1638). He left the newly arrived troops in the fortified towns. With the veterans he plunged into the field; without much trouble he again took Garz and demolished it. It was of no use to think of reconquering Pomerania for

[1638 A.D.]

Brandenburg at such a moment: the Swedes were more formidable to the imperial troops than the imperial troops to the Swedes.

Once more the fate of Pomerania depended on the vicissitudes in the war that broke out between France and Spain and involved the world. The Brandenburg forces were completely disorganised when the elector sought safety for himself and his son in Prussia. Schwarzenberg, who remained behind as governor, now had the task of carrying to a conclusion the provincial war which had been undertaken at his instigation. On him depended the administration of the country and the organisation of the militia. The commanders in the fortresses, who fortunately still held out, were mostly his personal dependents. Yet he had no thought of yielding; from time to time there was talk of extensive operations with the co-operation of Saxony. The Brandenburgers made raids into the Swedish quarters in Pomerania; the Swedes retaliated by making plundering inroads upon the mark. In short, a bitter, devastating, desperate war was going on when George William died.

THE RESULTS OF GEORGE WILLIAM'S VACILLATION

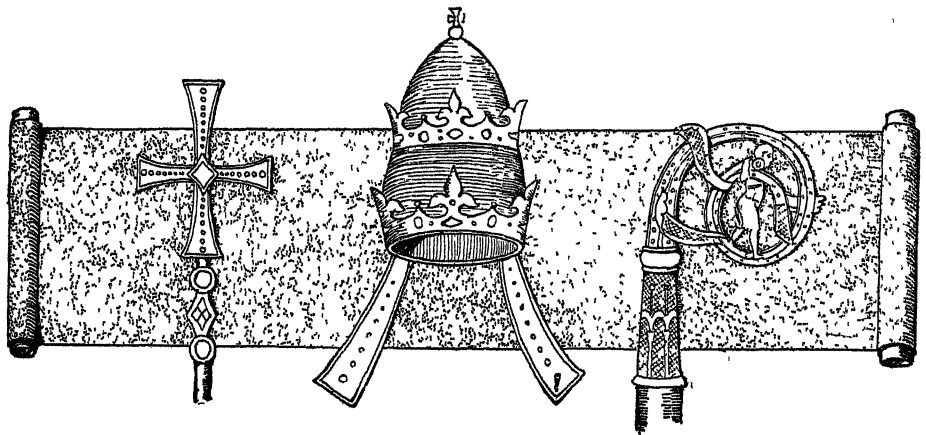
Up till now the conflict, though of a universal nature, had broken out more in petty opposing tendencies in which but a small exhibition of force had played a determining part. Brandenburg had acquired the foundations for its power, united considerable territories in east and west, and entered upon the course of its own peculiar policy. In the Thirty Years' War, however, everything assumed larger proportions; a state like Brandenburg, composed of different portions remote one from another, could acquire no consistency, still less any practical influence upon the world: it was enough that it was not then and there annihilated. George William took his impulses from the dangers which threatened him. In the first years of his government he ran a risk of being involved in the ruin of the palatine house. His fear of coming under the ban of the empire, which at that time had again acquired fruitful authority, was not so ill founded as had been assumed. In avoiding everything which could provoke the publication of the ban, he was exposed to the misfortune of seeing the existence of his electorate and of his dukedom placed in jeopardy by the Edict of Restitution. Hereupon, not without a sense of the disaster which might result from his conduct, but under pressure of extreme danger, he went step by step to the opposite side, and joined the king of Sweden.

No doubt this was the only condition under which Brandenburg could continue in that singular configuration which it had acquired. But the Swedes were indeed a grievous burden—for none more grievous than for the house of Brandenburg, whose greatest prospects they blighted. It was cooped up between two powers which, like the Cyanean rocks in the old sea legend that continually crushed everything between them, threatened it with extinction.

At last George William, satisfied with the added prospect of safety, having obtained from the emperor an assurance for the subsistence of his territories and their Protestant character, entered into alliance with him against the Swedes and proceeded to indicate his chief territorial claim. It is not weakness, nor an undue servility to the emperor that are the vices ascribed to him by the Brandenburg statesmen of that time, but rather a reckless ambition: he wanted to win fame for himself by association with others, and by the raising of troops in person; but how little did the issue of events correspond with his estimate. His allies devastated his territory before his very eyes; he, the elector himself, had barely enough left to live upon and had to flee to Prussia. In the contest against the Swedes in Pomerania, which he accordingly under-

took, he was struck by the blow dealt by its opponents to the allies of the house of Austria.

On the whole this mishap was due to the variety of his provinces and their remoteness one from another; the dissensions of his councils which he had not the personal capacity to overcome; but above all to the superiority of the great world-elements embodied in the struggle, and to deficiencies inherent in his own resources. Amid the storms and tempests in which the times were plunged George William saved at least the dynastic possession of his territories, not, it is true, without serious damage; he left them in extreme danger and misery. But in such a condition of affairs the state of Brandenburg was of little use to the world. These territories, peaceably and cautiously gathered together by the men of the past, offered no warrant that they would rise to a peculiar and fateful significance; the successor to them would have to be fashioned of harder metal, informed by genius, and favoured with a larger share of fortune.^c





CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF A KINGDOM

[1640-1740 A D]

AT a terrible crisis the German nation had sacrificed her position in the world and utterly ruined her old political unity. But the seeds of new life were in her and in the independence of those fractions which had now a national guarantee confirmed by imperial law. The pedantic imperial jurists might continue to see in this imperial constitution a marvellously wise mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; they might continue to prize the emperor as the legal successor of the Roman Cæsars: clear-sighted minds could see deeper. A Swedish publicist of Pomeranian origin, Bogislaw Chemnitz (*Hippolitus a Lapide*), sought as early as 1640 to establish the unlimited independence of the imperial estates on a historical basis, in the contention that these were original and that the empire rested upon usurpation; and the Saxon, Samuel Pufendorf, indicated as early as 1667, as the best aim for the political development of Germany, separation from Austria, annihilation of the spiritual principdoms, and a purely secular confederacy of states. As a matter of fact, all living forces were directed to the single states—upon them rested the fate of the nation. Certainly no one could as yet say how a new imperial constitution was to be developed from these contingent independent states, which were all guided by the reckless pursuit of their separate interests, by what they called the *Staatsraison*. But the fate of the imperial constitution, which still maintained a formal existence, overtook the organisation of the single states, based upon estates and confessions—it outlived itself. In the crisis of the great war their incapacity had received actual illustration. A general with absolute command on the field had won the greatest successes for the emperor, and he had trodden under foot all the rights that belonged to the estates. The evangelical estates had been saved from this dominion of force by a foreign king, whose authority was unlimited in the field as well as in his cabinet.

THE IDEAL STATE

In this way a new ideal state rose into existence—the state with a supreme prince at its head, based upon the concentration of all the powers of the state in the hand of the monarch, upon the subordination of the estates to his will,

and upon the economic isolation of the country, after the manner of the French mercantile system. In opposition to the close confessional system of the *Landeskirche* was the fundamental doctrine of the equal justification of all Christian confessions; that is to say, the doctrine of personal freedom of belief, which found strong support in the liberation of science from theological tutelage. True, this spiritual transformation took its rise entirely in the middle classes, but their lack of understanding, and so of active co-operation, made them none the less the natural opponents of the new absolute state. Its guidance was transferred to the nobility, which absorbed the man-of-the-world culture of the French. As a rule, these changes were chiefly effected in the Protestant states, especially in the greater ones, for here the inmost force of the nation was best preserved; whereas in most of the Catholic territories it had suffered heavily by the violence of re-catholicism. The small imperial estates, on the other hand, spiritual principedoms as well as imperial towns, were altogether incapable of solving the problems of the modern state.

So it came about that the political and economic pre-eminence, and soon also the superior guidance in spiritual matters, passed to the colonial east. It was on the border-land between upper Saxony and Thuringia, the old and the new Germany, that the reforms of Luther had already sprung into existence; but the southwest still weighed heavily in the balance, and at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War the politics of Kurpfalz had exercised a decisive influence. The south German imperial towns, however, had played out their political rôle since the war of Schmalkald; the whole of the southwest had taken little more than a merely passive part in the later progress of the great war, and the battle, so far as it was not conducted by foreign powers, had been fought out by east German powers, including Bavaria. Now the whole of the west had fallen into a number of impotent small states; it had lost its old economical significance by the removal of the trade routes of the world; the possibility for the formation of larger economic units was nowhere present; besides, the political supremacy of foreign powers was nowhere so narrowing and so oppressive, the national self-consciousness nowhere so small, as in these oldest German centres of civilisation. It was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that a considerable secular state was formed in the northwest—that of electoral Hanover; but this succumbed rapidly to foreign influence, owing to the personal union with England, which dates from 1714.

Considerable secular state organisations existed therefore only in the east. Side by side in the northeast were the lower Saxon-Thuringian colonial provinces of Brandenburg and electoral Saxony; in the southeast, Bavaria and Austria—that is to say, actually the countries of Bavarian origin. Of these four state organisations, two, Bavaria and electoral Saxony, were purely inland territories—that is, without any immediate interest in the great foreign problems of German policy, and so without any compulsion to gather all their powers tightly together. Only Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia were border states. But Austria's main stream, the vein of her life, the Danube, flowed out of Germany into an inland sea then almost inaccessible in view of its remoteness; it was connected with the north, it is true, by the Elbe and the Oder, but Bohemia was the site of a population that was foreign, although at that time half crushed; and only Silesia was in the main German territory. Furthermore, the border-lands in the east were under the same sway as Austria, so that a feeling of strong national pride was not allowed to rise into prominence, and the only great national ambition in the pursuit of which the Habsburgers were immediately occupied was the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary; they were interested in relationships with France only in so far as their remote western possessions extending up to the upper Rhine were con-

[1640 A.D.]

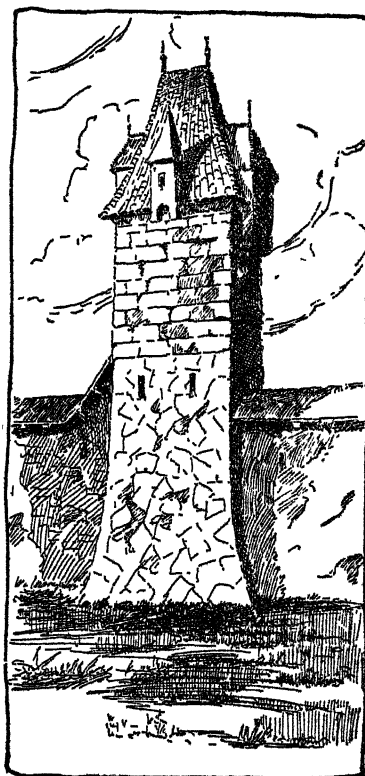
cerned. Finally, the reaction in the church had disturbed the mark of the Habsburg nations and interrupted their spiritual association with German culture, the nature of which was essentially Protestant.

THE TERRITORIES OF THE HOHENZOLLERN

It was otherwise in Brandenburg. In strips of land still territorially separated but of considerable dimension, the lands of the Hohenzollern stretched right across the whole breadth of north Germany and farther away, from the lower Rhine to the Memel; in their hands was the territory between the Elbe and the Oder, that is to say, the connection between the German interior and the coast; they had a share in the Weser as well as in the Rhine, and commanded portions therefore of the great streams which were the conduits of conveyance to the North Sea—now the most important of German seas—and by establishing a connection between the Elbe and the Oder they could acquire a great trade route from the southeast to the northwest, from Silesia to the mouth of the Elbe. And the same vital interests brought the states into immediate opposition to Poland, to whose feudal superiority the dukedom of Prussia was still subordinate; to Sweden, which separated the mouth of the Oder from the Hinterland; and to France, which threatened the ill-conditioned west of Germany. So the Hohenzollern were confronted with the greatest problems of German politics.

Finally, there existed in these preponderating lower Saxon races, accustomed for centuries to hard work on poor soil, a strong self-consciousness; and the attitude of the reformed reigning house to its subjects, of whom the great majority were Lutheran, begat a measure of tolerance that was far in excess of what the imperial law enjoined. Thus the Hohenzollern, by working for their state, unsuspectingly created the basis for the new unity of the nation—first a strong middle state, then a *Grossmacht*. At the same time the Habsburgers, by conquering Hungary, founded an independent power of the first rank, half of which, however, lay outside Germany.

By the relation existing between these units of power—the north German and lower Saxon Protestant and the south German Bavarian Catholic—was the fate of the nation for two centuries immeasurably more determined than by its imperial constitution in its process of stagnation. Great as was the evil that their competition brought upon Germany, it was only the rise of great independent states which could insure the political endurance of a German nation and save it from foreign supremacy. For it was a time of the keenest struggles for supremacy. True, Spain as a leading power soon disappeared from the contest, but Bourbon France, under its unlimited monarchy,



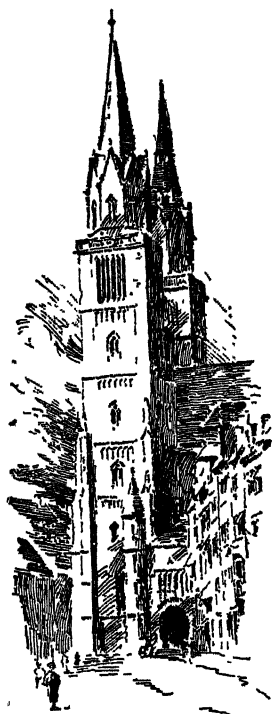
WATCH-TOWER OF THE MIDDLE AGES

[1640 A.D.]

was a neighbour far more to be feared; England was on the ascent, forcing back the Netherlands into a secondary position—in trade and colonial enterprise she became supreme; in the whole of the north, Sweden exercised a powerful military influence; and Russia, with her czar, was slowly pressing towards the west behind a Poland that was sinking into hopeless ruin through the conduct of a sovereign nobility that had no one to lead it.

THE GREAT ELECTOR (1640-1688 A.D.)

A succession of great or at all events considerable rulers raised Brandenburg-Prussia from the depths of her former weakness. The first, Frederick William (1640-1688), who even in his own time was called the Great Elector (born 1620), owed far less to his weak father, George William, than to his witty and energetic mother, Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate. It was she who gave him his decided leaning towards the line of opposition adopted by evangelical princes of the empire, while Count Schwarzenberg, the Catholic minister of his father, with much assiduity kept Brandenburg after 1635 on the side of Austria. The accession of the youthful elector to the throne, in December of 1640, marks an important political crisis.^f



CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE,
NUREMBERG

The situation of the young elector, at this time only twenty years old, was sufficiently gloomy. Of the countries of which he was lord by birth (Brandenburg, Cleves, and Prussia), he possessed only the legal title. He had not yet been invested with Prussia; Brandenburg and Cleves were in great part in the hands of foreign powers, and the hope of winning his hereditary Pomerania from the Swedes seemed almost unattainable. And even if he could establish himself in possession of his state—if we may apply the term state to territories dwelling under totally different conditions and only by chance under the same head—was it to be hoped he would guide it successfully through all the dangers which surrounded it? Yet Frederick William showed himself equal to the difficult task, young as he still was.

The perils of war, before which the elector's children had often been compelled to flee from castle to castle, had beat around Frederick William's earliest youth. When he was approaching manhood his father had sent him to the Dutch court to be under the care of the great soldier and statesman, Frederick Henry, son of William of Orange. He was already strong enough to flee from the allurements and pleasures of the Hague with as courageous decision as he sought the dangers of war—for instance, in the siege of Breda.

But it was not only his character that he steeled while in this distant country. Here he saw, under his own eyes, a little state which yet was at that time uncontestedly one of the first on the earth; he saw that this state had become so powerful by means of religious and political liberty, order and law at home, and, above all, through trade and navigation. To the keen, wide-open eyes of the young man this lesson was not lost. On the coast of his Prussia, also,

[1640-1654 A D]

beat the sea which unites the countries, and Pomerania with the mouths of the Oder must, according to an ancient treaty, soon be his hereditary possession; for his marks too—sandy, swampy, desert as they appeared, and indeed furnished with but scanty natural resources—prosperity and power might be won by strenuous diligence and the skilful utilisation of all available forces. So the prince, enriched with great views, returned first to Cleves and then to Berlin; then he accompanied his father to Prussia, where the latter died in 1640.

The young elector soon perceived what, in the deplorable condition of the country, was his first task: the erection of a standing army—the *miles perpetuus*, as they said in those days—by means of which Sweden and Austria had become powerful. To possess such an army was the object of all the considerable powers of the time. The first beginnings were small and insignificant. At first he was usefully served by Colonel von Burgsdorf, then by General von Sparr; but the true hero and leader of his continually increasing army was Field-Marshal von Derfflinger, a man of unknown origin who had risen from the ranks and had served his apprenticeship, first under Matthias von Thurn, then in the Saxon, and, most important of all, in the Swedish army. To promote his work Frederick William needed peace with the Swedes; in 1641 he concluded a peace with them, regardless of the emperor's indignation. Thus he maintained himself till the end of the great war.

By this peace the Swedes received Hither Pomerania with the islands and the mouths of the Oder, and he obtained only the greater part of Farther Pomerania, although, since old Bogislaw XIV had died in 1637, Frederick William should have inherited the whole of Pomerania. In compensation he received the archbishopric of Magdeburg with Halberstadt and the bishoprics of Minden and Kammin, beautiful, fertile districts, the first three of which were of great value for communication between Brandenburg and the Rhenish provinces; but yet they seemed to him no true equivalent for Stettin, the mouths of the Oder, and the sea-coasts, for he knew how to value the importance of a sea power. But the elector was a man who calculated on existing conditions. Hither Pomerania was lost for the present and it was of no use to lament; it was better to establish himself in the districts which he had, and to restore the wasted territories to prosperity. The elector accomplished this by means of a (for that period) wise method of taxation; instead of the old land tax he imposed the excise, that is, a percentage on articles of consumption, both native and foreign—a tax which was easier to collect and to which, of course, all classes contributed. By this means he gradually increased the revenues of his state (which at his accession had amounted to only 400,000 thalers) to 2,500,000 thalers, and yet the country quickly recovered itself. The elector, economical and prudent in the employment of all resources, soon had sufficient money to add to his army, which at the close of his reign amounted to twenty-seven thousand men. Soon the first laurels beckoned to the new army, the first important gain to the elector.

PRUSSIA CEASES TO BE A VASSAL OF POLAND

In Sweden, Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, laid aside the crown (1654). Her cousin, Charles (X) Gustavus, had followed her, but was not recognised by King John Kasimir of Poland, in whom a scion of the house of Vasa still survived. Frederick William stood exactly between the two kingdoms, which now made war on each other. The elector had at first attempted to mediate a peace, but the Swedes, with the haughtiness of veteran conquerors, marched through his territories of Pomerania and Neu-

[1640-1654 A.D.]

mark into Poland, quickly occupied the whole Polish kingdom, and then beset the elector (who had at first only attempted to protect his dukedom of Prussia) in his second capital, at Königsberg. But soon Charles Gustavus offered him peace, and even an alliance; for John Kasimir, with imperial assistance, had meantime won back his country. The elector now saw an opportunity to shake off the Polish suzerainty, which was exceedingly oppressive.^c

The king of Sweden (Charles (X) Gustavus), had taken Warsaw; the king of Poland had fled to upper Silesia; a large section of magnates did homage to the king of Sweden and joined his ranks. Facing him with his army and the estates of both countries—for West Prussia made with him common cause—Frederick William assumed an imposing attitude. At the same time, however, he did not consider it his duty, nor did he believe himself to be strong enough, to interfere in favour of the king of Poland and to try the fortune of battle against the victorious Swedes. Charles Gustavus, also, had scruples as to whether he should undertake to overpower him by force of arms. His own inclinations, apart from other considerations, would have counselled such a course of conduct. It may be easily imagined that since the Swedes had taken Finland centuries ago, Esthonia and Livonia in the reign of the last king, Hither Pomerania and Wismar by the Peace of Westphalia, they now thought to complete their supremacy over the coastland of the Baltic. They had a grievance in the agreement at Stuhmsdorf by which they had surrendered the harbours that had already been taken; Charles Gustavus held it to be almost a point of honour to regain them. His suggestion to the elector was to occupy Prussia forthwith, as the vassal of Sweden. Under the stress of the political situation and the immediate danger which threatened, Frederick William after much hesitation (he refused an extension of the country which was offered to him) agreed to this proposal; but he did so with the greatest reluctance—he had never before looked so melancholy. He had to surrender the coasts to the Swedes, to give up his alliances. Nevertheless, there was one consideration which made this agreement acceptable. The feudal duties exacted by Sweden were not so mercilessly definite as those formerly exacted by the Poles; certain other characteristics give this feudal agreement the appearance of an alliance; but the stupendous importance of the matter is signified in a moment of what may almost be called universal historical meaning; it rests on the common interests of the Germanic and Protestant powers in opposition to the supremacy of the Poles.

The common nature of their cause became all the more insistent when the fugitive king returned to awaken all national and religious feelings to the value of his aims. Charles Gustavus was not entirely wrong when he said that if the Poles were to win, both he and the elector were lost. In order to bind him permanently to his side, he offered to make him archduke, even king of the best-situated palatinates, which had for the most part been reduced to subjection. The elector did not refuse this, because in greater Poland he thereby acquired that independence which was denied to him in Prussia. However the negotiations and intentions of those concerned might shape themselves at different moments, the main result was the common reaction against that great Catholic power which had formerly reigned in the north. Waldeck, in opposition to the other councillors of the elector, continued a policy of Catholic supremacy. In this combination, which threatened a revival of the Polish and Catholic system to overpower the alliance of Protestant and German forces, Brandenburg, Prussia, and Sweden joined arms in order to bid defiance to the Poles, who in the mean while had again taken their capital.

Such is the historical significance of the three days' fight at Warsaw in which the Poles were defeated and dispersed. Since the Teutonic order had been overwhelmed by the Poles in the battle of Tannenberg, the Poles had

[1656 A.D.]

maintained the upper hand in German colonial territory on both sides of the Vistula; the first signs of the prevalence of an opposite tendency are to be observed, as we have shown, in the advantages maintained by Gustavus Adolphus against the Poles. If Charles Gustavus now took up this contest, at first with great success, which subsequently however became dubious again, it was of the greatest importance that the duke of Prussia, who had now acquired a supreme position of his own, should join the other side. It was from the very centre of the order that he gathered the necessary power and stimulus. The change in the times is apparent in the difference of the military organisation: the knighthood had not been capable of withstanding the fighting forces of eastern Europe, which the king of Poland at that day gathered round him; now, however, a different military system had arisen, before the representatives of which the masses of undeveloped disorderly Polish troops were bound to fall back. The military organisation, under which the natives of the territory belonging to the order joined forces with the fighting material of the German provinces, is the basis, no longer of the Brandenburg army alone, which numbered only a few regiments outside these, but also of the Brandenburg-Prussian army, as it was to exist henceforward. It is to be regarded as a remarkable achievement that this army, which first stood its ground against the encroachments of Charles Gustavus, inflicted in alliance with him a crushing defeat on the Poles. Not only by the interchange of diplomacy but also by these master strokes was the independence of Prussia founded: it is the first great military accomplishment of the Brandenburg-Prussian army. What a trifling rôle it had played but a short time ago, when Swedish forces were united with a Protestant army!

Frederick William stood now on an equal footing with the king of Sweden. True he was his vassal, but only for one province, which was far from including the power that was his in virtue of the development of Germany. It is less important to consider to what degree he thought at the beginning of these disturbances to raise himself—to the rank of an independent sovereign prince—than to reflect that in fact he acquired an independent position: in virtue of his fighting power, he was actually an independent prince before he was so called. But the name was to be his, too, as soon as the general circumstances had reached the point of development which could lead to this end. The first decisive turn in the affairs of the north was the attack of the Russians on Sweden. For it was even more difficult for the Russians than for other powers to acquiesce in the Baltic's becoming definitely, so to speak, a Swedish lake; and at this moment their entry into Livonia did not hurt the Poles at all. It made little impression upon them that the czar even brought himself to demand the feudal supremacy over Prussia; they saw in him at once a new ally, and proceeded with renewed zeal to oppose the Swedes and the elector.

THE TREATY OF LABIAU (1656 A.D.)

Worried by the claim of three powers at once to superior feudal relations, and depending on none of these in his actual position, the elector-duke most naturally hit upon the thought of dispensing altogether with a subordinate relation of that kind; this object, however, could not be forthwith accomplished in so far as the Poles were concerned; for, since the Russians had broken loose, they had again obtained the upper hand and made powerful advances in West Prussia; they already held the king of Sweden to be a man defeated and abandoned. The Prussian estates had wished for an armistice at least; but the Poles refused it. They would enter into a definitive agreement with the elector only if he would return to the old feudal dependence; his

[1656-1667 A.D.]

alliance with the Swedes was regarded by them as felony in the sense of the feudal law, to say nothing of the peculiar position which he occupied. If the elector would not abandon this alliance and submit again to the supremacy of the Poles, whom after all he had defeated, there was nothing left for him but to continue an alliance with Charles Gustavus, and once more to face the Poles with all the might at his command. King Charles X, oppressed on all sides, saw his salvation in a renewed combination with Brandenburg, and so agreed to the proposals which the elector made to him in favour of the sovereignty of his dukedom. The subject had already been mooted before; the king had never wished to enter upon it: now, however, he saw himself compelled by his plight to do so. The feudal relation enforced upon the elector had less significance for him now than formerly, inasmuch as his great plan was ruined by the invasion of the Russians; his thoughts turned on peace with Russia, and to effect this he reckoned upon the co-operation of Brandenburg. In the Treaty of Labiau (November 10th, 1656), he consented to abandon the feudal connection and to substitute a league of alliance in its place.

PRUSSIAN ALLIANCE WITH SWEDEN

This agreement has not a very prominent place in the confusing whirl of episodes of which the times are composed; for the establishment of Prussian political relations it is of high importance for all ages: for not alone did the king renounce all his own claims, but it was established that Prussia should be made separate from Poland forever. The elector and his successors were never again to enter into a similar relationship with Poland or any other power: they were to be supreme, absolute, and sovereign princes, and to enjoy all the rights of sovereign princes. Once again, the elector linked his fate with the decision of the war between Sweden and Poland, by which yet another wide prospect was opened up to him. Great Poland signified its desire to be under his protection henceforward. No hope seemed to be too extravagant, for at this moment the Transylvanian troops broke into Poland under Prince Rákóczy: it was as if the old Bethlen Gábor, who had once belonged to the European coalition against Austria, had come to life again. Like Bethlen, George Rákóczy entered Hungary as the champion of the Protestants—as the restorer of this country's old-time freedom; the products of his mines made him a rich man: he is known as one of the greatest opponents the order of the Jesuits has ever had. A successful expedition of Transylvanians and Swedes would have exercised a crushing and retrogressive effect upon Poland, as well as upon the stability of Austrian power. Brandenburg-Prussia also belonged to this combination at the time.

Waldeck, whose sole efforts were always directed against the two powers, Austria and Poland, accompanied the king on the expedition. All-embracing as were the expectations based upon the campaign of 1667, the main results were of trifling significance. Certainly the alliance with Rákóczy was concluded; but it led to no decision, for the Poles evaded every serious attempt to bring about a meeting. Rákóczy was not so easily satisfied as people assumed; he was not for the king, and still less for the elector: on the contrary, when Brzesc had been taken, he appeared to be very much inclined to conclude an agreement with the Poles, especially as his country was threatened with a Tatar invasion; he offered King John Kasimir an alliance against Charles X, with whom he came to loggerheads. Not only had the Poles nothing to fear from the alliance of Sweden and Transylvania, but it was of service to them in that Austria was thereby moved to make common cause with them; at the same time they found a new ally in Denmark.

[1667 A.D.]

THE TRIUMVIRATE

Impatient to revenge the loss suffered at the last peace, and encouraged by the hostile intentions evidenced against the Swedes in every direction by the agency of the house of Austria and its influence, the Danes rose to a fresh attack upon this power. The participation of Denmark and Austria in the Polish affair may be regarded as the second great episode in this war. Charles Gustavus was compelled on the spot to turn his weapons from Poland to Denmark; but he saw no misfortune in doing so. All over the world, people began to regard him more and more as an object of fear; for it was not held to be probable that the Danes would offer any opposition. It was even thought he would acquire possession of the Sound, and would be put in a position to set new armies in the field by raising duties so as to gain the mastery over northern Europe; he was in league with Mazarin and with Cromwell. This triumvirate threatened the existing dynastic relations of Europe; an intention was formed of establishing in Germany an emperor who should not come from the house of Austria, to supply the new vacancy. The elector of Brandenburg was still regarded as one of her allies; should they prevail, he might hope to retain Great Poland, and even to conquer Silesia. But think of the consequences that might ensue from this! The king was far away—he already saw himself exposed without aid to the hostilities of his enemies; under stress of this danger he had no scruples, abandoned as he was by the king, against abandoning his cause. It was impossible for him to suffer Denmark to be completely defeated, or Sweden's aspirations of supremacy in the Baltic (doubly oppressive at this juncture) to be realised. Still less could he brook that France and Sweden should control the German throne. The great march of general politics and the prospects to which they led drove him every day more and more on to the other side: it would naturally be more agreeable to him to see the imperial authority continue unbroken in the house of Austria than to see raised to this dignity one of his opponents, even his neighbour in Julich and Berg, the count palatine of Neuburg who was the competitor next favoured. That Sweden should dominate Poland had equally little interest for him, inasmuch as this power herself dispensed with his former dependence on her. All his present efforts were directed towards securing the recognition of the independence of his dukedom from Poland and from the other powers. At no cost would he any longer remain involved in the unstable internal concerns of Poland: besides, who could guarantee that the czar or the emperor would not take possession of the Polish throne? What would become of him then? The considerable army which he possessed in the field gave weight and effectiveness to his representations. Nobody did such justice to his ideas as the leading men in the states-general, especially Jan de Witt, in other respects



DETAIL OF THE WALL
OF HEIDELBERG CASTLE,
BEGUN LATE IN THE
THIRTEENTH, AND COM-
PLETED EARLY IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

[1657 A.D.]

an opponent of the house of Orange—which was so closely allied with Brandenburg—but a man of sufficiently wide perceptions not to regard the great political issues from this point of view. The interests of his own republic demanded the independence of the Prussian coastlands from Sweden as well as from Poland, in order to secure the safety of her trade in the Baltic and her connection with Russia.

Less determined was the declaration of the Danes; at first they were opposed to the whole suggestion—it would not be well regarded by the subjects in Prussia, and in the future the protectorate of Poland would always put a certain check upon the elector; the points of grievance in the relations hitherto subsisting might be redressed. The Brandenburg ambassador replied that Poland had abused her rights in an unbearable fashion, and made it impossible to return to a subordinate relation which, once for all, with good reason, had been broken: the elector observed that he had rendered a service to Poland; for it was owing to the resistance which at the beginning he offered to the Swedes, and which secured for him independence from them, that the Poles had been enabled to gather together and re-establish themselves in some measure. By this means the Danes were emboldened to tender their good services to the elector. Without doubt the favourable view of this policy entertained by Lisola, the ambassador of the house of Austria, contributed much to its success; because for this power everything depended on withdrawing the elector from the opposite side and from the alliance with an enemy. With the united co-operation of the allied powers, by which the Poles could hope to be defended from Sweden, it was brought about that the latter acquiesced in the condition which the elector made for his concurrence.

THE TREATY OF WEHLAU (1657 A.D.)

After long¹ negotiations, shrouded in the deepest secrecy, no suspicion of which reached the ears of the French ambassador at the court, the Poles agreed at Wehlau on the 19th of September, 1657, that the elector, who on his part agreed to ally himself with them, should possess Prussia with its old boundaries, but with the right of supremacy under his absolute control and free from all burdens hitherto imposed upon it. The agreement applied both to himself and to his male descendants. These were practically the same stipulations as those accepted by the king of Sweden. But what a different significance it acquired by being acquiesced in by the Poles! The Swedish feudal supremacy had been imposed only latterly upon Prussia, while that of Poland was centuries old, and had been recognised by Europe as an unquestionable relation based upon constitutional law. At the personal meeting at Bromberg which took place between the king and the elector, who now withdrew to the marks, we are confronted with an unexpected internal relation. Without doubt it was the work of the queen of Poland, Ludovica Gonzaga, and of the electress Luise: they were both peaceably intentioned, and had come to an understanding with each other. A few points of minor importance had still to be settled here, and new difficulties did not fail to arise; but the main object—the recognition of the sovereignty—was established by form of oath in the open air. Such was the consequence of the change in the relative position of the world-powers. The feudal dependency which, after severe defeat, had been inflicted upon the masters of the order, and had been recognised by the last of them [Albert of Brandenburg, 1490–1568], who secularised himself and the country, was again thrown off, after the Poles on their side had not only suffered defeats, but had also fallen into difficulties out of which they could be extricated only by this admission. The abolition of the feudal relation had

[1657-1660 A.D.]

been demanded by the duke of Prussia, who might still have proved very formidable, as he was at the head of a considerable army and in alliance with the most distinguished enemy; it was the price paid for his transference from this enemy to the European powers, which had come to an agreement with the Poles. Truly an achievement of far-reaching historical significance! The great German colony in the east, which owed its foundation to the long continued efforts of the German nation, was thereby established in its original independence of the neighbouring powers—at all events, in so far that it acknowledged the elector of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia, as its head. For this prince himself, and for his house, what incalculable meaning lay in this achievement! In the midst of the large kingdoms which until now had imposed their will upon them, and thwarted the development of a policy peculiar to their interest, the prince and his country now appear on an equal footing, with equal rights, owing dependence to no one but themselves. It was the work of an able pilot who, in the political storm that rose around him, more than once changed his course and at last arrived safely in port. For the structure of the state, the value of what had been gained is immeasurable, in that it freed the elector from all consideration for the political future of Poland: henceforward he could pursue his own objects.^b

Charles X, now attacked by both Holland and Denmark, the latter of which had designs on Bremen and Verden, displayed indeed the most brilliant military qualities, drove the Danes from Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, even traversed the frozen belt to Funen, then by Langeland, Laaland, and Fålstær to Zealand, and compelled his opponents to the unfavourable Peace of Roeskilde (in Zealand) in 1658; but when, immediately afterwards, he broke this peace and attempted to conquer Denmark and Copenhagen, Frederick William, with auxiliaries, marched against him into Holstein and even into Jutland and Funen, where the troops of Brandenburg played a decisive part in the battle of Nyborg (1659). Charles X, relying on the assistance of France, was still unbent when, in February, 1660, he was overtaken by an early death. The regency which governed for his young son hastened to conclude at Oliva, a monastery near Dantzic, on the 3rd of May, 1660, the peace which had already been initiated. The Wehlau Treaty with Poland was confirmed and guaranteed by the great powers. Henceforth, Frederick William was sovereign prince in Prussia.

OPPOSITION OF THE ESTATES

Now, for the first time, Frederick William might turn his attention to amalgamating into one state the different provinces over which he ruled. It was the estates of the various districts which set themselves against the unity of the state. By it their "liberty," that is the unrestrained freedom with which they held sway in their circles, was endangered. Instead of ruling by the aid of the sovereign estates, the elector attempted to do so by means of his officials, and he chose these officials not merely from the narrow districts in which they were to labour—he also took them from "the stranger." The estates vehemently opposed him; but their day had gone by. Only those in Cleves maintained their general position, after they had abandoned to the elector the right to raise and maintain troops in the country and to appoint officials; the estates of Brandenburg and Prussia lost this right almost entirely. The prerogatives of the estates in Brandenburg were obsolete, their administration was clumsy, and since, thanks to the new tax on commodities, the elector had little need of the grants of money from the estates, henceforth he seldom called them together, until gradually they fell into oblivion.

[1662-1675 A.D.]

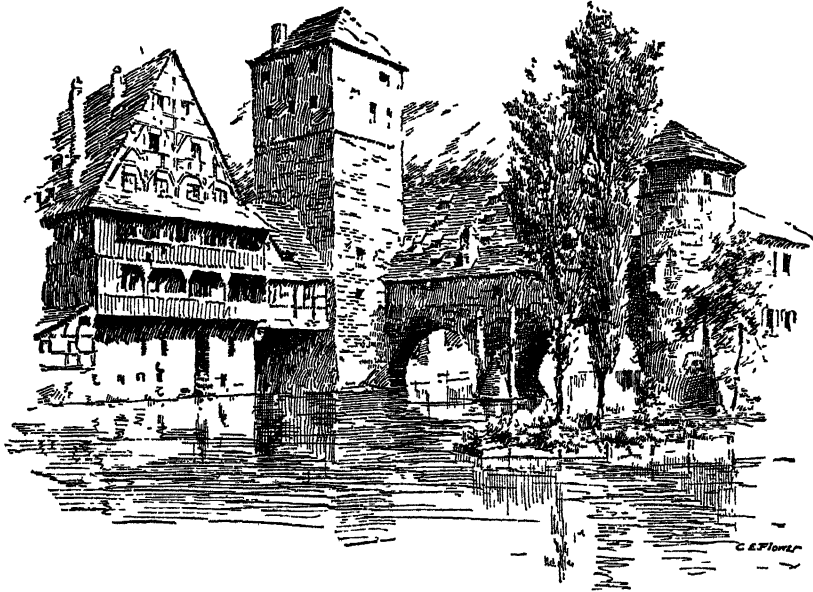
The struggle in Prussia was more severe. The Prussian estates were accustomed to a certain share in the government, and showed themselves ill-disposed towards the severe order and discipline of Brandenburg. The example of the unbridled freedom of the Polish estates had a demoralising effect upon them. They had from the first maintained in the face of the Great Elector that Poland had not the power to hand over the sovereignty to him without their acquiescence; and they therefore persisted in a defiant attitude towards him; the most eager party among them even entered into treacherous negotiations with Poland, and Poland was not disinclined to utilise the insubordination of the Prussian estates for her own ends. At the head of the elector's opponents stood the *Schöppenmeister* of Königsberg, Hieronymus Roth, and Colonel von Kalckstein. But when the elector had failed to attain his object, either by mildness or by threats, he took his measures with an iron hand. Roth was accused of high treason and condemned to lifelong imprisonment (1662), during which he died unsubdued (1678). Kalckstein, who had uttered threats against the elector's life, and had been imprisoned, but afterwards pardoned, fled to Poland, in defiance of his plighted word. In Warsaw he gave himself out as a representative of the Prussian estates, and in their name and with vehement abuse of the elector demanded that Poland should resume her ancient rights. On this, Frederick William, through his ambassador, caused him to be secretly seized and conveyed out of the town; when he was brought wrapped in carpet to Prussia, and his head struck off at Memel (1672). Henceforth, all resistance in the estates was broken, and Frederick William was absolute monarch in his own state. If in this reckless method of procedure he resembled the type of the age, Louis XIV, yet the difference between the Prussian absolute rule and the French lay in this: it served the state, but did not sacrifice it to its own vanity and selfishness; and thus it was a blessing to the state whose unity it founded and which it freed from petty influences.

WAR WITH FRANCE AND SWEDEN

For twelve years Brandenburg enjoyed peace. It was not until 1672 that the Great Elector entered into the European struggle against Louis XIV, when, deaf to all enticements and promises of money on the part of the conqueror, he was the first of all the princes to hasten to the assistance of Holland, whose value for the liberty of Europe and the preservation of the Gospel he recognised. Hampered by the envy and disfavour of Austria, and attacked in Cleves and Westphalia by Louis XIV in full force, he found himself, in 1673, under the necessity of concluding with France the Peace of Vossem (near Brussels); but when, in 1674, the German empire entered into the war, he was speedily again on the Rhine, and this time with many more troops than he was pledged to put into the field—twenty thousand men. Then Louis XIV, by means of his influence in Sweden, roused a new enemy in the elector's rear. In the winter of 1674, the Swedes from Hither Pomerania fell upon Further Pomerania and Neumark, as well as upon Uckermark, Priegnitz, and Haveland. At first they behaved with moderation, but soon went about plundering, burning, and wasting, as in the worst days of the Thirty Years' War, and prepared to cross the Elbe and even to break into Altmark itself.

The elector had gone into winter quarters on the Main. As soon as he was sufficiently prepared he started with the army, soon left the infantry, with the exception of a small, picked body, behind him, and appeared in Magdeburg on the 21st of June, 1675. Here he had the gates closed, that no news might precede him, and rested two days. Then, with only six thousand horse

[1675-1678 A D]



HANGMAN'S FOOTBRIDGE, NUREMBERG, WITH THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FORTIFICATIONS

and twelve hundred foot, forwarded on carts, he hurried on. On the 25th he took Rathenow, and thus divided the hostile army, which was posted from Havelberg to Brandenburg. The left wing of the Swedes made haste to cross the Rhine, which forms the old boundary of Havelland and the countship of Ruppin and leaves only a few fordable places. At one of these, near Fehrbellin in the province of Bellin, a sandy plateau full of fir woods, the elector compelled them to give battle, June 28th, 1675. With 5,600 horse, which alone had followed his lightning speed, and 13 cannon, he attacked the Swedes, 11,000 strong (4,000 on horseback, 7,000 on foot, and 38 cannon). At the very beginning he espied, with the keen eye of a general, an unoccupied hill, which commanded the battle-field; thither he hastened with the cannon. It was here that the fight was hottest; here his faithful horsemen had to cut out a way for the elector himself from the midst of the foes who surrounded him; here his master of the horse, Emanuel Froben, fell at his master's side, and here the fate of the day was gloriously decided for the Brandenburgers.

The young power had conquered the Swedes, whose warlike renown had subsisted unshaken since the days of Gustavus Adolphus; the elector had performed the most glorious task which can fall to the lot of a soldier—he had freed his fatherland from foreign violence. Seven days later not a foe remained on the soil of the mark. The empire now declared war against Sweden, while Denmark, covetous of Bremen and Verden, which indeed were also Swedish, entered into an alliance with the Great Elector, as his contemporaries already called him.

Thus supported, Frederick William proceeded to an attack on the German provinces of Sweden. In 1676 almost all Pomerania, in 1677 Stettin, and in 1678 Stralsund itself had been conquered. In order to bring the last-named town to surrender, the Brandenburg troops had been transported by Danish assistance to Rugen, being supported at the same time by the little fleet which the elector already had on the Baltic. Soon Greifswald also fell. Not a foot

[1678-1679 A.D.]

of German land now remained to Sweden. Then, whilst Frederick William himself was in Westphalia for the purpose of protecting Cleves against the advancing French, came the news that the Swedes had invaded Prussia from Livonia (November, 1678). With all speed, and in the bitterest winter weather, he set the army in Pomerania in motion, journeyed thither himself, although he was ill, and in January, 1679, held at Marienwerder a muster of his troops, which were nine thousand strong. The Swedes were already in retreat. The elector had sledges collected from the whole neighbourhood, and on these he sent forward his infantry, hastened after the enemy, cut off his retreat by risking the direct way across the ice of the Frisches and the Kurisches Haff, but overtook only the fragments of their flying army. Of sixteen thousand Swedes scarcely a tithe escaped the fearful cold and the eager pursuit of the Brandenburg troops, which penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Riga.

Thus the war had been brought to an end in all quarters. But the elector's allies had already, independently of him, concluded a peace with Louis XIV (at Nimeguen). Envy had induced Austria to leave her ally in the lurch. The fear to which expression is so well given in the so-called "Stralendorf judgment" (Stralendorf was imperial vice-chancellor in the days of John Sigismund)—"It is to be feared that the Brandenburger will now become him whom the Calvinist and Lutheran mob yearn for"—grew with every success of the Great Elector, and entirely governed the Habsburg policy. Thus left alone against Louis XIV, who immediately occupied first Cleves, then Mark and Ravensberg, and laid siege to Minden, Frederick William could do nothing, and Louis demanded the restoration of all that had been taken from Sweden. Mournfully the elector at last acquiesced, uttering the wish that from him might descend the avengers who should repay the outrage to his faithful allies. In the Peace of St. German, in 1679, he gave back to the Swedes all the conquered country with the exception of the strip on the right bank of the Oder, and thus Sweden continued to preserve her German territories.

THE GREAT ELECTOR AND AUSTRIA AND SPAIN

In addition to this mortification the elector received another. In the year of his victory of Fehrbellin (1675), the ducal house of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau had become extinct, and in accordance with the old treaty of 1537 these provinces also should have fallen to Brandenburg. But Austria demanded them for herself as Bohemian fiefs, and marched into them without paying any heed to the legal claims of Brandenburg. It was openly said in Vienna, "It is not pleasing to the imperial majesty that a new Vandal empire should raise its flag on the Baltic." More than this, the aid against the Turks several times offered by the elector in the distress of Austria which now ensued, was rejected because it was feared that the opportunity might be taken for a military occupation of those provinces. Full of anger with his allies, Frederick William directly after the Peace of St. German had allied himself with Louis XIV—an unnatural relation which did not long subsist. Spain, which still owed him a subsidy for the last war, he attacked by sea with his little fleet. Even before the war, Frederick William, who well knew the importance of a naval force, had begun to create himself a fleet with the aid of Dutch shipbuilders; it then consisted of ten frigates which had already given the Swedes plenty of trouble. With this fleet he made prize of various merchant vessels, but, on the other hand, it had failed to capture the plate fleet, which annually carried to Spain the treasures of the American mines, and the

[1685-1686 A.D.]

ships of Brandenburg, driven by storms and pressed by a superior enemy, had to seek refuge in a Portuguese harbour.

But when in the Turkish wars the emperor had need of aid from Brandenburg in order that he might completely recover Hungary, he surrendered to the elector the circle of Schwiebus (in the east of the province of Brandenburg) as an indemnity for the Silesian claims (1686), and also resigned to him a claim he had on East Friesland, whereby Frederick William came into possession of Emden and Gretsyl as pledges. From here his ships went out to his colonies, for as early as 1683 he had occupied a strip on the Gold Coast of Africa, and had there erected the fort Gross-Friedrichsburg; besides this, he had acquired from the Danes a port of the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. But these colonies, founded in unfavourable places and soon threatened by the jealousy of the Dutch, had no future, and were already abandoned by his second successor in 1721.

WORK AND CHARACTER OF THE GREAT ELECTOR

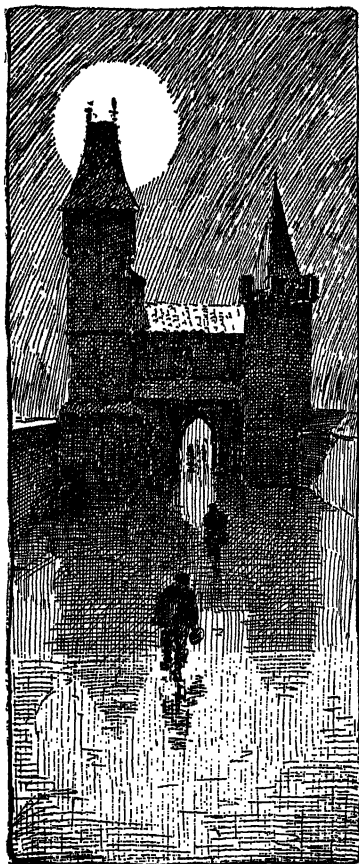
Thus Frederick William was ceaselessly active, even where circumstances proved too strong for his small forces. From Louis XIV, who was cast in such a different mould, he soon again fell off. In 1685 Louis had abrogated the Edict of Nantes, which secured toleration to the Huguenots, and had oppressed them in every possible way, in order to lead them back to the Catholic Church; for as he knew only one royal will, so he recognised only one faith in France. Far different was the Great Elector: "He first calls in the healing word into the disputes of the church and demands a general amnesty for all three confessions." How could he have looked with indifferent eyes on the necessities of his co-religionists in France? By his Potsdam Edict he opened his territories to the fugitives, who brought their industry and skill with them. Louis was already angered at this; but now the elector offered a helping hand to his wife's nephew, William III of Orange, in the acquisition of the English throne, from which William, in collusion with the great nobles of England, was preparing to hurl his father-in-law, the Catholic James II. Louis XIV, who kept James II in his pay and in subjection, drew from these transactions fresh hatred against Frederick William, who bequeathed the execution of his plans, from which he was himself prevented by death, to his son, Frederick III.

The Great Elector stands forth as the only really great ruler that Germany produced in the seventeenth century. It was by him that the melancholy Peace of Westphalia was first made to yield blessings to Germany. For when this peace dissolved the imperial form of government in Germany and made sovereign rulers of the princes, Frederick William was the first who in this capacity laboured for the good of Prussia and Germany; to him Prussia owes it that the provincial distinctions vanished before the sense of belonging to one state, so that every man, whether he were of Cleves or of Brandenburg, of Pomerania or of East Prussia, felt himself to be a member of one whole, and thus he built up for Germany the new power which was to take the place of the decaying empire. By means of the alliances which he concluded in and beyond Germany, he, with his insignificant forces, opposed the overwhelming power of Louis XIV, and was thus enabled to prevent the preponderance of one realm in Europe. He was the first who stood forth against Louis in 1672; the last to retire from the battle-field before him in 1679. Well-versed in the often faithless and violent statecraft of his time, he understood how to make his influence felt on all occasions. He was no less great as a soldier; with slight materials he founded a great state.

[1688 A. D.]

But the heroic figure of the Great Elector changes into that of the careful economist, when we consider his internal administration. Prudent and economical, he strengthened the resources of his country, and although he put a severe strain on the tax-paying forces of the population, yet their prosperity increased. For the cultivation of the soil, settlers were attracted into the depopulated villages, especially Dutch peasants, who might be regarded as the best teachers for the marks. By the reception of the French refugees, whom his son subsequently installed as a regular colony in Berlin, he advanced industry, which was still in its infancy. By means of a regular postal service, and especially by the construction of roads and canals, he increased communication and rendered it more easy. His principal work in this direction is the Friedrich-Wilhelms or Mullroser canal, which united the Oder and the Spree and, consequently, the Oder and the Elbe. And this man, whose mind embraced the greatest conceptions, whose ambassadors and court appeared on

ceremonial occasions in all the dazzling splendour consonant with the custom of the age, at home was simple, unpretending, *bourgeois*, and childlike. In Potsdam he fished in the carp ponds, in the pleasure-grounds of Berlin he watered his tulip-bulbs, raised the first cauliflowers in the marks, and himself carried home in cages the singing birds he had bought in the market. Though, as a political character he, like Gustavus Adolphus, was not always free from reproach, in his home life he was full of a deep, genuine piety. In worthy, amiable fashion, he was seconded by the wife of his youth, Luise Henriette of Orange; his second wife, Dorothea, also devoted to him her careful solicitude. When he died (April 29th, 1688) he left behind him in north Germany a political power which, though not cohesive, was still so considerable—greater than modern Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden together—that to be a kingdom it lacked only the name.



OLD GERMAN GATEWAY

PRUSSIA BECOMES A KINGDOM

The Great Elector was succeeded by his son Frederick III. His father had rated his abilities as small, as even less than they were, and the two had not always been on the best of terms. Austria had contrived to use this disunion to the best advantage. In his distrust of his father, and because he regarded an adherence to Austria as absolutely necessary, the electoral prince had let

himself be beguiled into promising Austria the restoration of the circle of Schwiebus as soon as he should enter on his reign. In accordance with this agreement, when he became elector he actually did give back the circle of Schwiebus (1695), but refused to make at the same time a formal resignation of the Silesian dukedoms, as was demanded of him. In his foreign policy he

[1688-1701 A.D.]

at first followed in the track of his great father. In accordance with the latter's intention he supported William III at his landing in England, and it was the troops of Brandenburg which conducted this consolidator of English liberty and power to his palace of St. James. When Louis XIV began his third predatory war, that of the Palatinate (1688), and the emperor Leopold, occupied with the Turkish war, was at a loss how to defend the empire, Frederick III proved himself worthy of his father; and uniting Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel in an alliance, like the Great Elector in former days, he appeared in person on the Rhine and conducted the taking of Bonn, into which the French had thrown themselves.

Like his predecessors, he also cared for the enlargement of his state. But his most important achievement was the elevation of the electors of Brandenburg to be kings in Prussia. In this century of Louis XIV, an impulse towards splendour was, as has been said, manifested both at the greater and lesser courts, and to this no ruler was more susceptible than Frederick. It was only recently and, indeed, with Frederick's assistance, that William III of Orange and Frederick Augustus of Saxony had acquired kingly crowns, and the house of Hanover had a prospect of being raised to the English throne. Frederick desired a similar splendour for his own country, which, since the time of his father, whom Louis XIV is said to have urged to make himself king, was already equal in power to at least the lesser kingdoms of Europe. Circumstances were just now peculiarly favourable to this long-prepared and much-desired step. About the year 1700 Europe was shaken by two mighty wars. In the north, Russia under Peter the Great, Poland under Augustus II, and Denmark under Frederick IV had concluded an alliance against the young, heroically minded Charles XII of Sweden, who, with the impetuous military spirit of his ancestors, anticipating his enemies in the so-called Northern War (1700-1721), rapidly humiliated one opponent after another. But in the south the war of the Spanish Succession was preparing. The elector was therefore in the fortunate position of seeing himself the object of universal solicitation; and since Austria was especially zealous in her efforts to obtain his friendship and his help, Frederick seized the occasion to obtain, in exchange for the promise of supporting the emperor in the struggle for Spain, the consent of Leopold to his own assumption of the royal title—not indeed in his German territories, as that seemed out of the question, but in his extra-German, sovereign province, Prussia. Prince Eugene, who was not well disposed towards the Prussians, did indeed declare that the ministers who advised his imperial majesty to accede to the assumption of the royal crown of Prussia were worthy of the hangman, but in Vienna the momentary advantage prevailed. And so at Königsberg, on the 18th of January, 1701, Frederick set the royal crown on the heads of himself and his consort in the midst of the most tremendous pomp, and henceforth styled himself Frederick I, king in Prussia. It was only from the future that this step received its significance. "It was," said Frederick the Great, "as though by it he said to his successors, 'I have won for you a title; make yourselves worthy of it. I have laid a foundation for your greatness; you must complete the work.'"

It was in accordance with the king's temper to surround the kingly crown with royal magnificence. He made Berlin his capital, which was laid out according to the measure of the future. Schluter's splendid buildings rose—the royal castle, the arsenal, Charlottenburg; the long bridge was adorned with the statue of the Great Elector from the hand of the same artist. The town was extended by a whole new quarter, the Friedrichsstadt, and the fine street "Unter den Linden" came into existence. The king's consort, the clever, accomplished Sophie Charlotte of Hanover, the friend of the great scholar Leibnitz, vied with her husband in the encouragement of science and

art. The academy of science was founded in Berlin in 1711. But institutions of immediate benefit also came to life in Prussia; such was the University of Halle (1694) beside which rose in the same place that pious work of Hermann August Francke, the orphan asylum. In accordance with his father's grand conceptions, Frederick I also continued to permit religious liberty to prevail, and to be everywhere a protector of the Protestants. It must be confessed that in his love of display he forgot the old wise economy which had characterised almost all the Hohenzollerns: the country groaned under a heavy pressure of taxation, and whilst until 1697 Brandenburg had owed much to Eberhard von Danckelmann, who had ingratitude for his reward, Frederick's finances, under the influence of the clever but light-minded Kolb von Wartenburg, were brought to the verge of ruin. The king's last years were also clouded by sickness and other severe dispensations. Fortunately, he had in his son a successor who was master in those very departments of finance and administration which the father had neglected.

THE FATHER OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

Frederick William I (1713-1740) was the counterpart of his father: strictly simple, soldierly, economical, and devoted only to the practical, he disdained the splendour which was then held necessary for a prince. In opposition to the immorality which prevailed in almost all courts, he desired to be a good, strict, generous housefather both in his own family and in his country; not fashionable French trumpery and magnificence, but pious German morality should rule with him. In the mere force of character with which he set himself in opposition to the tendency of his age Frederick William I showed himself great—greater still in the method and spirit in which he ordered the administration of his state. In 1723 he united all the different departments (supreme, finance, war, and demesne), into the General Directory; like a great landowner he superintended everything himself; he inculcated economy in everything. "*Quidquid vult, vehementer vult* [whatever he desires he desires intensely]; he sees all, concerns himself with all; he is sterner than Charles XII and Czar Peter"—so ran the reports of the foreign ambassadors at his court even in the early days of his government. According to a design of his own, he created a bureaucracy which, simple, severe, but conscientious, like the king himself, formed the system of wheels in the machinery of state administration in which Frederick William's great son himself found little to be altered. He simplified the judicial administration, stood forward for the rapid disposal of lawsuits, and made preparations to replace the "Roman law which is confused and partly unsuitable to our own country," by a special national code. Science, in so far as it was not, like medicine, directly useful, he did not promote; but, on the other hand, he spared neither trouble nor expense to improve the education of the people. Each of his subjects should be able to read the holy Scriptures, write what was required, and calculate. Thousands of village schools were opened, and the compulsory attendance which the king introduced furnished them with scholars. The foundation was laid for the regular system of popular instruction in Prussia.

In accordance with the views of his age, he sought to increase the industries and productiveness of his own country by strict exclusion and high taxation of foreign products. For instance, he forbade the wearing of garments made of fabrics which had not been prepared in the country, and with his family set a good example. He also improved agriculture, and, like his predecessors, invited foreigners into his land—for example, many Bohemians, who had been

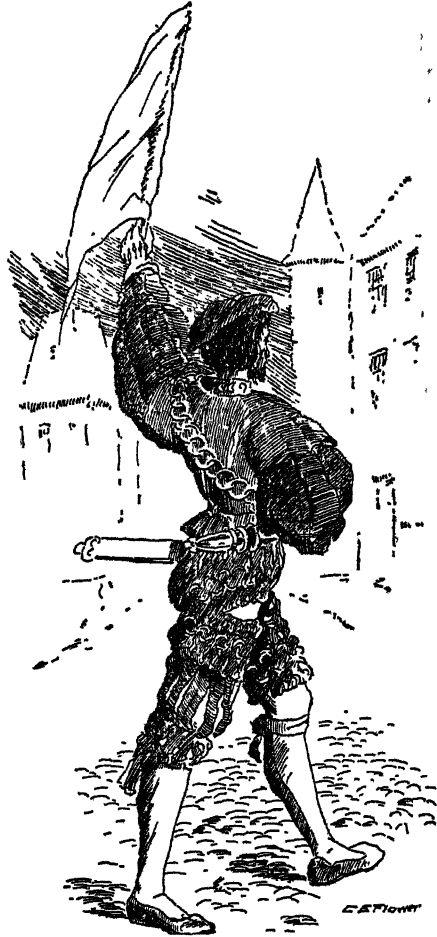
[1718 A.D.]

compelled to leave their own country on account of religion; but he derived a peculiar advantage from the reception of seventeen thousand citizens of Salzburg whom he settled in East Prussia, which had just been desolated by a frightful pest. Not as serfs, but as free peasants, they established themselves in the newly founded villages; the king was well aware "how noble a thing it is for subjects to glory in their liberty." But his endeavours to abolish the existing serfdom came to nothing, and he had to content himself with at least protecting the peasants from being expelled from their farms and from extreme oppression.

What he accomplished, he accomplished in a consciousness of the supremacy of the royal will, which endured no opposition. The absolute form of government, as the Great Elector had established it, in contrast to the dreadful confusion of the estates, was brought by him into full play; he gave stability (according to his own expression) to the sovereignty, and settled the crown firm "as a rock of bronze." For relaxation he had recourse to hunting, of which he was passionately fond, painting, turning, and the unrestrained simple evening society which is known by the name of the Tobacco College. Eager in his patriotism and terrible in his sudden bursts of anger, he made many a one feel the weight of his Spanish cane; but in his healthy mind he generally discerned the just and useful, although he was not wanting in singularities. In his dealing with foreign powers he had little success. He attached himself to Austria with a zeal directed by an intention to keep faith and by patriotism towards the empire, and here his field-marshal Von Grumbkow and the crafty Austrian ambassador Von Seckendorf knew thoroughly well how to direct him, so that his sense of honour was often misused by the diplomatic arts of the time.

FREDERICK WILLIAM I AND HIS ARMY

His whole, often one-sided preference turned him to the army. His father, Frederick I, had also remained true to the example of the great founder of the state, in that he had unremittingly strengthened, improved, and drilled the army. Prince Leopold of Dessau, surviving in the popular recollection under the name of the "old Dessauer," was the king's most faithful assistant in the perfecting of the army. Under his leadership the Prussians had rendered decisive assistance at the battles of Blenheim and Turin, and had first made the name of the new kingdom respected. Frederick William I lived and



GERMAN NOBLE, CARRYING BANNER OF TOWN

moved in his soldiers. Indeed his preference for his "blue children" and for "long knaves," in his love for whom he forgot even his economy, was wonderful; but it was a very just idea that the little state could enforce its claims on the future only by means of a superior army. So he increased the army to eighty-three thousand men—a great parade for the little country, as many said mockingly; but later on, in his son's hands, this became the effectual means to the greatest ends. The Prussian officers, all appointed by the king himself, and treated by him as comrades, formed a body of men who had not their equals for their devotion to their military superiors, for ability, training, and capacity for sacrifice. The nobility of the marks, hitherto so intractable, now, when educated in the king's cadet school and accustomed to a strict obedience, became the first prop of the army, and consequently of the state. The Prussian soldiers were looked upon as a pattern for Europe; Leopold of Desau, a military genius, introduced the bayonet, gave the infantry the disposition in three members, which was generally adopted, and especially accustomed them, by continuous drilling and by the use of the iron ramrod, to the greatest rapidity in loading and firing, and so made them troops of inestimable value in deciding a battle. The training indeed was barbarous, and necessarily so, for only the smaller half of the army was composed of children of the country who were taken from the enlistment circles (cantons) set apart for the different regiments; the majority were foreigners, collected from the countries of all princes. Only an iron discipline could hold together this motley crowd, in which there was plenty of barbarism.

Frederick William I did not often engage in war. When he came to the throne the war of the Spanish Succession was just ending, and in the Peace of Utrecht to which he acceded he received from the Orange inheritance a part of the duchy of Gelderland. Twice after this he made use of his army. First it was against the Swedes. Charles XII had made a brilliant beginning to his career in the Northern War; he had in particular made King Augustus II of Poland feel the weight of his anger, and had forced unhappy Saxony to pay for the ambition of her elector. In the year 1706 he had invaded Saxony, had fearfully bled it, and here in the heart of Germany had forced from Augustus II the Peace of Altranstadt (not far from Leipsic). Incidentally, faithful to the example of his great predecessor Gustavus Adolphus, he had interfered powerfully and successfully in behalf of the heavily oppressed Protestants in Silesia and Austria. Thereupon he had plunged into the deserts of Russia, had been beaten at Pultowa by Peter the Great (1709), and had then wasted five valuable years among the Turks, whilst his enemies, Russia, Poland, and Denmark, attacked his country on all sides. In 1713, as Hither Pomerania was threatened by Russia and Denmark, the Swedish regency in the absence of Charles XII had itself requested King Frederick William, as a neutral power, to occupy the country. But as the commandant at Stettin would not hand over the town without a special order from his king, Saxons and Russians had conquered it by force of arms; but had afterwards resigned it to Frederick William for 400,000 thalers, to defray war expenses. When finally Charles XII returned from the Turks (1714), he would hear nothing of this whole transaction, nor of the repayment of that sum. Frederick William, therefore, went over to the enemies of the Swedish king, though he had a high respect for him personally. In conjunction with the Danes he immediately besieged him in Stralsund and took the city. Charles himself escaped with difficulty. Even before he met his end at the Norwegian border fortress of Frederikshald, in 1718, the power of Sweden had fallen to pieces. The Prussians once more occupied Hither Pomerania, with Rügen and Stralsund.

George I, who since 1714 had been king of England, but was still in his

[1719-1736 A.D.]

heart a far more zealous Hanoverian, bought for his hereditary territories the Swedish districts of Bremen and Verden, which had been occupied by Denmark and which he acquired permanently by the Peace of Stockholm in 1719. On the other hand Denmark obtained for herself the portion of Schleswig-Holstein which belonged to the house of Holstein-Gottorp, to which Charles XII was related by marriage.¹ In accordance with the Peace of Stockholm of 1720, Hither Pomerania as far as the Peene fell to Prussia; only the farthest point of the province, with Greifswald, Stralsund, and the island of Rügen (afterwards called New Pomerania), still remained Swedish (until 1814). Frederick William especially rejoiced over the acquisition of Stettin, for through this maritime city he had obtained a footing on the sea which would allow of participation in the commerce of the whole world. Thus, then, the one power which had intruded itself into the Thirty Years' War, was if not entirely expelled from German territory at least rendered harmless, and this had been accomplished chiefly by the Prussian arms. On the other hand, it was an undeniable fact that under the bold rule of Peter the Great a decided advance had been gained by Russia, who had received most of the Baltic provinces—Livonia, Esthonia, Karelia, and Ingermanland—resigned by Sweden in the Peace of Nystadt (1721); she was moreover already preparing the way for dominion in Courland: Russia was now a great power, and was acquiring in Sweden's place a threatening preponderance in the north of Europe. They were for the most part Germans—often mere desperate adventurers who, as generals and statesmen, assisted to found the new great state.

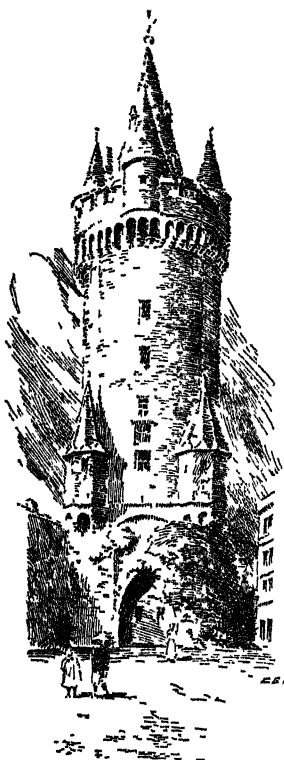
THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION (1733-1735 A.D.)

The second war in which Frederick William I engaged was the war of the Polish Succession (1733-1735; final peace not till 1738). After the death of Augustus II (1733), Cardinal Fleury, the minister of France, endeavoured to recover the Polish crown for the father-in-law of his young sovereign, Louis XV, Stanislaus Leszcynski, whom Charles XII had on a former occasion caused to be elected king of Poland. The electors of Mainz, Cologne, the Palatinate, and Bavaria were on his side. On the other hand, Austria and Russia supported Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, the former on condition that Saxony should recognise the Pragmatic Sanction, the latter with the proviso that Courland, hitherto a Polish fief, should be handed over to Russia on the extinction, then imminent, of the German ducal house of Kettler. A Russian army advanced on Dantzic, which at this time belonged to Poland, and compelled it to capitulate; later on twelve thousand men marched through Silesia, Bohemia, and Franconia, as far as the Rhine. Thus the new great power began to play a part on German soil. Once again the veteran Eugene of Savoy proceeded to the upper Rhine with an army to which the Prussian king sent an auxiliary corps. His old opponent, Villars, led the French. However, no sanguinary encounter took place; France withdrew her demands: but Stanislaus Leszcynski received as compensation the duchy of Lorraine, which subsequently, at his death (1766), fell by virtue of the treaty to France. The young duke of Lorraine, Francis Stephen, who since 1736 had been the consort of the emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa, was indemnified with Tuscany. On her part France recognised the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus was Lorraine torn from the empire in the interests of the Austrian family.

¹ The eldest sister of Charles XII had married Frederick IV of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp. She died before her brother, leaving a son, Charles Frederick. On the death of Charles XII, Charles Frederick's claims to the Swedish throne were set aside in favour of Charles XII's younger sister, Ulrica Eleonora, who became queen of Sweden (1718).

[1780 A.D.]

King Frederick William, who in this instance as on previous occasions had adhered faithfully to the emperor, and had shown more patriotism than any other prince, had previously been encouraged to hope for the acquisition of the duchy of Berg, soon to become vacant by the expected extinction of the palatine house of Neuburg. But the emperor obtained its preservation to the palatine electorate and the palatine house of Sulzbach, which was next in succession to the Palatinate, and at the end of the war Frederick William saw himself deceived in his hopes, nay, more, wilfully and insultingly passed over. Like the Great Elector he too hoped for an avenger, and looked for one in his son, the crown prince Frederick.^c



MEDIEVAL WATCH-TOWER

THE KING AND THE CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK

The king's relations with his son at an earlier day had been anything but cordial. Indeed, there is scarcely a more singular chapter in history than the story of old Frederick William's treatment of his prospective heir. At least one of the tales that have found currency must be retold here; namely, the famous incident through which the life of a comrade of the prince was sacrificed and the life of Frederick himself endangered. This incident will bring out in strong relief the domineering, despotic character of the king,—who nevertheless always acted, when not under stress of temper, on what he conceived to be the dictates of conscience and a love of justice. It appears that Frederick William had so exasperated his son that the future hero of the Seven Years' War determined to forfeit his inheritance and escape secretly to England, where, it was rumoured, he intended to espouse Anne, the princess royal.^a

The greatest circumspection had been used to conceal the correspondence with England; and in fact the letters from London were forwarded by a commercial house in that city, under cover, to a magistrate held in high esteem, and a man the least calculated to meddle with political intrigues; but he had been assured that the correspondence related purely to private affairs and commercial subjects. The magistrate put the letters he received, and which were addressed to a merchant at Berlin, into the post-office; the merchant opened his cover, and found enclosures to the address of one of the aides-de-camp of the prince, both of whom were also confidants and favourites. These last had nothing further to do but to take off a cover, and deliver the letters to their intended destination. The despatches from Berlin to London were forwarded in an inverse order, so that the merchant at Berlin supposed these letters to relate to the pecuniary concerns of some of the young prince's household in Franconia, and believed the correspondence to be pursued agreeably to the advice of the magistrate of Nuremberg.

The magistrate at length, however, conceived some uneasiness on the subject, and became somewhat scrupulous: he was at a loss to imagine why two commercial houses should choose so circuitous a route for the discussion of fair and honourable proceedings, which for the most part must be supposed to

[1736 A.D.]

require despatch. His scruples soon became suspicions, next apprehensions, and at length ended in a breach of trust. He opened a packet that came from Berlin, and by a singular fatality it contained the plan for the prince's escape, and the steps that had been taken to ensure its success. It would be difficult to describe the alarm of the merchant on finding himself implicated in so serious an affair. It appeared to him that the most effectual way of securing his own safety was to send the letter to the king of Prussia, accompanied with the disclosure of all that had passed between himself and the two commercial houses.

Frederick William observed the most profound secrecy respecting this discovery, but took effectual measures for seizing the prince at the moment of his escape. The king went once a year, on fixed days, into the provinces, for the purpose of reviewing his troops. During his journey into Westphalia, he slept one night with his suite in a small village a short league distant from the frontiers of Saxony. In this village the young prince and his attendants slept in a barn on some straw; and from this village he was to make his escape, about midnight, in a cart that was to come from Saxony and meet them at that time near a certain tree in a field. As on these occasions it was customary for the king to set out early, he naturally went early to bed; and the fatigues of the day gave reason to hope that every eye would be closed by midnight. The prince accordingly left the barn while all around him seemed perfectly quiet; even the sentinels made as if they did not perceive him; and he arrived without accident at the fatal tree: but here no cart appeared, different patrols having stopped and detained nearly half an hour the man who conducted it; and when it at length arrived, and the prince was getting into it, the same patrols again made their appearance and stopped him. Frederick, perceiving himself surrounded, leaned upon his hand against the tree, and suffered his person to be seized and conducted back to the village without pronouncing a single syllable. Frederick William conducted his son to Berlin as a state prisoner, and had him confined in the palace of the prince of Prussia, while Katte [one of his attendants] was thrown into a dungeon. Different circumstances convinced the king that his eldest daughter was concerned in the intended escape; and he punished her by beating her with his stick, and kicking her so violently that she would have been precipitated from the window to the pavement if her mother had not held her by the petticoats.

Frederick William resolved that his son should perish on the scaffold. "He will always be a villain," said he, "and I have three other sons of better qualities than he." It was in this temper of mind that he ordered his ministers of state to put the prince on his trial. This order was a source of infinite perplexity to the ministers, since they knew not what means to devise to save the heir to the throne. One of them found at least a pretence that exempted him from being one of the judges in this affair: he represented to his majesty that, the prince being an officer, his crime was consequently aggravated, and that he ought to be tried by a council of war; and the rather as the empire in that case would have no right of interference, the laws of the empire not extending to the discipline of the army.

Frederick William, unable to reply to these suggestions, but irritated by the occurrence of obstacles and suspecting his ministers of the desire to defeat his purpose, told them they were a pack of scoundrels; that he understood their project; but that, in despite of them, his son should suffer death, and that he should have no difficulty in finding among his officers men who were more attached to the true principles of the government. He accordingly appointed a council of war, composed of a certain number of generals, under the presidency of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, known by the name of Anhalt with the Mustaches, the same who is often mentioned in the wars of Freder-

[1736 A.D.]

ick, and who in 1733 at the head of six thousand Prussians, succeeded in compelling the French to raise the siege of Turin. Frederick was tried at this tribunal; and, when sentence was about to be passed, the president, with his formidable mustaches, rose and declared that, on his honour and conscience, he, for his part, perceived no cause for passing sentence of death on the accused prince, and that none among them had a right to pass such a sentence, then, drawing his sword, he swore he would cut off the ears of any man who should differ from him in opinion. In this manner he collected the suffrages, and the prince was unanimously acquitted. Frederick William, rendered furious by this decision, substituted another council of war, which consisted of men of timid and docile tempers, who had no will but his own.

Seckendorf now perceived the prince's fate to be inevitable, without immediate assistance; and persuaded himself that, having rendered one essential service to the house of Austria in preventing a dangerous alliance, he should render it a second of no smaller importance if in the name of that house he should save the future king of Prussia, and thus attach himself to his employers by the bonds of affection and gratitude. To this effect, he undertook to suppose orders which had not had time to reach him, and in the name and on the part of the emperor demanded a private audience that Frederick William did not dare refuse. In this audience he announced, in the name of chief of the empire, that it was to the empire itself Prince Frederick belonged, and that he in consequence made requisition of the maintenance of the rights and laws of the Germanic body: he insisted that the accused should have been delivered up, together with the official charges existing against him, to this body; and finally declared that the person of his royal highness Prince Frederick, heir to the throne of Prussia, was under the safeguard of the Germanic empire. This was a terrible stroke for Frederick William: he dared not bring on himself the resentment of all the states of the empire at once, and thus involve himself in a destructive war. He was, therefore, obliged to yield, notwithstanding his ferocious choler and unrelenting temper.

The life of the prince was saved, but he was still detained a state prisoner for an indefinite period. He had been previously stripped of his uniform and dressed in a grey coat, such as is worn by the councillors of war. In this attire he was conducted to the fortress of Küstrin, in Pomerania.^b

Meantime Frederick William was obliged to content himself with exacting what he called justice from a minor offender. The council had decreed that Katte should be imprisoned for two years (or, as some authorities say, for life); but the king overruled this finding, and imposed the death penalty. The curious moralising with which he accompanied this verdict is worth quoting, as throwing a striking side-light on the character of the man. The shrewd commentary of Carlyle will appropriately finish the picture.^a

Frederick William asserts, then:

That Katte's crime amounts to high-treason (*crimen læsæ majestatis*), that the rule is, *Fiat justitia, et pereat mundus*;—and that, in brief, Katte's doom is, and is hereby declared to be, Death. Death by the gallows and hot pincers is the usual doom of Traitors, but his Majesty will say in this case, Death by the sword and headsman simply; certain circumstances moving the royal clemency to go so far, no farther. And the Court-Martial has straightway to apprise Katte of this same, and so doing, "shall say, That his Majesty is sorry for Katte, but that it is better he die than that justice depart out of the world."^c

FRIEDRICH WILHELM.

(Wusterhausen, 1st November, 1730.)

This [says Carlyle] is the iron doom of Katte; which no prayer or influence of mortal will avail to alter,—lest justice depart out of the world. Katte's Father is a General of rank, Commandant of Königsberg at this moment; Katte's Grandfather by the Mother's side, old Fieldmarshal Wartensleben, is

[1730 A.D.]

a man in good favour with Frederick Wilhelm, and of high esteem and mark in his country for half a century past. But all this can effect nothing. Old Wartensleben thinks of the Daughter he lost; for happily Katte's Mother is dead long since. Old Wartensleben writes to Frederick Wilhelm; his mournful Letter, and Frederick Wilhelm's mournful but inexorable answer, can be read in the Histories; but show only what we already know.

Katte's Mother, Fieldmarshal Wartensleben's Daughter, died in 1706; leaving Katte only two years old. He is now twenty-six; very young for such grave issues; and his fate is certainly very hard. Poor young soul, he did not resist farther, or quarrel with the inevitable and inexorable. He listened to Chaplain Muller of the Gens-d'Armes; admitted profoundly, after his fashion, that the great God was just, and the poor Katte sinful, foolish, only to be saved by miracle of mercy; and piously prepared himself to die on these terms. There are three Letters of his to his Grandfather, which can still be read, one of them in Wilhelmina's Book, the sound of it like that of dirges borne on the wind. Wilhelmina evidently pities Katte very tenderly; in her heart she has a fine royal-maiden kind of feeling to the poor youth. He did heartily repent and submit; left with Chaplain Muller a Paper of pious considerations, admonishing the Prince to submit. These are Katte's last employments in his prison at Berlin, after sentence had gone forth.

CARLYLE DESCRIBES KATTE'S END (NOVEMBER 6th, 1730)

On Sunday evening, 5th November, it is intimated to him, unexpectedly at the moment, that he has to go to Custrin, and there die;—carriage now waiting at the gate. Katte masters the sudden flurry; signifies that all is ready, then; and so, under charge of his old Major and two brother Officers, who, and Chaplain Muller, are in the carriage with him, a troop of his own old Cavalry Regiment escorting, he leaves Berlin (rather on sudden summons); drives all night, towards Custrin and immediate death. Words of sympathy were not wanting, to which Katte answered cheerily; grim faces wore a cloud of sorrow for the poor youth that night. Chaplain Müller's exhortations were fervent and continual; and, from time to time, there were heard, hoarsely melodious through the damp darkness and the noise of wheels, snatches of "devotional singing," led by Muller.

It was in the grey of the winter morning, 6th November 1730, that Katte arrived in Custrin Garrison. He took kind leave of Major and men: Adieu, my brothers; good be with you evermore!—And, about nine o'clock, he is on the road towards the Rampart of the Castle, where a scaffold stands. Katte wore, by order, a brown dress exactly like the Prince's; the Prince is already brought down into a lower room, to see Katte as he passes (to "see Katte die," had been the royal order; but they smuggled that into abeyance); and Katte knows he shall see him. Faithful Muller was in the death-car along with Katte; and he had adjoined to himself one Besserer, the Chaplain of the Garrison, in this sad function, since arriving. Here is a glimpse from Besserer, which we may take as better than nothing:

"His (Katte's) eyes were mostly directed to God; and we (Muller and I), on our part, strove to hold his heart up heavenwards, by presenting the examples of those who had died in the Lord,—as of God's Son himself, and Stephen, and the Thief on the Cross,—till, under such discoursing, we approached the Castle. Here, after long wistful looking about, he did get sight of his beloved Jonathan, "Royal Highness the Crown-Prince," at a window in the castle; from whom he, with the politest and most tender expression, spoken in French, took leave, with no little emotion of sorrow."

[1730-1740 A.D.]

President Münchow and the Commandant were with the Prince; whose emotions one may fancy, but not describe. Seldom did any Prince or man stand in such a predicament. Vain to say, and again say: "In the name of God, I ask you, stop the execution till I write to the King!" Impossible that; as easily stop the course of the stars. And so here Katte comes; cheerful loyalty still beaming on his face, death now nigh. "*Pardonnez-moi, mon cher Katte!*" cried Frederick in a tone: "Pardon me, dear Katte; O, that this should be what I have done for you!"—"Death is sweet for a prince I love so well," said Katte, "*La mort est douce pour un si aimable Prince*"; and fared on,—round some angle of the Fortress, it appears; not in sight of Frederick; who sank into a faint, and had seen his last glimpse of Katte in this world.

The body lay all day upon the scaffold, by royal order; and was buried at night obscurely in common churchyard; friends, in silence, took mark of the place against better times,—and Katte's dust now lies elsewhere, among that of his own kindred.

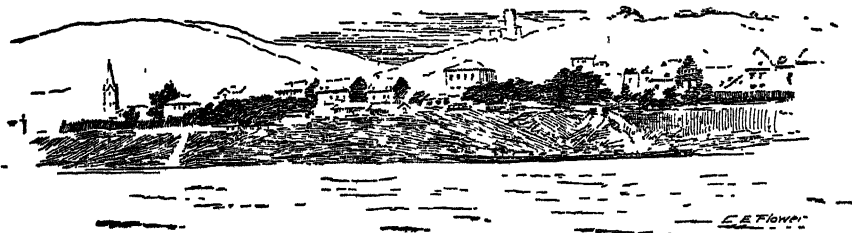
"Never was such a transaction before or since, in Modern History," cries the angry reader: "cruel, like the grinding of human hearts under millstones, like—" Or indeed like the doings of the gods, which are cruel, though not that alone!"

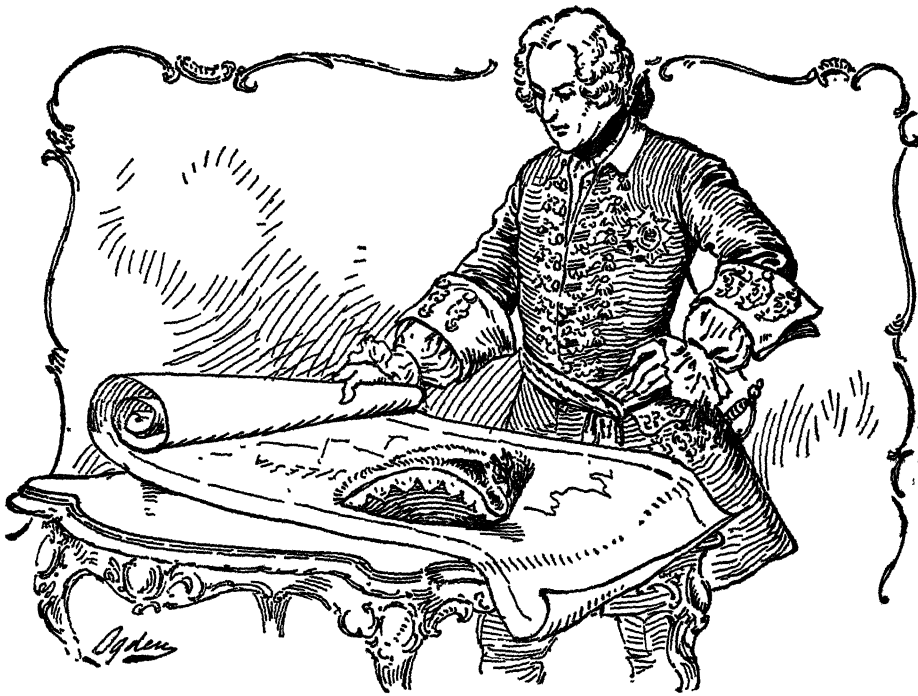
RECONCILIATION; THE END OF FREDERICK WILLIAM

Frederick was for a time kept under strict watch, but gradually this was relaxed, and ultimately the prince was released, and father and son were fully reconciled.^a

The marriage of Frederick in a short time succeeded his liberation; his sister, the duchess of Brunswick, by dint of reasoning, and the most affectionate entreaty, having at length prevailed on him to gratify the king in a favourite project. He accordingly espoused Elizabeth Christina, daughter to Duke Ferdinand Albert, of Brunswick Wolfenbützel.^d The marriage was entered into much against the inclinations of the prince, and it brought nothing but unhappiness to the future king. But the domineering father had had his way.^a

When, broken in his powerful physical and mental forces, Frederick William died, on the 31st of May, 1740, he left his heir an efficient army of 83,000 men, a state treasure (not counting uncoined silver) of 9,000,000 thalers, and a state of some 2,250,000 inhabitants. Frederick William had brought the revenues of the state from 3,500,000 to 7,000,000 thalers. Berlin had at this time about 100,000 inhabitants.^e





CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY YEARS OF FREDERICK II

[1740-1756 A D]

AT the death of Frederick William I in May, 1740, Frederick was only twenty-eight years of age; his essentially active mind, excited still more by incessant application to the sciences, and by constant communication with learned men, was adapted for the most profound subjects of research. The study of history had transported his thoughts far beyond the narrow confines of his own times, and had instilled within him the most elevated ideas of the dignity of kings, of which his first acts as sovereign gave immediate evidence. It was soon shown that he was resolved to be his own ruler; his activity in the administration of affairs, the attention he devoted to all subjects, from those of the most grave import down to those of the most trivial nature, his sacrifice of rest and pleasure, the strict distribution of his hours, so that not one should be lost in inactivity—all this excited the greatest astonishment in those of his court, who had never heard of, or been accustomed to witness their sovereigns imposing upon themselves so many sacrifices for the government of their dominions. The extraordinary effect thus produced is very aptly described by a resident ambassador when writing to his own court. "In order to give you a correct idea of the new reign," he says, "it is only necessary to state that the king positively does all the work himself, whilst his prime minister has nothing to do but to issue forth immediately from the cabinet the commands he receives, without ever being consulted upon the subject. Unfortunately,

[1740 A.D.]

there is not one at the king's court who possesses his confidence, and of whose influence one might avail oneself in order to follow up with success the necessary preliminaries; consequently, an ambassador is more embarrassed here than at any other court." In truth, the policy introduced by France into Europe, which consisted in envenoming all relations of sovereigns between each other, by employing every art of cunning and espionage in order to discover the projects of foreign courts, even before they had been matured by those courts themselves, could not be brought to bear against Frederick II; for he weighed over every plan within the silence of his own breast, and it was only in the moment of its execution that his resolution was made known.^b

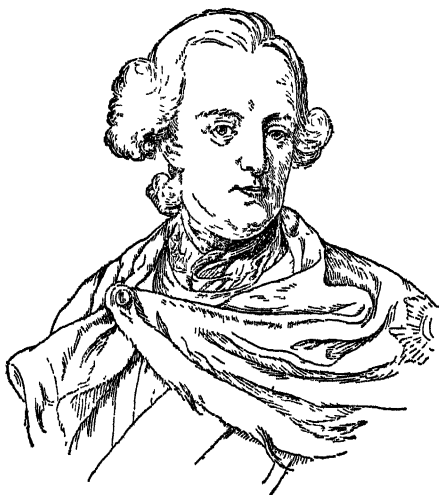
CARLYLE ON THE OPENING OF FREDERICK'S REIGN

The idea of building up the Academy of Sciences to its pristine height, or far higher, is evidently one of those that have long lain in the Crown Prince's mind, eager to realise themselves. Immortal Wolf, exiled but safe at Marburg, and refusing to return in Friedrich Wilhelm's time, had lately dedicated a Book to the Crown Prince; indicating that perhaps, under a new Reign, he might be more persuadable. Frederick makes haste to persuade; instructs the proper person, Reverend Herr Reinbeck, Head of the Consistorium at Berlin, to write and negotiate. "All reasonable conditions shall be granted" the immortal Wolf,—and Frederick adds with his own hand as Postscript:

"I request you [*ihn*] to use all diligence about Wolf.

"A man that seeks truth and loves it, must be reckoned precious in any human society; and I think you will make a conquest in the realm of truth if you persuade Wolf hither again."

This is of date June 6th: not yet a week since Frederick came to be King. The Reinbeck-Wolf negotiation which ensued can be read in Busehing by the curious. It represents to us a creaky, thrifty, long-headed old Herr Professor, in no haste to quit Marburg except for something better: "obliged to wear woollen shoes and leggings"; "bad at mounting stairs"; and otherwise needing soft treatment. Willing, though with caution, to work at an Academy of Sciences;—but dubious if the French are so admirable as they



FREDERICK THE GREAT (1712-1786 A D)

seem to themselves in such operations. Veteran Wolf, one dimly begins to learn, could himself build a German Academy of Sciences, to some purpose, if encouraged. This latter was probably the stone of stumbling in that direction. Veteran Wolf did not get to be President in the new Academy of Sciences; but was brought back, "streets all in triumph," to his old place at Halle; and there, with little other work that was heard of, but we hope in warm shoes and without much mounting of stairs, he lived peaceably victorious the rest of his days.

Frederick's thoughts are not of a German home-built Academy, but of a French one: and for this he already knows a builder; has silently had him

[1740 A.D.]

in his eye, these two years past,—Voltaire giving hint, in a *Letter*. Bulder shall be that sublime Maupertuis; scientific lion of Paris, ever since his feat in the Polar regions, and the charming Narrative he gave of it. "What a feat, what a book!" exclaimed the Parisian cultivated circles, male and female, on that occasion; and Maupertuis, with plenty of bluster in him carefully suppressed, assents in a grandly modest way. His Portraits are in the Printshops ever since; one very singular Portrait, just coming out (at which there is some laughing): a coarse-featured, blustering, rather triumphant-looking man, blustering, though finely complacent for the nonce; in copious dressing-gown and fur cap; comfortably squeezing the Earth and her meridians flat (as if he had done it), with his left hand; and with the other, and its outstretched finger, asking mankind, "Are not you aware, then?"—"Are not we!" answers Voltaire by and by, with endless waggeries upon him, though at present so reverent. Frederick, in these same days, writes this Autograph; which who of men of lions could resist?

TO MONSIEUR DE MAUPERTUIS AT PARIS:

[No date—dateable June, 1740.]

My heart and my inclination excited in me, from the moment I mounted the throne, the desire of having you here, that you might put our Berlin Academy into the shape you alone are capable of giving it. Come then, come and insert into this wild crabbie the graft of the Sciences, that it may bear fruit. You have shown the Figure of the Earth to mankind; show also to a King how sweet it is to possess such a man as you.

Monsieur de Maupertuis,—*Voire très-affectionné*,

FRÉDÉRIC.

This Letter,—how could Maupertuis prevent some accident in such a case?—got into the Newspapers, glorious for Frederick, glorious for Maupertuis; and raised matters to a still higher pitch. Maupertuis is on the road, and we shall see him before long.

And Every One shall get to Heaven in his own Way

Here is another little fact which had immense renown at home and abroad, in those summer months and long afterwards.

June 22nd, 1740, the *Geistliche Departement* (Board of Religion, we may term it) reports that the Roman-Catholic Schools, which have been in use these eight years past, for children of soldiers belonging to that persuasion, "are, especially in Berlin, perverted directly in the teeth of Royal Ordinance, 1732, to seducing Protestants into Catholicism": annexed, or ready for annexing, "is the specific Report of Fiscal-General to this effect"—upon which, what would it please his Majesty to direct us to do?

His Majesty writes on the margin these words, rough and ready, which we give with all their grammatical blotches on them; indicating a mind made up on one subject, which was much more dubious then, to most other minds, than it now is:

"*Die Religionen Mussen [mussen] alle Tollerirt [tolerirt] werden und Mus [muss] der Fiscal nuhr [nur] das Auge darauf haben, das [dass] keine der andern abrug Tuhe [Abbruch thue] den [den] hier mus [muss] ein jeder nach seiner Fassung Selich [Facon selig] werden.*"

Which in English might run as follows:

"All Religions must be tolerated [Tollerated], and the Fiscal must have an eye that none of them make unjust encroachment on the other; for in this Country every man must get to Heaven in his own way."

[1740 A.D.]

Wonderful words; precious to the then leading spirits, and which (the spelling and grammar being mended) flew abroad over all the world; the enlightened Public everywhere answering his Majesty, once more, with its loudest "Bravissimo" on this occasion. With what enthusiasm of admiring wonder, it is now difficult to fancy, after the lapse of sixscore years. And indeed, in regard to all these worthy acts of Human Improvement which we are now concerned with, account should be held (were it possible) on Frederick's behalf, how extremely original, and bright with the splendour of new gold, they then were; and how extremely they are fallen dim, by general circulation, since that. Account should be held; and yet it is not possible, no human imagination is adequate to it, in the times we are now got into.

Free Press, and Newspapers the best Instructors

Toleration, in Frederick's spiritual circumstances, was perhaps no great feat to Frederick; but what the reader hardly expected of him was Freedom of the Press, or an attempt that way. From England, from Holand, Friedrich had heard of Free Press, of Newspapers the best Instructors: it is a fact that he hastens to plant a seed of that kind at Berlin; sets about it "on the second day of his reign," so eager is he. Berlin had already some meagre *Intelligenz-Blatt* (Weekly or Thrice-Weekly Advertiser), perhaps two; but it is real Newspaper, frondent with genial leafy speculation, and food for the mind, that Frederick is intent upon: a "Literary-Political Newspaper," or were it even two Newspapers, one French, one German; and he rapidly makes the arrangements for it; despatches Jordan, on the second day, to seek some fit Frenchman. Arrangements are soon made; a Bookselling Printer, Haude, Bookseller once to the Prince-Royal, is encouraged to proceed with the improved German article, Mercury or whatever they called it; vapid Formey, a facile pen, but not a forcible, is the Editor sought out by Jordan for the French one. And, in short, No. 1 of Formey shows itself in print within a month; and Haude and he, Haude picking up some grand Editor in Hamburg, do their best for the instruction of mankind.

In not many months, Formey, a facile and learned but rather vapid gentleman, demitted or was dismissed; and the Journals coalesced into one, or split into two again; and went I know not what road, or roads in time coming,—none that led to results worth naming. Freedom of the Press, in the case of these Journals was never violated, nor was any need for violating it. General Freedom of the Press Frederick did not grant, in any quite Official or steady way; but in practice, under him, it always had a kind of real existence, though a fluctuating, ambiguous one. And we have to note, through Frederick's whole reign, a marked disinclination to concern himself with Censorship, or the shackling of men's poor tongues and pens; nothing but some officious report that there was offence to Foreign Courts, or the chance of offence, in a poor man's pamphlet, could induce Frederick to interfere with him or it,—and indeed his interference was generally against his Ministers for having wrong informed him and in favour of the poor Pamphleteer appealing at the fountain-head. To the end of his life, disgusting Satires against him, *Vie Privée* by Voltaire, *Matinées du Roi de Prusse*, and still worse Lies and Nonsense, were freely sold at Berlin, and even bore to be printed there, Frederick saying nothing, caring nothing. He has been known to burn Pamphlets publicly,—one Pamphlet we shall ourselves see on fire yet:—but it was without the least hatred to them, and for official reasons merely. To the last he would answer his reporting Ministers, "*La presse est libre* (Free press, you must consider)!"—grandly reluctant to meddle with the press, or go down upon the dogs barking at his door. Those ill effects of Free Press (first stage of the ill

[1740 A.D.]

effects) he endured in this manner; but the good effects seem to have fallen below his expectation. Frederick's enthusiasm for freedom of the press, prompt enough, as we see, never rose to the extreme pitch, and it rather sank than increased as he continued his experiences of men and things. This of Formey and the two Newspapers was the only express attempt he made in that direction; and it proved a rather disappointing one. The two Newspapers went their way thenceforth, Frederick sometimes making use of them for small purposes, once or twice writing an article himself of wildly quizzical nature, perhaps to be noticed by us when the time comes; but are otherwise, except for chronological purposes, of the last degree of insignificance to gods or men.

"Freedom of the Press," says my melancholic Friend, "is a noble thing; and in certain Nations, at certain epochs, produces glorious effects,—chiefly in the revolutionary line, where that has grown indispensable. Freedom of the Press, is possible, where everybody disapproves the least abuse of it; where the "Censorship" is, as it were, exercised by all in the world. When the world (as, even in the freest countries, it almost irresistibly tends to become), is no longer in a case to exercise that salutary function, and cannot keep down loud unwise speaking, loud unwise persuasion, and rebuke it into silence whenever printed, Freedom of the Press will not answer very long, among sane creatures and indeed, in Nations not in an exceptional case, it becomes impossible amazingly soon!"—

All these are phenomena of Frederick's first week. Let these suffice as sample, in that first kind. Splendid indications surely; and shot forth in swift enough succession, flash following flash, upon an attentive world. Betokening, shall we say, what internal sea of splendour, struggling to disclose itself, probably lies in this young King, and how high his hopes go for mankind and himself? Yes, surely:—and introducing, *v.e* remark withal, the "New Era," of Philanthropy, Enlightenment and so much else; with French Revolution, and a "world well suicided" hanging in the rear! Clearly enough, to this young ardent Frederick, foremost man of his Time, and capable of doing its inarticulate or dumb aspirings, belongs that questionable honour; and a very singular one it would have seemed to Frederick, had he lived to see what it meant.

Frederick's rapidity and activity, in the first months of his reign, were wonderful to mankind; as indeed, through life he continued to be a most rapid and active King. He flies about; mustering Troops, Ministerial Boards, passing Edicts, inspecting, accepting Homages of Provinces:—decides and does, every day that passes, an amazing number of things. Writes many Letters too; finds moments even for some verses; and occasionally draws a snatch of melody from his flute.⁶

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION AS FREDERICK SAW IT

At that time the belief in a system of balance, as inculcated by William III of Orange, was still uppermost in people's minds, and fully prevailed in the conventions adhered to by the diplomatic world: namely, that the peace of Europe and the security of the different kingdoms rested on the recognition of France and Austria as the two great continental kingdoms, whilst the two sea powers, England and Holland, by inclining first to one, then to the other, maintained the balance. Frederick II rejected this view as now completely unsound; he discerned the true state of the powers, and evolved a very different system.

"The two chief powers," said he, "are France and England. I give

France the first place, because within herself she has almost all the elements of power in the highest degree; she is superior to all others by reason of the number of her soldiers, and of the inexhaustible resources which she has at command through the clever handling of the finances, through her commerce and the opulence of her private citizens. England is perhaps even richer, has an infinitely larger commerce, has a greater naval power; but the insular position, which serves her for protection, is at the same time a hindrance to her influence on the outer world, and her population hardly reaches the half of the population of France. Both powers are contending for the position of universal arbitrator. France seeks conquest and supremacy, to be law-giver to the nations. England seeks not conquests, but, by ever-increasing trade, to stifle other nations, to monopolize the traffic of the world, and to use the treasures so acquired as instruments for her ambition. France seeks to subdue, through force of arms, England by bribery and gold to purchase slaves. England," he adds, "has not yet the rank which she means to claim among the powers."

Besides these two—the only great powers, because they alone are able to follow an independent policy—are four others, who, as the king says, are fairly equal among themselves, but who are to a certain extent dependent on the first two: Spain, Holland, Austria, Prussia. He explains in what way, and for what reason each of these can move independently only to a limited degree.

Of Austria, he says: "It is stronger in population than Spain and Holland; but weaker than they through its faulty finances, and takes a lower place than either because it has no navy. By dint of taxes and loans it can raise the means for a few campaigns; but then again, suddenly breathless and exhausted in the midst of battle, it requires foreign supplies to enable it to mobilise its forces, and so becomes dependent. Paradox though it seems, Austria will hold its own longer in warfare if it is waged in its own territory, because while on the defensive strength may be derived from the invading army, but it is not possible without actual cash to carry war into an enemy's country. Enmity between the house of Austria and the Bourbons is perennial, because the finest conquests of the Bourbons have been provinces torn from Austria, because France works unceasingly for the humiliation of the Austrian house, and because France upholds the Germans in their stand for freedom against the emperor, so long as they are not strong enough to take the emperor's crown for themselves."

The characterisation of Prussia is no less remarkable: "Prussia is less formidable than the Austrian house, but strong enough to sustain alone the cost of a war that is not too heavy and does not last too long. The extension and intersection of its territory multiply its neighbours innumerable. Its policy in finance and trade permits it to use a situation and, if promptly handled, to snatch advantage from opportunity; but wisdom should counsel it to beware of becoming too deeply involved. On account of its numerous neighbours and the scattered nature of its possessions, Prussia cannot act except allied with France or England."

Then the others are represented as powers of the third rank, who cannot take action without the aid of foreign subsidy. They are, says the king, as it were machines, which France and England set in motion when they have need of them. He then continues: "It appears from this survey, that the two chief rôles in the drama of European politics will be played by France and England; that the four powers can only act on occasion, within limits, with a skilled use of circumstances, and that those princes who seek aggrandisement will, on a given opportunity, ally themselves with France; those who seek prosperity and well-being rather than glory, will hold to England."

[1740 A D]

"Such," he concludes, "is the system which arises out of the actual state of affairs; it may no doubt fall out otherwise in isolated instances, or appear to fail through bad policy, through prejudice, through faulty logic, through corrupt ministers; but the system itself will in a short time always readjust itself, just as water and oil, poured together and shaken, will soon after separate themselves again."

Thus Frederick II had in his mind quite another system from that founded on the accepted balance, a system which, based as it was on real facts, proved valuable. On this system he grounded his policy.^d

FREDERICK'S REASONS FOR THE FIRST SILESIAN WAR

Frederick early resolved to reclaim the principalities of Silesia, the rights of his house to which were incontestable: and he prepared, at the same time, to support these pretensions, if necessary, by arms. This project accomplished all his political views: it afforded the means of acquiring reputation, of augmenting the power of the state, and of terminating what related to the litigious succession of the duchy of Berg. Before however he would come to a fixed resolution, he weighed the dangers he had to encounter, in undertaking such a war, and the advantages he had to hope for.

On one hand stood the powerful house of Austria; which, possessed of advantages so various, could not but procure resources. The daughter of an emperor was to be attacked, who would find allies in the king of England, the republic of Holland, and the princes of the empire, by whom the Pragmatic Sanction had been guaranteed. Biron, duke of Courland, who then governed Russia, was in the pay of the court of Vienna, and the young queen of Hungary might incline Saxony to her interest, by the cession of some circles of Bohemia. The sterility of the year 1740 might well inspire a dread of wanting supplies, to form magazines and to furnish the troops with provisions. These were great risks. The fortune of war was also to be feared; one lost battle might be decisive. The king had no allies, and had only raw soldiers to oppose to the veterans of Austria, grown grey in arms and by so many campaigns injured to war.

On the other part, a multitude of reflections animated the hopes of the king. The state of the court of Vienna, after the death of the emperor, was deplorable. The finances were in disorder; the army was ruined, and discouraged by ill success in its wars with the Turks; the ministry disunited, and a youthful, inexperienced princess at the head of the government, who was to defend the succession from all claimants. The result was that the government could not appear formidable. It was besides impossible that the king should be destitute of allies. The subsisting rivalry between France and England necessarily presupposed the aid of one of those powers; and all the pretenders to the succession of the house of Austria would inevitably unite their interests to those of Prussia. The king might dispose of his voice for the imperial election; he might adjust his pretensions to the duchy of Berg in the best manner, either with France or with Austria. The war which he might undertake in Silesia was the only offensive war that could be favoured by the situation of his states, for it would be carried on upon his frontiers, and the Oder would always furnish him with a sure communication.

The death of Anna, empress of Russia, which soon followed that of the emperor, finally determined the king in favour of this enterprise. By her decease the crown descended to young Ivan, grand duke of Russia, son of prince Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick, brother-in-law to the king, and of the princess of Mecklenburg. Probabilities were that, during the minority of the

[1741 A.D.]

young emperor, Russia would be more occupied in maintaining tranquillity at home than in support of the Pragmatic Sanction, concerning which Germany could not but be subject to troubles. Add to these reasons an army fit to march, a treasury ready prepared, and, perhaps, the ambition of acquiring renown. Such were the causes of the war which the king declared.^e

The first important engagement of the war took place at Mollwitz on the 10th and 11th of April, 1741. This first effort of the Prussian king in a field where he was to become pre-eminent merits detailed attention.^a

THE BATTLE OF MOLLWITZ (APRIL 10-11, 1741)

Count Neipperg and his staff [says Oncken] were at dinner, his men were busy with their cookery, when at noon signal-rockets were seen to go up from the fortress of Brieg. Neipperg sent out some hussar skirmishers to see what was the matter, and before they had gone far they came upon the hussars of the Prussian vanguard under Rothenburg, and returned with the news that the whole of the enemy's army was advancing in order of battle to the attack. If the said attack had ensued immediately, Romer's regiments would not have had time to saddle their horses, to say nothing of moving into line; they must have been scattered and the village taken before Berlichingen and the infantry were across the brook.

But it did not. Rothenburg had been sent out to reconnoitre, not to attack; he turned back in conformity with his orders, and the king deliberately and methodically formed his columns in order of battle with the village of Pampitz on his left. The infantry was drawn up in two divisions, the first under Schwerin, the second under the hereditary prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau; the cavalry was on both wings and the sixty pieces of artillery at the head of the whole array. The left wing seemed to be sufficiently covered by the swamp of Pampitz, and Frederick had made a two-fold provision for the covering of the right wing, where the first cavalry division was to deploy and surround the left wing of the Austrian army; he had drawn two battalions of grenadiers up in line between the squadrons of the first division and had placed three more in perpendicular column between the two divisions. Thus the order in which his infantry was ranged resembled an elongated quadrangle, closed by the swamp on the left and the three battalions on the right.

The ranging of the troops took until two o'clock, and then, with beating drums and flying colours, the men advanced to the attack. The sixty guns opened a rapid fire on Mollwitz and the shells dropped with deadly effect in the midst of General Romer's half-formed squadrons.

Romer's Defence

These thirty-six squadrons dashed in a furious charge upon Schulenberg's dragoons, who were in the act of wheeling to the left, and now found themselves seized as by a tornado, driven back, flung into disorder, and scattered in every direction. The carabineers, whom the king sent to their assistance, were routed; some of the fugitives galloped across the front with the enemy in pursuit; others rushed into the gap between the two divisions and carried the king's gendarmes and the king himself along with them; others, again, sought shelter behind the second division. The cavalry on the right wing seemed to have been annihilated, the infantry was encompassed by dense swarms of horsemen, who charged them again and again; while on the right wing Count Berlichingen's cavalry had put Colonel Posadowsky's eight squad-

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rons to flight and even made a breach in the line of infantry. In the hideous tumult which raged along the whole line of battle, to right and left, in front and behind, within the ranks and without them, even brave men lost, not courage, but confidence in their ultimate victory.

"Most of the generals," says Frederick, "thought that all was lost," and it was presumably at this moment that he himself yielded to the urgent entreaties of Count Schwerin and rode hurriedly away from the field. Caught in the whirlwind of his own routed cavalry, he little thought that the grenadier battalions on the right wing, which he fancied had been borne down like the rest, had held their ground like a wall, and that their inflexible firmness and the frightful effect of their rapid fire had been to baffle the charge which the enemy five times repeated in vain. Like impregnable fortresses the two grenadier battalions on the right of the first division and the three on the flank had held their ground in the midmost tumult of the cavalry fight, had closed their ranks to resist the shock of the fugitives, had met and broken the onset of the pursuers with bayonet and quick musketry fire. Again and again General Römer's squadrons hurled themselves upon this hedge of steel in the hope of making a breach in it; they came within bayonet range and every time a crashing quick fire flung them back upon the plain in a torrent of blood. The gallant General Römer fell in the attempts to carry the position, and when they ceased the battle was decided.

Advance of the Infantry.

The Austrian infantry had not supported these heroic cavalry charges. When the cavalry came back, repulsed, shattered, in wild disorder, they were still on the spot where they had been ranged at the beginning of the battle. Austria had nothing but raw young recruits, who were filled with indescribable consternation at the quick fire of the Prussians, and abandoned themselves to despair when their wooden ramrods broke, making it impossible for numbers of them to shoot at all. They heaped their knapsacks on the ground to afford them cover from the fearful fusillade; each sought to shelter himself behind his comrades, the battalion gathered into a dense and disorderly mass. Nothing would induce this mob to go forward, but neither did they give ground until Count Schwerin, who took the chief command after the king had left, ordered the whole body of his infantry to fix bayonets and advance to the attack with drums beating.

An Austrian officer testifies to the impressive effect of such a spectacle on the heart of a true soldier, even when it is rent by the thought that the enemy offers it. A splendid parade march across a battlefield drenched with blood, not in sport but in grim earnest, yet carried out with the same strict order, with the same mechanical precision, the same attention to detail, as on the parade ground—such was the final act of the 10th of April. The Austrian battalions did not wait for the encounter, though the dreaded grenadiers had soon shot away all their cartridges and had nothing but their bayonets left. A couple of regiments in the first division wheeled round, one from the second took to flight. In vain did Neipperg and his generals endeavour to induce their men at least to stand; there was no stopping them, and a general retreat became inevitable. Neipperg began it at seven o'clock, got back to Mollwitz unpursued under cover of the darkness and Berlichingen's cavalry, and marched past the Prussian left, below Strehlen, to Grottkau and thence to Neisse, where he arrived in safety on the 11th. There were eight thousand men at Strehlen under the duke of Holstein, whose misfortune it was that his sovereign's commands never reached him at the critical moment, and who

on the 10th had been deaf to the audible thunder of the cannon of Mollwitz, which would have been more than a command to any other man. Just as he had let General Lentulus reach Neisse without impediment when he was stationed at Frankenstein, so he let Neipperg get back there under his very eyes, and even an Austrian who tells the tale judges this an unpardonable military offence.

In spite of this unmolested retreat the Austrian loss was very considerable; the cavalry loss numbered 638 killed, 30 of whom were officers; 1,017 horses were killed and 699 wounded. Of the infantry, 392 men (26 officers) had fallen, 2,328 (106 officers) were wounded, and 1,448 missing. The victors' loss was equally great if not greater. Frederick himself estimates it at 2,500 killed, among whom were Markgraf Frederick, the king's cousin, and General Schulenberg, and more than 3,000 wounded. Unless these figures are exaggerated we must explain the proportion by the fact that by their rapid and unmolested retreat the Austrian cavalry escaped losses which would have more than counterbalanced those suffered by the Prussians from the defeat of their cavalry. But the true measure of victory was not the comparison of losses, nor the seven cannons and three standards which the victors captured; it must be judged by the enormous moral effect of the issue of this first passage of arms between Austrians and Prussians.

None of the incalculable elements which come into play in warfare and so often frustrate the best-laid plan, no accident of any sort, and—what is more remarkable—no brilliant generalship decided the fortune of the day; the excellence of Frederick's incomparable infantry alone turned the scale of a battle already lost, and wrested from the superior strength of the enemy's cavalry the victory they had practically won. The secret of the dénouement is told by the same Austrian officer, who, his mind still full of the sight of the final advance of the Prussian grenadiers, says after describing it: "Then our army lost heart altogether, the infantry could not be prevailed upon to stand, the cavalry would not face the enemy again." The much-derided machine of the old prince of Dessau had seen its first glorious day. When Frederick speaks of these "living batteries," these "walking bastions," he is merely extolling the precision of mechanism which answered to the hand of its commander as a ship answers to the helm. At Mollwitz there was neither effective command nor definite plan of action left when these "animated machines" did their work, unflinching in defence, irresistible in attack, an offensive and defensive weapon which did not fail of its effect even when left to itself, and drew out of the wealth of its own power of resistance the means of compensating for the worst of strategical errors.

By the most whimsical of all accidents Frederick did not witness his grenadiers' baptism of fire. He had ridden away from the battlefield to Oppeln with a few attendants, and arrived there about midnight. The town had just been occupied by the enemy's cavalry, Frederick was driven back by their musketry fire; some of his suite, among whom was Maupertuis, were taken prisoner by the Austrians. He himself galloped away, crying, "Farewell, friends, I am better mounted than any of you!" When he reached Lowen early next morning he was met by an adjutant of Prince Leopold's with the news of victory. In his memoirs he passes over the whole incident without a word, and he never forgave Field-Marshal Schwerin for the precipitate retreat into which he had been beguiled.

"One should never despair too soon," was one of the lessons he carried away from Mollwitz. "Mollwitz," he says in his *History of my own Times*,^e "was my school; I reflected seriously upon my mistakes and profited by them later." It is worth while to set down here the ruthless criticism which Frederick himself passed upon his first campaign. "From the recital of these

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events it is evident that Herr von Neipperg and I vied with each other to see which of us could make the worst mistake. The Austrian seems to have outdone us in the plan of campaign, we out-did him in its execution. Neipperg's plan was judicious and well thought out; he invades Silesia, divides our quarters, relieves Neisse, and is on the point of getting possession of our artillery (at Ohlau). He could have seized me at Jägerndorf and thus have ended the war at a blow; when he arrived at Neisse he might have captured the duke of Holstein's corps which was encamped half a mile away from there; with a little vigilance he could have made it impossible for us to cross the Neisse at Michelau; or he might have marched day and night to cut me off from Breslau; and instead of doing any of these things he lets himself be surprised through his unpardonable negligence and is beaten by his own fault.

"My mode of action was far more blameworthy than his: I am informed of the plans of the enemy in good time and take no measures to oppose them; I disperse my troops in quarters too far apart to admit of rapid concentration; I let myself be cut off from the duke of Holstein, and expose myself to the risk of having to fight in a position where I had no line of retreat open to me in case of defeat and the whole army must have been irretrievably lost; when I reach Mollwitz, where the enemy is in cantonments, I neglect to make an immediate attack which would have separated the quarters of their army and split it in two; I waste two hours getting into methodical formation in front of a village where there is not a single Austrian to be seen. If I had made that prompt attack the whole of the Austrian infantry would have been caught in the villages about Mollwitz as the twenty-four French battalions were caught in the village of Blenheim. But there was no experienced general in the army except Field-Marshal Schwerin; the others groped about in the dark and fancied that all was lost if they deviated from ancient usage. What saved us in spite of everything was the rapidity of our resolutions and the extraordinary precision with which they were carried out by the troops." And in a later edition he says even more decidedly, "What really saved the Prussians was their own valour and discipline."

EUROPE IN LEAGUE AGAINST AUSTRIA

For Frederick's cause the consequences of the battle of Mollwitz were surprising; for the noble princess who sat on the throne of Hungary and Bohemia they were lamentable. The news of the victory of Prussia and the defeat of the Austrian army, once so much dreaded, spread with lightning speed; in France the sensation it caused was particularly great and gave the war party the victory over the party for peace. Spain took fresh courage and soon a great league was formed to deal Habsburg its death-blow and to dismember Austria.

At Versailles the German question was the subject of very serious discussion, it was known that Maria Theresa wished to secure the imperial crown for her husband. King Augustus of Poland, small though his mental gifts were, nevertheless considered his head worthy of the crown of Charlemagne, and he sent to Paris and Madrid for support. But it was the elector of Bavaria who was most urgent in suing for the help of the French cabinet to obtain the imperial crown. "I threw myself into his majesty's arms," he wrote to Fleury, "and shall always regard the French king as my only support and help."

Thus Versailles was called upon to occupy itself with the German question and did so with the proud feeling that the decision was indeed in its hands, since Frederick's advance reduced its dread of Austria. At first the Prussian king was not in favour; on the arrival of the news of his invasion of Silesia,

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the king said, "Frederick is a fool, Fleury; he is a knave." But gradually his advance began to give pleasure. Amelot, Maurepas, and Belle-Isle, actually spoke in the king's council in favour of an alliance with Frederick and a war against Austria.

Belle-Isle, who was looked upon as the upholder of gallantry and military discipline in the army, was a lean man, hot-blooded still, in spite of his fifty-seven years. Cherishing the most audacious plans, and confident of his ability to perform the most difficult tasks in statecraft and war, he handed to the king at this time a treatise on the political situation of Europe. Certain ideas recur from time to time in the life of nations, and Belle-Isle's plan in this treatise is not something quite new, but merely the repetition of ideas already entertained by Henry IV and Richelieu—namely, to dismember Austria and make France the dominant power in Europe.

FLEURY'S TREACHERY

Fleury handed in an opposition report pointing out the poverty, the depopulation of France. In vain! The king was ruled by his mistress and she wished for war as a means of covering up the disgrace of her relations with the king and of winning over the nation, which hated and despised her, by a glorious war. When Fleury saw that his opposition to the war was being made use of as a lever to overthrow him in the king's favour, he gradually altered his course. His letters to Maria Theresa at first overflowed with protestations of devotion and with assurances that France would be faithful to the treaties. Now he excused himself on the ground of the necessity of his position; he would guarantee to Maria Theresa Tuscany only; he protested that the king must help an old friend, the elector of Bavaria; that the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction which Louis XIV had given to the late emperor could bind him to nothing by reason of the restricting clause: "without detriment to the rights of a third person." Thus at its close Fleury besmirched his meritorious and hitherto spotless career by falsehood and violation of faith, and laid the burden of a terrible war on his conscience, merely for the sake of retaining the power that had become so dear to him.

BELLE-ISLE'S POLICY

Belle-Isle was despatched to Germany as ambassador extraordinary of his most Christian majesty, with unheard-of powers and a sum of 8,000,000 livres. Received everywhere with royal honours, he made a triumphal progress through that country in order to weave the net in which that noble quarry, Austria, was to be snared and done to death.

In the beginning of March, 1741, Belle-Isle left Paris, proceeded up the Moselle to Cologne, Treves, and Mainz, then to Dresden, finally to the camp at Mollwitz, where Frederick remained for two months after the battle, to remodel his cavalry and render it fit to withstand the Austrian. The Frenchman came with an escort of a hundred and twenty horse, instead of a parade of troops. Frederick instituted in his honour an eight days' bombardment of Brieg, as the result of which the commandant, Piccolomini, was compelled, on May 4th, to surrender the town; the garrison was allowed, on a pledge not to serve against Prussia for two years, to depart with arms and baggage. The imaginative Belle-Isle was already quite certain of the dismemberment of Austria. Frederick II himself says scornfully: "To hear him you might have thought that all the lands of the queen of Hungary were under the hammer."

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One day when he was with the king, he had a more meditative and anxious look than usual, and the king asked if he had received unwelcome news. "Not at all," the marshal answered; "I am only perplexed because I do not know what we are to do with the Markgrafschaft of Moravia." The king suggested that it should be given to Saxony, so as to draw Augustus into the alliance by this bit of the booty. The marshal thought this an excellent idea and in fact tried later on to carry it out. Belle-Isle was overwhelmed with courtesies, but an alliance was only discussed, not signed. The sharp-sighted king of Prussia luckily saw through the French plan, for, if there arose out of the great state of Austria a little Bavaria, a little Saxony, a little Hungary, and Prussia, then France would be lord in Germany and Frederick would be dependent on her. She need only sow dissension among the little states and they would always have to appeal to her for help. But Frederick had no intention of working for France or Saxony or Bavaria, but meant to keep a free hand for his own advantage and, when the others had fought till they were exhausted, to come forward as arbiter in Europe. He therefore explained that his position was a difficult one, Neipperg was growing daily stronger, a Russian army was gathering in Livonia, a Hanoverian in Eichsfeld, a Saxon on the Elbe; an alliance with France would be the signal for all these forces to hurl themselves upon him. France must, therefore, send two armies to Germany forthwith, one to Bavaria with Vienna for its object, one to the lower Rhine to attack Flanders and Luxemburg, and keep the Dutch and George II in check; Sweden must be prevailed upon to declare war against Russia, Saxony must be won over to the league by the offer of Moravia; when all this had been accomplished, France might apply to him again. Belle-Isle thought this proposal reasonable, but Fleury, to whom he wrote, gave it as his opinion that Frederick was not to be trusted. He conceived that Frederick would sell himself to the highest bidder.

From Mollwitz Belle-Isle departed to Dresden, where his reception was equally brilliant. Opinion at court veered like the weathercock in varying winds; Augustus III was very ambitious, the queen was for Maria Theresa, Brühl was against Frederick, whose malicious tongue had loosed many a shaft at the extravagant minister, the growth of the Prussian power was looked on with disfavour. When the news of the defeat of the Austrians at Mollwitz arrived, Maria Theresa was regarded as lost and Saxony wished to share in the booty, although it continued negotiations with Maria Theresa and England and offered help—at an enormous price. Francis Stephen should be recognised as co-ruler, he should have the vote of Saxony at the election of an emperor, but Maria Theresa must in return pay within eighteen years 12,000,000 thalers, wrest the principality of Krossen from Prussia and give it to Saxony, together with a strip of land half a mile in width extending from Lusatia to Poland, in order to secure to Saxony an uninterrupted communication with that kingdom; in the event of Francis Stephen's election as emperor he must raise Saxony to the rank of a kingdom and designate the electoral prince king of Rome, if there was no heir of the Austrian house. But this was too much for Maria Theresa; the elevation of Saxony into a kingdom would, she thought, bring about the subversion of the imperial constitution, for other electors also would have to be created kings. This refusal wounded the sensitive feelings of the Saxon and it was at this moment that Belle-Isle and the Spanish ambassador came to Dresden, and the tempting bait of Moravia was offered him. Belle-Isle believed that he should soon clinch the matter and betook himself to Munich, where, political adventurer that he was, he was received as a protector. He was accorded royal honours, and was granted a private house in the city for his suite and apartments for himself in the elector's palace at Nymphenburg.

THE ALLIANCE OF NYMPHENBURG

It was in this castle that on the 22nd of May was concluded the celebrated Treaty of Nymphenburg between Bavaria, France, and Spain, in which the otherwise kind-hearted and amiable elector, infatuated by a fatal ambition, signed away his honour and brought disaster on himself and his country and on Germany at large. France promised money and an army to support Bavaria's so-called just claims to the Austrian succession, and Charles Albert's election as emperor; the elector undertook, if he became emperor, never to demand the restitution of the cities and lands occupied by the French army. Now since France intended to take Belgium and Luxemburg, the Bavarian would gain the imperial crown by treason against his fatherland. The chancellor Unertel had gone through the Spanish War of Succession and well remembered all the misfortune the alliance with France had brought upon that country and dynasty.

He received no summons to the council at Nymphenburg but, having a shrewd suspicion of what was in hand there and determined to save his prince even at the last moment, he tried to force his way into the chamber, but found the doors closed and admittance denied him. So he had a ladder set up against the wall of the council chamber, mounted it, broke a pane of the window with his hat, and putting his head through the opening cried with all the force of his lungs: "For God's sake, your highness, no war with Austria, no alliance with France, remember your illustrious father!" But Count Torring drawing his dagger cried, "War! war!" and the weak prince concluded the alliance; a few days later, on the 28th of May, he signed one equally disgraceful with Spain. Spain offered money for twelve thousand men, but demanded in return Milan and Tyrol. When the latter was refused, she demanded at least Trent and Friuli to round off the new kingdom of Milan she purposed founding. Six thousand Bavarians were at once to press forward through Tyrol against Milan. The Spanish envoy Portocarrero, Count of Montijo, paid down forthwith a million gulden.

DANGER CLOSES IN ON AUSTRIA

From Munich Belle-Isle betook himself to Versailles, where he was received in triumph and the treaty was ratified. Fleury absented himself from this sitting of the cabinet, so as not to be obliged to agree to the treaty. From Versailles Belle-Isle went to Frankfort, where he played the part of emperor-maker and claimed precedence over all German princes. He delivered his despatches in French, not, as had hitherto been customary, in Latin. The part he played cost France enormous sums, not only on account of the money he spent, the magnificence with which he staged his performance, but also on account of the banquets to which he issued invitations. "The Germans set a high value on good eating," he informed Paris, "and dainties are one of the best means of winning over and pleasing them." The French government established at this date a private postal service from Paris to Frankfort, by which every week during the years 1741 and 1742 the greatest delicacies were sent from Paris to the capital of the German empire. The negotiations between Saxony and Bavaria caused Belle-Isle many anxieties, for Saxony demanded in return for its adhesion, not only Moravia, but the northern half of Bohemia, and promised on its side to add twenty thousand men to the Franco-Bavarian army of conquest. The French cabinet finally decided that Saxony should have Moravia and a narrow strip of northern Bohemia from the Saxon.

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to the Polish frontier. On the 4th of June Frederick II also joined the league on condition that the possession of lower Silesia was to be guaranteed to him, in return for which he would give the elector of Bavaria his support at the election of an emperor. About the same time French bribery and persuasion induced the "hats," at that time the stronger party in Sweden, to bring forward a motion for war in the council. After an hour's debate war against Russia was decided on and was declared at the end of June. In this way it was made impossible for the grand duchess Anna to give the hard-pressed daughter of Charles VI the help which was hers by right of treaty.

Thus in an ever-narrowing circle the danger closed in on unhappy Austria. Everywhere the die had been cast for her destruction. France, Spain, Naples, Sardinia, Saxony, Bavaria, Sweden, were arming. Frederick was already established with his victorious army in Silesia; one disappointment followed another, messengers of misfortune trod on one another's heels; when the news of Frederick's alliance with France arrived in Vienna, Maria Theresa's ministers sank back in their seats like men who had received their death-blow.^a

We have already learned (in volume XIV.) how the Hungarian queen rose to the occasion, and how unavailing were her efforts; but we must here follow out the story in greater detail, as its events marked steps of progress in the career of Frederick, and prepared the way for the future greatness of Prussia.^a

By one of those "miracles of the house of Habsburg" of which Frederick so often complained, the English subsidiary funds to the amount of £300,000, which for many months had been delayed by reason of the difficulties of transport, at last arrived in Vienna, and their arrival put an end to the more pressing financial needs.

CHARLES OF LORRAINE

The Hungarian contingent was at last raised and equipped, the reappearance of Frederick in the field having had a very accelerating effect upon the preparations. Thus the army in Bohemia received from Bavaria and Hungary reinforcements, which gave it an overwhelming advantage over each of the three foes, and at its head there was now a general from whose youthful force and fire Maria Theresa hoped for a fresh impulse and a new turn in the whole conduct of the war. This general was her brother-in-law, the stately Charles of Lorraine, who certainly showed in the first days of his command that one might be very young in years and temperament without having a spark of the gifts of a general.

The youthful general who wrote such fine military disquisitions showed a pitiful vacillation in the field. "Which shall I attack—the French, the Saxons, or the Prussians?" he incessantly inquired of Vienna, and regularly he received the only appropriate answer: "The general on the spot must decide that point; not to question but to strike is his duty." The prince assembled a council of war on the 4th of March, and it was there decided that the strongest foes, namely the Prussians and the Saxons, were to be attacked first.

But the prince was not yet at ease and sent to Count Browne, whom illness had detained from the council; the latter advised: "On the contrary, let us beat the twelve thousand men of Marshal Broglie, then the Saxons will retire of their own accord and the Prussians will follow their lead." "What was to be done?" thought the unhappy prince. In this strait, he applied again to Vienna, and there, in opposition to Bartenstein, who was for attacking the French, Count Konigsegg decided with Maria Theresa's concurrence that the Saxons and Prussians should be attacked first.

But the courier bringing this command fell into the hands of the Prussians.

From his papers Frederick learned that the plan of the enemy was to attack him with the main force from Bohemia, whilst the Hungarian troops were to take him in the flank. As there was no reliance to be placed in the Saxons, there remained nothing for him but to quit Moravia and repair to Bohemia. This he did, while the Austrians slowly followed him. In the mean-time another change had taken place in the command of the Bohemian army. Prince Charles had hurried off to Vienna to beg for a strategical mentor, and this he obtained in the person of Count Königsegg, who by his proverbial caution was to temper the fiery nature of the old prince Lobkowitz, and with the treasure of his experience was to counterbalance the inexperience of the prince. Thus three field-marshalsh shared a post which from its very nature can be filled by only one.

On May 10th, 1742, the three generals decided at a council of war held in the cloister of Saar, close to the Bohemian boundary, to march without delay to Prague and to retake that city. They knew that Frederick was already in Chrudim and concluded that he would retire across the Elbe, and thus leave the way open to them; contrariwise they were determined to fight with him a decisive battle. This battle took place on the 17th of May in the plain between Chotusitz and Czaslau, north of the great road which leads from Saar past Chotieborz, Willimow, Czaslau, and Kuttenberg, to Prague. It was the first battle which Frederick directed to the end and decided in person; the first in which the cavalry of the Prussians proved itself equal to their infantry and superior to the Austrian cavalry. Herein lay the importance of the battle, and herein alone. In its results it was far behind that of Mollwitz; for both sides were already bent on peace, and disagreed only as to the conditions.

With thirty thousand men of the best troops of Austria, Prince Charles advanced to the attack on the morning of the 17th of May, on the gently undulating plains north of Czaslau. The infantry was in two divisions with the cavalry right and left, one side under General Count Batthyányi, the other under General Count Hohenembs.

With eighteen thousand men, Prince Leopold¹ reached in the night the village of Chotusitz; and in the morning, hearing of the advance of the Austrians, he straightway began to range his troops in the line of battle. The village formed his centre, the pond of Czirkwitz covered his right, and the park of Schusitsch his left wing.^f

THE BATTLE OF CHOTUSITZ (CZASLAU) DESCRIBED BY CARLYLE

Kuttenberg, Czaslau, Chotusitz, and all these other places lie in what is called the Valley of the Elbe, but what to the eye has not the least appearance of a hollow, but of an extensive plain rather, dimpled here and there; and, if anything, rather sloping from the Elbe,—were it not that dull bushless brooks, one or two, sauntering to northward, not southward, warn you of the contrary. Conceive a flat tract of this kind, some three or four miles square, with Czaslau on its southern border, Chotusitz on its northern; flanked, on the west, by a straggle of Lakelets, ponds, and quagmires (which in our time are drained away, all but a tenth part or so of remainder); flanked, on the east, by a considerable puddle of a Stream called the Dobrowa; and cut in the middle by a nameless poor Brook (“Brtilinka” some write it, if anybody could pronounce), running parallel and independent,—which latter, of more concernment to us here, springs beyond Czaslau, and is got to be of some size,

[¹ The son of the old Dessauer.]

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and more intricate than usual, with "islands" and the like, as it passes Chotusitz (a little to east of Chotusitz):—this is our Field of Battle.

Frederick's Orders, which Leopold is studying, were: "Hold by Chotusitz for centre; your left wing, see you lean it on something, towards Dobrowa side,—on that intricate Brook (Brtlinka) or Park-wall of Schuschitz, which I think is there; then your right wing westwards, till you lean again on something: two lines, leave room for me and my force, on the corner nearest here. I will start at four; be with you between seven and eight,—and even bring a proportion of Austrian bread (hot from these ovens of Kuttendorf) to refresh part of you." Leopold of Anhalt, a much-comforted man, waits only for the earliest gray of the morning, to be up and doing. From Chotusitz he spreads out leftwards towards the Brtlinka Brook,—difficult ground that, unfit for cavalry, with its bogholes, islands, gullies, and broken surface; better have gone across the Brtlinka with mere infantry, and leant on the wall of that Deer-park of Schuschitz with perhaps only one thousand horse to support, well rearward of the infantry and this difficult ground? So men think,—after the action is over. And indeed there was certainly some misarrangement there (done by Leopold's subordinates), which had its effects shortly.

Leopold was not there in person, arranging that left wing; Leopold is looking after centre and right. He perceives the right wing will be best chance; knows that, in general, cavalry must be on both wings. On a little eminence in front of his right, he sees how the Enemy comes on; Czaslau, lately on their left, is now getting to rear of them:—"And you, stout old General Buddenbrock, spread yourself out to right a little, hidden behind this rising ground; I think we may outflank their left wing by a few squadrons, which will be an advantage."

Buddenbrock spreads himself out, as bidden: had Buddenbrock been reinforced by most of the horse that could do no good on our left wing, it is thought the battle had gone better. Buddenbrock in this way, secretly, outflanks the Austrians; to his right all forward, he has that string of marshy pools (Lakes of Czirkwitz so-called, outflowings from the Brook of Neuhof), and cannot be taken in flank by any means. Brook of Neuhof, which his Majesty crossed yesterday, farther north;—and ought to have recrossed by this time?—said Brook, hereabouts a mere fringe of quagmires and marshy pools, is our extreme boundary on the west or right; Brook of Brtlinka (unluckily not wall of the Deer-park) bounds us eastward, or on our left. Prince Karl, drawn up by this time, is in two lines, cavalry on right and left but rather in bent order; bent towards us at both ends (being dainty of his ground, I suppose); and comes on in hollow-crescent form:—which is not reckoned orthodox by military men. What all these Villages, human individuals and terrified deer, are thinking, I never can conjecture! Thick-soled peasants, terrified nursing mothers: Better to run and hide, I should say; mount your garron plough-horses, hide your butter-pots, meal-barrels; run at least ten miles or so!

It is now past seven, a hot May morning, the Austrians very near;—and yonder, of a surety, is his Majesty coming. Majesty has marched since four; and is here at his time, loaves and all. His men rank at once in the corner left for them; one of his horse-generals, Lehwald, is sent to the left, to put straight what may be awry there (cannot quite do it, he either):—and the attack by Buddenbrock, who secretly outflanks here on the right, this shall at once take effect. No sooner has his Majesty got upon the little eminence or rising ground, and scanned the Austrian lines for an instant or two, than his cannon-batteries awaken here; give the Austrian horse a good blast, by way of morning salutation and overture to the concert of the day. And Buddenbrock, deploying under cover of that, charges, "first at a trot, then at a gal-

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lop," to see what can be done upon them with the white weapon. Old Buddenbrock, surely, did not himself ride in the charge? He is an old man of seventy; has fought at Oudenarde, Malplaquet, nay at Steenkirk, and been run through the body, under Dutch William; is an old acquaintance of Charles XII's even; and sat solemnly by Frederick Wilhelm's coffin, after so much attendance during life. The special leader of the charge was Bredow; also a veteran gentleman, but still in the fifties: he, I conclude, made the charge; first at a trot, then at a gallop,—with swords flashing hideous, and eyebrows knit.

The Dust Tempest

"The dust was prodigious," says Frederick, weather being dry and ground sandy; for a space of time you could see nothing but one huge whirlpool of dust, with the gleam of steel flickering madly in it: however, Buddenbrock, outflanking the Austrian first line of horse, did hurl them from their place; by and by you see the dust-tempest running south, faster and faster south,—that is to say, the Austrian horse in flight; for Buddenbrock, outflanking them by three squadrons, has tumbled their first line topsy-turvy, and they rush to rearward, he following away and away. Now were the time for a fresh force of Prussian cavalry,—for example, those you have standing useless behind the gullies and quagmires on your left wing (says Stille, after the event);—due support to Buddenbrock, and all that Austrian cavalry were gone, and their infantry left bare.

But now again, see, do not the dust-clouds pause? They pause, mounting higher and higher; they dance wildly, then roll back towards us; too evidently back. Buddenbrock has come upon the second line of Austrian horse; in too loose order Buddenbrock, by this time, and they have broken him:—and it is a mutual defeat of horse on this wing, the Prussian rather the worse of the two. And might have been serious,—had not Rothenburg plunged furiously in, at this crisis, quite through to the Austrian infantry, and restored matters, or more. Making a confused result of it in this quarter. Austrian horse-regiments there now were that fled quite away; as did even one or two foot-regiments, while the Prussian infantry dashed forward on them, escorted by Rothenburg in this manner,—who got badly wounded in the business; and was long an object of solicitude to Frederick. And contrariwise certain Prussian horse also, it was too visible, did not compose themselves till fairly arear of our foot. This is Shock First in the Battle; there are Three Shocks in all.

Partial charging, fencing, and flourishing went on; but nothing very effectual was done by the horse in this quarter farther. Nor did the fire or effort of the Prussian infantry in this their right wing continue; Austrian fury and chief effort having, by this time, broken out in an opposite quarter. So that the strain of the Fight lies now in the other wing over about Chotusitz and the Brtlinka Brook; and thither I perceive his Majesty has galloped, being "always in the thickest of the danger" this day. Shock Second is now on. The Austrians have attacked at Chotusitz; and are threatening to do wonders there.

Prince Leopold's Left Wing, as we said, was entirely defective in the eye of tacticians (after the event). Far from leaning on the wall of the Deer-park, he did not even reach the Brook,—or had to weaken his force in Chotusitz Village for that object. So that when the Austrian foot comes storming upon Chotusitz, there is but "half a regiment" to defend it. And as for cavalry, what is to become of cavalry, slowly threading, under cannonshot and musketry, these intricate quagmires and gullies, and dangerously breaking

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into files and strings, before ever it can find ground to charge? Accordingly, the Austrian foot took Chotusitz, after obstinate resistance; and old Königseck, very ill of gout, got seated in one of the huts there; and the Prussian cavalry, embarrassed to get through the gullies, could not charge except piecemeal, and then, though in some cases, with desperate valour, yet in all without effectual result. Königseck sits in Chotusitz;—and yet withal the Prussians are not out of it, will not be driven out of it, but cling obstinately; whereupon the Austrians set fire to the place; its dry thatch goes up in flame, and poor old Königseck, quite lame of gout, narrowly escaped burning, they say.

And, see, the Austrian horse have got across the Brtlinka, are spread almost to the Deerpark, and strive hard to take us in flank,—did not the Brook, the bad ground, and the platoon firing (fearfully swift, from discipline and the iron ramrods) hold them back in some measure. They make a violent attempt or two; but the problem is very rugged. Nor can the Austrian infantry, behind or to the west of burning Chotusitz, make an impression, though they try it, with levelled bayonets, and deadly energy, again and again: the Prussian ranks are as if built of rock, and their fire is so sure and swift. Here is one Austrian regiment, came rushing on like lions; would not let go, death or no-death:—and here it lies, shot down in ranks; whole swaths of dead men, and their muskets by them,—as if they had got the word to take that posture, and had done it hurriedly! A small transitory gleam of proud rage is visible, deep down, in the soul of Frederick as he records this fact. Shock Second was very violent.

The Austrian horse, after such experimenting in the Brtlinka quarter, gallop off to try to charge the Prussians in the rear;—"pleasanter by far," judge many of them, "to plunder the Prussian camp," which they desecrate in those regions; whither accordingly they rush. Too many of them; and the Hussars as one man. To the sorrowful indignation of Prince Karl whose right arm (or wing) is fallen paralytic in this manner. After the fight, they repented in dust and ashes; and went to say so, as if with the rope about their neck; upon which he pardoned them.

Shock Third

Nor is Prince Karl's left wing gaining garlands just at this moment. Shock Third is awakening:—and will be decisive on Prince Karl. Chotusitz, set on fire an hour since (about 9 A.M.), still burns; cutting him in two, as it were, or disjoining his left wing from his right: and it is on his right wing that Prince Karl is depending for victory, at present; his left wing, ruffled by those first Prussian charges of horse, with occasional Prussian swift musketry ever since, being left to its own inferior luck, which is beginning to produce impression on it. And, lo, on the sudden (what brought fins to the business), Frederick, seizing the moment, commands a united charge on this left wing: Frederick's right wing dashes forward on it, double-quick, takes it furiously, on front and flank; fifteen fieldpieces preceding, and intolerable musketry behind them. So that the Austrian left wing cannot stand it at all.

The Austrian left wing, stormed in upon in this manner, swags and sways, threatening to tumble pellmell upon the right wing; which latter has its own hands full. No Chotusitz or point of defence to hold by, Prince Karl is eminently ill off, and will be hurled wholly into the Brtlinka, and the islands and gullies, unless he mind! Prince Karl,—what a moment for him!—noticing this undeniable phenomenon, rapidly gives the word for retreat, to avoid worse. It is near upon Noon; four hours of battle; very fierce on both the wings together or alternately; in the centre (westward of Chotusitz) mostly insignificant: "more than half the Prussians" standing with arms shouldered.

Prince Karl rolls rapidly away, through Czaslau towards south-west again; loses guns in Czaslau; goes, not quite broken, but at double-quick time for five miles; cavalry, Prussian and Austrian, bickering in the rear of him; and vanishes over the horizon towards Willimow and Haber that night, the way he had come.

This is the battle of Chotusitz, called also of Czaslau: Thursday, 17th May 1742. Vehemently fought on both sides;—calculated, one may hope, to end this Silesian matter? The results, in killed and wounded, were not very far from equal. Nay, in killed the Prussians suffered considerably the worse; the exact Austrian cipher of killed being 1,052, while that of the Prussians was 1,905—owing chiefly to those fierce ineffectual horse-charges and bickerings, on the right wing and left; “above 1,200 Prussian cavalry were destroyed in these.” But, in fine, the general loss, including wounded and missing, amounted on the Austrian side (prisoners being many, and deserters very many) to near seven thousand, and on the Prussian to between four and five. Two Generals Frederick had lost, who are not specially of our acquaintance; and several younger friends whom he loved. Rothenburg, who was in that first charge of horse with Buddenbrock, or in rescue of Buddenbrock, and did exploits, got badly hurt, as we saw,—badly, not fatally, as Frederick’s first terror was,—and wore his arm in a sling for a long while afterwards.^c

THE TREATY OF Breslau AND FREDERICK’S COMMENT

After this decisive battle, a peace was quickly negotiated. We give the terms of this so-called Treaty of Breslau in the words of the conqueror.^a

1. The queen of Hungary ceded to the king of Prussia Upper and Lower Silesia, with the principality of Glatz; except the towns of Troppau, Jaegern-dorf, and the high mountains situated beyond the Oppa.

2. The Prussians undertook to repay the English one million seven hundred thousand crowns; which sum was a mortgage loan on Silesia.

The remaining articles related to a suspension of arms, an exchange of prisoners, and the freedom of religion and trade.

Thus [continues Frederick] was Silesia united to the Prussian states. Two years were sufficient for the conquest of that important province. The treasures which the late king had left were almost expended; but provinces that do not cost more than seven or eight millions are cheaply purchased. Circumstances particularly favoured this achievement. It was necessary that France should suffer herself to become a party in the war; that Russia should be attacked by Sweden; that timidity should cause the Hanoverians and Saxons to remain inactive; that success should be uninterrupted; and that the king of England, though an enemy of the Prussians, should, in his own despite, become an instrument of their aggrandisement. What most contributed to this conquest was an army that had for two and twenty years been forming, and by its admirable discipline rendered superior to all the soldiers of Europe. Add to this, generals that were true citizens; wise and incorruptible ministers; and, finally, a species of good fortune which often accompanies youth, and deserts age.

Had the undertaking failed, the king would have been deemed a rash prince, enterprising beyond his strength. Success made him supposed happy. In reality, fortune only bestows fame; and he whom fortune favours is applauded, while he on whom she frowns is blamed. After the ratifications were exchanged, the king withdrew his troops out of Bohemia; some of them marched through Saxony to return to their native country, others were sent into Silesia, being destined to guard this new conquest.^e

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FREDERICK II IN HIS RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

It was in November of 1805 that a French statesman passed the following noteworthy judgment on the policy of Frederick the Great. "Frederick's successors failed to grasp the spirit and guiding principles of his reign. This prince was perfectly well aware that, with his army and his treasury, he would always be in a position to maintain the power that he had created and the rank that he had attained in Europe. But he was also aware that nothing could happen on the Continent that did not concern him, and that he could not permit any political event of a certain magnitude to take place without his concurrence; that the existing balance of power would certainly be altered to his detriment unless he took energetic action towards the establishment of a fresh equilibrium. He knew that if other states enlarged their borders while his own obtained no corresponding accession of territory the latter would be relegated by the change to a subordinate rank; he knew that if all the other armies of Europe collected their forces, fought, and through victory and defeat grew more and more highly efficient he must not enfeeble his own by slothful inaction; in other words, he could not suffer his military strength to be reduced by a falling-off in experience, valour, or confidence. Doubtless there was no one of these truths to which the great Frederick did not give its due weight, and I fancy that he would have smiled if any minister of his had undertaken to instruct him by expounding them."

Unquestionably for a state which lays claim to the rank of a European power, and which is affected by every variation of relative strength throughout the Continent, neutrality in the midst of a struggle of each against all is a shackle which may almost force it to resign the position of a great power. For the rising power of Prussia, in particular, the rôle of spectator, which it thought to acquiesce in at the Peace of Breslau, was all the more difficult to play since the war in which it was to take no further part had to be fought on German soil, with German countries, and the very crown of the empire at stake.

At the commencement of his first war the king had aimed at nothing more than the rounding-off of the Prussian dominions. In return for the cession of Silesia he had been ready to give his voice in the election to the imperial crown in favour of the husband of the heiress of the house of Habsburg, daughter of the late emperor; that is to say, he had been prepared to countenance the continuance of the Austrian hegemony in Germany. As crown prince, Voltaire had indeed flattered him with the prospect of succession to the empire, and, on the death of the last male Habsburg, had greeted the king of Prussia as the man who would be an emperor or make one. At that time Prince Leopold of Dessau also wrote to his chief without circumlocution, expressing the heartiest good wishes for his elevation to the imperial dignity, since in Europe there was no man living who deserved it more or was better able to maintain it. And the idea of claiming for Prussia a leading position in the empire was not strange to Frederick's minister, Podewils, at the end of 1740, though the realisation of it appeared to him absolutely unattainable. The envy of Prussia's neighbours within the empire, the most distinguished of whom held sway over kingdoms in the rest of Europe, would always present insurmountable obstacles. So thought Podewils.

Then came a moment when, quite unexpectedly, Prussia practically held the fate of Germany in her hands. The elevation of the elector of Bavaria to the imperial purple was in the main the doing of Prussia. Thus Bavaria was bound to eternal gratitude towards her benefactor, while, after the elector of Saxony had joined the coalition, the Saxon ambassador pathetically bewailed

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himself to Podewils, that now his court would throw itself blindly into the arms of Prussia. Podewils, reporting these words to his king, joyfully expressed the hope that "in future your majesty will be looked upon as the only great power in Germany, a good understanding with whom is to be preferred to any other alliance." During the Moravian campaign Frederick strove to make Saxony (which had been used by France to counterbalance Prussia within the coalition) dependent upon himself, so that, quit of French influence, he might arrange the affairs of Germany according to his own ideas. In the same spirit he recommended the new emperor to increase the Bavarian forces "so as to cut a figure among the allies," the meaning of which was that he should withdraw by degrees from a position of dependence upon France. And when Frederick passed in review the reasons in favour of a prosecution of the war against the queen of Hungary, it did not escape him that after the complete overthrow of Austria, and after the conclusion of a general peace under the arbitration of Prussia, the whole empire would enter upon a close connection with that country, and "the king of Prussia would then have the authority of emperor, and the elector of Bavaria the burden of empire."

These brilliant prospects Frederick had resigned at the Peace of Breslau. But his policy soon resumed the course it had abandoned, for he could not be blind to the consideration that the degradation of the emperor involved a moral humiliation for the king of Prussia who had set the emperor on the throne.

The pitiable insufficiency of the resources of the house of Wittelsbach to meet the demands of the imperial station to which it had been elevated by the result of the election of 1742 clearly demonstrated the emptiness of the imperial title apart from a powerful ruling family. King Ferdinand perfectly understood why, after the battle of Muhlberg, he had dissuaded the emperor his brother from exacting a "fixed revenue," which would have inaugurated a system of permanent public contributions to the expenses of the empire: a secure financial endowment of the imperial position (he warned him) would have made it possible for other princes besides the Habsburgs to undertake the charge of empire, which now their poverty prevented them from doing. And, as a matter of fact, it had been so, and as long as a male of the house of Habsburg survived the elective crown had never passed out of that one family. The empire had counted for something only when it was an appanage of the power of Austria.

As the heir to the Habsburg dominions in Bohemia, and as the ruler of an extensive and self-contained territory in south Germany, stretching from the Sudetic Mountains to the Alps, Charles Albert too might have wielded the imperial authority, but an emperor humbly dependent upon the French was to the members of the empire an object of pity or scorn, as the case might be, or a mere jest.

For if there was one point on which sentiment in Germany was unanimous, it was dislike of France. The king of Prussia, one of the few friends of his Gallic neighbours to be found among his countrymen, was astounded and absolutely nonplussed when, on his journey to the baths of Aachen in the mid-summer of 1742, he found fierce hatred of the French everywhere rampant. He declared that he could not comprehend this "frenzy," which went beyond the madness of Roland. And yet Frederick himself had had experience of the obstinacy with which his own advisers—Podewils above all—had opposed the conclusion of the French alliance. Less than seventy years had passed since the days of Mazarin's Rhenish Alliance. At that time the young Louis stood at the head of a confederacy of German princes, which his minister Lionne might well style the great driving-wheel of the Germanic policy of France. No man would then have inveighed against France as the enemy of the em-

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pire, or stigmatised it as the hereditary foe; at that time German liberty seemed a much more questionable factor in the situation than the French king, even to the emperor of Germany. Then Louis XIV's policy of conquest had thrown off the mask, and the Rhenish Alliance had fallen to pieces. Again and again the empire declared war against France, and matters soon came to such a pass that, instead of a well-organised body at the beck and call of France, there arose a distinct confederacy in favour of the Habsburg emperor and under his leadership. All the little states, temporal and spiritual, within the circles of the upper Rhine and the Palatinate, of Swabia and Franconia, each by itself so insignificant that its military resources were not worth the trouble of a summons or a bargain, together amounted to a body that had at least the semblance of power. It must be confessed that the leading states in these local leagues—the Palatinate, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and in Franconia the Markgrafs of Brandenburg—could not forego the chance of carrying out a policy of their own, suited to their various circumstances, and of setting up or preparing the way for an independent system of defence within the bounds of the local organisation; but nevertheless this association was as valuable to the emperor Leopold and his two sons as the Swabian League of former times had been to the emperor Maximilian. But by the very law of its being this confederacy, formed to repel French invasions, could have nothing in common with the ally of France, the empire of the house of Wittelsbach.

THE COUNCIL OF PRINCES

Similarly the representative of the new dynasty soon became painfully aware that he had not that substantial majority in the diet on which the last emperors of the Habsburg line had always been able to reckon. In the election of January 24th, 1742, the unanimity of the electoral college had been mainly due to fear, and now that this constraint was removed the adherents of Austria ventured to raise their heads in the highest council of the land. The motley elements of this many-headed college shaped matters within the council of princes after a fashion very inauspicious for the newly-elected emperor.

In this assembly Austria, though shorn of her imperial state, could rely on the unconditional devotion of two separate groups, and on every division in a body of ninety-six voters these formed the solid nucleus of an Austrian majority. In the first place there were the so-called "pensioners" of the court of Vienna, who gave their votes in accordance with the notorious formula, *in omnibus uti Austria*, the small temporal principalities which owed their admission into the council of princes of the empire to the favour of the Habsburg emperors, families whose scions had been for generations courtiers or soldiers of the ruling house: Lobkowitz, Salm, Dietrichstein, Auersberg, Schwartzenstein, Aremberg, Hohenzollern, Fürstenberg, and Liechtenstein. The nine hereditary votes of these houses were generally reinforced by four representative votes from the "Grafenverbände" of the Wetterau, Swabia, Franconia, and Westphalia. The second mighty stay, when it was necessary to secure a decision in Austria's favour, was to be found in the compact body of "*Germania Sacra*," at least as far as the institutions entitled to a vote were not in the gift of the Wittelsbach princes. The archbishop of Salzburg, co-director with Austria of the council of princes, the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, of Eichstadt and Passau, of Augsburg, Constance, Coire and Bâle, of Brixen and Trent, of Strasburg, Worms and Speier, the prince-bishops and abbots of Fulda, Kempten, Ellwangen, Berchtesgaden, Weissenburg, Stavelot, Prüm and Corvei, the Grand Master of the knights of St. John, and the two *curiæ* of Swabian and Rhenish prelates, were all only waiting for the signal to cast their

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votes, twenty-five in number, into the scale for the honourable archducal house, the guardian of Catholic truth in the realm. If the Viennese court added its own two votes (for Austria and Burgundy) together with the vote for the markgrafschaft of Nomeny which the husband of Maria Theresa had retained as a last reminiscence of his possessions in Lorraine, there were very few votes needed to make the forty one who were thus in accord into an absolute majority, even when the benches of the council were full.

The house of Wittelsbach, on the other hand, had only fifteen votes absolutely at its disposal; five for the much-ramified Palatinate line, two in the Bavarian line, one for the dukedom, and one for the landgrafschaft of Leuchtenberg, and eight clerical votes. The elector Clement Augustus of Cologne, a brother of the emperor, voted for the bishoprics of Münster, Osnabrück, Hildesheim, and Paderborn, and for the Teutonic Order; another brother, Bishop Theodore, voted for Ratisbon, Freisingen, and (since 1743) for Liège. The king of Prussia might come to the rescue with the five votes of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, Kammin, and Farther Pomerania, but every other ally had to be laboriously gained. And the chances that the emperor could successfully cope with his rival in securing the votes of the thirty or forty states whose attitude was still undetermined, were small indeed. Even with the Protestant courts the Hofburg maintained political and personal relations of various kinds, for the majority of them had steered a middle course amidst the clashing interests of the brief reign of Charles VII: the Ernestine line with a total of five or six votes, the Mecklenburg line with four, the houses of Brandenburg in Franconia and of Würtemberg with two apiece, the house of Brabant with three—for Cassel, Darmstadt, and Hersfeld, and the houses of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Anhalt, and Cürksena each with one.

Among these Protestant families, however, there was one, possessed of fully six votes in the council of princes, which was actually allied to the emperor's great rival, and was assiduously and successfully striving to bring over a further accession from the Protestant camp. That was the royal and electoral house of Hanover, with the whole power of Great Britain behind it.⁷

THE SECOND SILESIAN WAR (1744-1745 A.D.)

Frederick had made good use of these two years, fortifying his new territory, and repairing the evils inflicted upon it by the war. By the death of the prince of East Friesland without heirs, he also gained possession of that country. He knew well that Maria Theresa would not, if she could help it, allow him to remain in Silesia; accordingly, in 1744, alarmed by her victories, he arrived at a secret understanding with France, and pledged himself, with Hesse-Cassel and the Palatinate, to maintain the imperial rights of Charles VII, and to defend his hereditary Bavarian lands. Frederick began the Second Silesian War by entering Bohemia in August, 1744, and taking Prague. By this brilliant but rash venture he put himself in great danger, and soon had to retreat.⁸

Battle of Hohenfriedberg

In 1745 another master-stroke was executed by General von Zieten, when, in order to carry an important message which had come by way of Frankenstein from Frederick to his cousin Markgraf Charles at Jägerndorf, he made his way through the Austrian lines, unsuspected in the new winter uniform. And what of the chief of these skilled and heroic commanders? The king gave the alarm, and sent, under General du Moulin, only the vanguard from

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Jauernik towards Striegau against the duke of Lorraine, who had pressed forward as far as Bolkenhain. This manœuvre drew the foe down from his mountains into the plains; they encamped on the evening of the 3rd of June, resolved to surprise Du Moulin at dawn and continue their march upon Breslau. But Frederick stole in the night to Striegau, and, guided by the evening's camp-fires, drew up his army in readiness for battle. This enabled Du Moulin to remain in ambush at the foot of the Spitzberg, the summit of which had been taken by the Saxons under the duke of Weissenfels. Du Moulin attacked them towards four o'clock in the morning and, opening his batteries, gave a tremendous fire. Then the king advanced with the left wing by the Striegau River, his quickness and the difficulties of the ground throwing the enemy into disorder; Du Moulin succeeded, and the left wing under Prince Charles and the Saxons retreated. The Prussian cavalry of the left wing marched upon the enemy, and after six indecisive encounters drove them back as far as Hohenfriedberg; the king's infantry pushed their adversaries right and left with such impetus that the confusion became general; a cavalry charge of dragoons from Bayreuth made an end of the fight. Prince Charles withdrew to his old camp near Koniggrätz, Du Moulin pursued him over the border, and the king pushed forward to Chlum in Bohemia. Upper Silesia and Kosel were released.

In this splendid fight, which was won in five hours of one morning, between Jauer and Landshut, the infantry did wonders, the artillery distinguished itself; but the cavalry celebrate this day as that of one of their greatest triumphs, for the determined General von Gessler with a single regiment of Bavarian dragoons defeated 20 battalions, made 2,500 prisoners, and captured 67 flags and 4 cannon. As a proof of lasting gratitude, Frederick bestowed on this heroic regiment a letter of grace and a diploma and presented them with a new seal with a remarkable engraving. The dragoons were given the right to have a grenade in flames on their cartridge-boxes, to beat the grenadier march on their drums, and to sound the cuirassier march on their trumpets. Colonel von Schwerin, the head of the regiment, was promoted to the rank of general, Gessler was made a count, and both he and Major de Chasot, who had brought the news of victory, were given heraldic insignia of honour. On Gessler's helmet red and green ensigns were added with the numbers 20 and 67, on the lower part of his escutcheon a Roman shield resting on other weapons, on which Marcus Curtius is seen on his horse leaping into the open gulf, with the words, "It is sweet to die for the fatherland." Chasot had the Prussian eagle added to his arms, and two flags with H. F. and 66; to his mother Frederick wrote a very jubilant letter, accompanied by a costly casket.

In the *History of My Own Times* Frederick⁶ speaks of the event at Hohenfriedberg as being so rare, so worthy of fame, that it should be inscribed in the Prussian annals in golden letters. He adds of the whole army present on that day, "the world resting on the shoulders of Atlas is not safer than Prussia upheld by such an army."

Frederick wrote to the king of France in less flattering terms; he had changed the order of things at Friedberg; the battle of Fontenoy and the taking of Tournay were honourable to him and advantageous to France; but for Prussia's immediate advantage a battle won on the banks of the Scamander, or the taking of Pekin, would have been equally useful.

Battle at Soor (September 30th, 1745)

The want of means drove the king from one camp to another. The enormous number of troops needed for the transport from Silesia reduced his force to 26,000 men. Prince Charles saw in his own superior numbers this advan-

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tage. He pushed on from Jaromierz towards Königinhof, and concealed his strength so well behind the clouds of light infantry, that General von Katzler came back to the king's camp on the night of September 29th without having seen the main body of the enemy's force. The next morning Charles stood in battle array, opposite Frederick's right wing, and bombarded the Prussian camp before daybreak. The king had commanded a march to Trautenau the evening before; he now ranged himself under the enemy's fire in such a way that he was parallel and opposite to him; but the right wing of his cavalry attacked the Austrians and overthrew them; the infantry, after three attempts, succeeded in storming heights which were protected by cannon. The enemy drew upon a second and a third height, but the impetuous onslaught of the Prussian cavalry forced them to retreat.

Up to now the king had held the cavalry of the left wing in reserve; now he brought up that of the right wing to reinforce it, and with these two attacked the foe. The Austrian infantry held their position near Prausnitz for some time, but finally the flight became general and the victor encamped at Soor.

Nadasdi had intended attacking the Prussians, in face, in the rear and on their left, whilst Prince Charles simultaneously engaged them on their right. But his light infantry pillaged the camp and baggage, and so assisted the king to defeat them. "Just imagine," wrote Frederick to Fredersdorf, "how we fought—eighteen against fifty, my whole transport in confusion. In all my life I have never been in such straits as on the 30th; and for all that, I emerged—you see no bullet hurts me." The camp library was also lost at Soor, and Duhan¹ had to make haste and send Cicero, Horace, Lucian, Voltaire, Bossuet, Rousseau, and Gresset, so that the study of the muses could continue. The same friend was also commanded to have a fine edition of Racine in readiness for the return.

Victory of Hennersdorf (November 23d, 1745 A.D.)

The advanced season necessitated the journey into Silesia by the difficult pass near Schatzlar. Frederick divided his army, which Prince Leopold was to command, between Schweidnitz and Striegau; and on the 28th of October, the day when his convention with England was arranged in Hanover, he went to Berlin, where, on the 8th of November he heard from Wulfwenstierna, Swedish minister to the Dresden court, of a scheme on foot, projected by Count Brühl, for the invasion of Berlin, which should force him to yield Silesia up to Austria; and Magdeburg, Halberstadt, together with Halle and the surrounding districts, to Saxony.

The court of Dresden had long hankered after its neighbour on the Spree, for Berlin, thanks to a new system of government, began to be of importance. Prussia, steadily growing in moral strength, was at last becoming a power of the first rank in Europe, and could hold her own against the house of Habsburg in matters both of church and state. With whom then should Saxony side? The Second Silesian War had made her hateful to Prussia, as she had been an adherent of Austria, and Frederick, during his progress through her territory, had not kept his troops under the strictest discipline; even at Hohenfriedberg the bitterest animosity had been shown towards Saxony.

The prince von Grunne led 10,000 Austrians through Saxony and marched on to Berlin; Prince Charles pushed forward with 40,000 men into upper Lusatia, joined issue with the allies, and intended carrying on the war in the

¹The King's tutor.

[1745 A.D.]

mark of Brandenburg. Then Prince Leopold with 35,000 men hurried to Naumberg on the Queis; Frederick advanced to him from Berlin, and on the 23rd of November at the Catholic Hennersdorf defeated four Saxon cuirassier regiments and one regiment of infantry under General von Büchner, all taken greatly aback at his appearance.

He further took possession of the great powder magazine in Görlitz, and commanded the count von Grunne to retrace his steps and unite with the Saxon main body under Count Rutowsky near Dresden. Zieten begged for his regiment the silver drums which had been pillaged in the fight at Hennersdorf.

The happy result of this victory was seen in the fine public spirit created in Frederick's people. A candidate for the forest rights in Breslau, and Professor Stisser in Stettin, sang such stirring odes in honour of Frederick in the victories of Hohenfriedberg and of Soor that they sounded quite stately, even compared with Gleim's grenadier songs, when in their turn they resounded in the Berlin patriotic journals. The king's town was changing, as Count Grunne had threatened, into a fortified camp, and instead of a gay people, 16,000 citizens went armed. When the danger was over and Berlin was illuminated, the people indulged themselves in all kinds of witticisms—one design showed Grunne with many Austrian generals mounted on crabs, and Berlin in the distance inscribed

General Grunne
Will to Berlin

Another showed many coaches drawn by four and six horses, also calashes and carts racing away from Berlin; in the middle was a hare in full flight, with under all the inscription—"In company."

The Battle of Kesselsdorf (November 29th, 1745)

The Saxon troops were already quartered for the winter round Leipsic when the king wrote, after the victory of Hennersdorf, to the old prince of Dessau, "I have beaten them in Lusatia, do you beat them at Leipsic; then we shall meet at Dresden." Then Leopold started out with his corps from Halle, captured Leipsic on the 29th of November, joined General von Lehwald on the 13th of December at Meissen, and marched on Dresden, whence Augustus had fled to Prague.

Rutowsky found himself in the most favourable position near Kesselsdorf—the chevalier de Saxe, his brother, commanded the cavalry; here they awaited Prince Leopold. Kesselsdorf lay at the foot of a hill, occupied by the left wing of the Saxons. In this village alone there were seven grenadier battalions; mountains, passes, even the great difficulty of attacking on slippery ice—everything was in favour of the Saxon. It was not till two o'clock in the afternoon that the Prussians advanced to the attack. General von Hertzberg moved with the grenadier battalions of Kleist, Aulack, and Münchow, who followed the three battalions of Prince Leopold of Dessau's regiment at 300 paces, supported by Bonin's dragoons. The first attempt was defeated by the locality and two of the enemy's batteries; many Prussians, among them Von Hertzberg, fell, and the prince drew the grenadiers to the rear. Then the Saxons came out into the open field to pursue them in their retreat. But now Von Bonin's regiment of dragoons rushed upon the seven Saxon battalions, so that they were instantly scattered and their batteries taken.

The Pomeranian infantry under Teetz took Kesselsdorf, with 20 cannon, 4 mortars, a flag and a pair of drums, and earned for themselves a new seal of

[1745 A.D.]

honour; all officers received the order of merit. Prince Leopold celebrated a splendid jubilee here, as it was in the spring of 1695 that he started his military career under the Brandenburg arms in the Netherlands.

The Peace of Dresden (1745 A.D.)

The defeated enemy joined in its flight with the prince of Lorraine who, the decisive moment over, was quite calmly betaking himself to Bohemia for safety. Frederick had been in Meissen during the fight; he inspected the battle ground, and on the 18th entered Dresden where he consoled the forsaken household of the prince and received Count von Harrach, who, delegated by Maria Theresa, began to negotiate with the Prussian, English, and Saxon plenipotentiaries for peace, which was concluded on the 25th; the Berlin Peace and division of territory were renewed; Prussia recognised Maria Theresa's husband as Francis I, emperor and head of the empire; Austria guaranteed to the king all his states, as also those privileges otherwise assured to him by Charles VII; Frederick agreed not to disturb the house of Austria in any of its German possessions; Saxony, Brunswick, Cassel, the Palatinate are all included in the Dresden Treaty of peace. The electorate of Saxony made a special treaty with Prussia; it paid to Frederick one million thalers, renouncing, as heir contingent to the house of Austria, all claim on Silesia, and agreeing to keep aloof from all differences and dissensions, such as there had been between Prussia and Saxony with regard to the customs at Fürstenberg on the Oder, and along the road to Schildau. In return for an equivalent to the country and its inhabitants, the town of Fürstenberg and its customs, together with the village of Schildau and lower Lusatia and all land in the electorate of Saxony on the right bank of the Oder, was to be abandoned to the Berlin court, so that the river with both its shores might be entirely Prussian. But so many difficulties were made by Saxony that this article of the Treaty of Dresden could not be arranged.

In this treaty of peace, Great Britain, warring with the Pretender, was again very useful to the king. The duke of Newcastle and his brother Pelham, who had replaced the friend of Austria, Lord Carteret, offered him in the Hanover agreement of August 26th, 1745, every security for Silesia, and persuaded the Vienna court to peace—a peace to which King George and later the emperor, as such, and the empire gave their especial guarantees.

Frederick was present in the Kreuzkirche in Dresden on the 26th of December when the peace sermon was preached; on the 28th, at midday, he drove in an open carriage, accompanied by his two brothers, back to Berlin in full state. The town was intoxicated with delight, and Frederick drove between double rows of citizens. The people called him "father of the fatherland" and "the great king." At the castle he was received on alighting from the carriage by Prince Ferdinand and the other princes, by the generals of the army and the nobles of the court. "Upstairs in the king's apartments there was the tenderest and most loving welcome from their two majesties, the queens." On this evening, in the midst of the shouts of triumph, the king left the joyful tumult of the illuminated city, to visit Duhan, who was dying in the Adlerstrasse!

The war had cost millions, without extending the confines of the country; the triumph was purely ideal. The pope sent congratulations to the king, and once more recommended to his protection those inhabitants of Silesia who still held the Catholic faith. The Catholic president of the head district in Oppeln, Count Henckel von Donnersmarck, freiherr zu Beuthen, was declared a forsworn traitor, and to have forfeited all honours and dignities, as well as the order of the Black Eagle: his hereditary sword was publicly broken by the executioner in Breslau.

[1745 A.D.]

France continued the War of the Austrian Succession with great energy, and with no small measure of success.¹

Frederick, however, wearied himself unceasingly in endeavours to reconcile the three powers, which was accomplished only by the Treaty of Aachen, which gave back all conquered territory and once more assured Silesia and Glatz to the king of Prussia.²

THE FREDERICIAN SPIRIT IN GERMANY

During the period which intervened between the end of the Silesian and the beginning of the Seven Years' War, the great personality of Frederick as a ruler, legislator, guardian of justice, and furtherer of the common welfare in his states, but also as the introducer of a new era, not merely for Germany but for the whole of Europe, was more and more clearly manifested. At this time he made his first tentative measures for the reform of justice and legislation, which make Prussia's example in this field a guide not merely for the other German states, but even for many foreign ones.

We may mention as belonging to this time most of those remarkable decisions by which Frederick with one stroke of the pen now overthrew some fragment of mediæval intolerance, now gave wings to the administration for the benefit of some subject suffering under it; and again unhesitatingly made his own kingly prerogative bow to the higher authority of a uniformly impartial justice. To this time also belongs the revival of the Academy of Science, which under his father's reign had decayed and, worse, had fallen into contempt. Though under Frederick this institution was organised too much after the French fashion and was in great part filled with Frenchmen, yet it also assembled many German celebrities within its precincts and advanced considerably many sciences, especially the exact ones. Now for the first time Germany perceived what she possessed in this king, and with conscious pride named as her own the man whom foreign countries to the very borders of civilisation had admiringly praised. The operation of Frederick's personality and method of governing now began gradually to extend and manifest itself in wider circles.

The result was kindred to the operating cause. It was not merely that certain defined branches of intellectual life were advanced and strengthened by Frederick's power and influence, but it was above all the whole being, the very life of the nation itself, which underwent a favourable change and won new vigour and strength. As to those whose official occupations were performed immediately under the eyes and the control of the great king, who had to fear his uncompromising look, which nothing escaped, they soon saw themselves compelled to fulfil their offices in a more strict and faithful manner than had generally been the habit in these circles, and this partly by force, partly by the exciting influence of example given from so high a place. And yet they were no longer the mere machines of an often capricious and despotic will, as had been the case under the far too one-sided government of Frederick William I. They might on occasion assert their own independent views before a king who respected ideas and principles, and knew how to appreciate them because he himself governed according to them; and under the government of a monarch, who by a writ under his own hand had exhorted the *Kammergericht*, the highest court of judicature in the land, never to proceed except according to the law and their convictions as judges, and not to respect orders even from him, if they were in opposition to this legal attitude. The judicial calling in particular acquired a spirit of independence and devo-

[¹ See volumes XI. and XIV.]

tion to duty which did not fail when the king did actually, as in the notorious lawsuit of Muller, let himself be beguiled into the mistake of interrupting the independent course of justice, though it had been done with the very best intentions.

Thus from Frederick's school there proceeded a host of officials who were objects of admiration and envy to the whole of Germany, compared as they were with the venal, inert, lazy, and ignorant men, who formed the same class in all the other states. It was they who withstood, and in a great measure successfully, the corruption of the government which followed, and preserved for later days the traditions of a conscientious and punctilious administrative and judicial body, operating for the public benefit, and possessed of intellectual culture and thoroughness, which produced a rich harvest for the regeneration of the Prussian state.^k

The period of eight years which had been allowed to the different states of Europe from the Peace of Aachen until a new war broke out, did not produce in them the desired feeling of united firmness and security; but, on the contrary, all seemed unsettled and in dread of the new commotions which hovered over this brief state of repose. For it was but too evident that the inimical powers so recently roused up—not having as yet found their equilibrium—had only made a pause for the purpose of soon resuming hostilities against each other with renewed vigour. The empress-queen could not brook the loss of Silesia, and she felt this loss the more acutely, inasmuch as she was obliged to undergo the mortification of knowing that the king of Prussia, by adopting a proper course of administration, had been able to double the revenue of that beautiful country. Frederick, on the other hand, was too clear-sighted not to foresee that a third struggle with her was inevitable. Among the other European powers, too, there was a restless spirit at work; they entered into alliances, looked about them—now here, now there—for friends, and increased their strength by land and sea. Europe was at this moment divided by two leading parties: France, Prussia, and Sweden adhered to the one, Austria, England, and Saxony to the other; the rest had not yet come to any conclusion as to which party they should support, but their assistance was eagerly sought by both. Maria Theresa at first cast her eye upon the powerful state of Russia, whose empress, Elizabeth, appeared inclined to hurl back her bold northern neighbour into his former insignificance; and eventually both parties concluded an alliance by means of the grand chancellor of Russia, Bestuschef, who had a personal dislike to the king of Prussia, because the latter refused to gratify his avaricious disposition. In order to induce Russia to take active measures against Prussia, England found it necessary to act upon the grand chancellor with her money, and by this means a war was all but declared already between Russia and Prussia. George II of England more especially desired this, in order that he might by such war be relieved of the anxiety he felt for his principality of Hanover; for as he was already engaged in a maritime war with France, with the view of acquiring new territories in other parts of the world, it was to be expected that France in union with Prussia would forthwith attack his electorate. Maria Theresa, however, on her part, saw this storm preparing in the north of Europe without fear or inquietude, as she nourished strong hopes that it would give her an opportunity of reconquering her Silesian territory.^b

PRUSSIA, ENGLAND, AND THE NEW PROVINCES OF FRIESLAND (1751-1753)

England lost an ally in the fresh conflict with France which loomed, a perpetual menace, on the horizon, while the relations between the English royal family and their near kin of the royal house of Prussia grew more and more

[1748-1751 A D]

strained. Besides the personal influence of the monarchs and the unfortunate choice of a British ambassador, there was another circumstance which embittered the relations between the two countries: England, jealous of her uncontested supremacy at sea, claimed the right to confiscate contraband of war in neutral ships. But the question as to what fell under this description was no less difficult to determine then than now. To Prussia the whole subject had been of small importance as long as her maritime trade was confined to the few seaports of the Baltic. But in the course of the War of the Austrian Succession Frederick had gained possession of East Friesland. And as he planted his foot for the first time on the shores of the North Sea he had a vision of the whole maritime trade of north Germany in his hands. To his eager zeal it seemed a simple matter to divert the whole transatlantic traffic into new channels. The English right of search in merchant vessels was therefore extremely annoying to him, the more so as it was exercised harshly and without consideration. In 1748, the last year of the war, two Prussian vessels laden with planks and hemp had been captured. The British officials simply declared these articles contraband of war, and laid an embargo on the ships. Frederick made representations and demanded compensation, but to no purpose. Meanwhile peace was concluded, but the embargo was not taken off. It availed nothing that the king called together a court of arbitration which unanimously affirmed that planks and hemp were not contraband of war. The English government, for its part, referred the matter to a prize court and a special commission. Years passed and they came to no decision, while Frederick continued to make more and more urgent demands for his ships.

Thus matters stood when, in July of 1751, the young king of Prussia paid his first visit to his new province. The welcome which greeted him gave profound offence to George II, who considered himself the rightful heir to the territory of which (as he thought) his nephew had violently deprived him. And now he learned, into the bargain, that the latter was attaching his new subjects to his person by a series of far-reaching enterprises for the public good, and rousing in them a spirit which astonished themselves. One undertaking, in particular, on which Frederick built great hopes was the expansion of Prussian trade with eastern Asia. He declared Emden a free port, and the "Asiatic Trading Company" and the "Bengal Trading Company" came into existence there under his protection. In the following years each of these companies sent out two ships. But they had no luck, and they could not keep the field in face of the rivalry of the Dutch. Moreover, one of the ships had an affray with an English man-of-war in the Channel. The naval officers who searched it discovered and claimed some British subjects among the crew. Despite vigorous protests they were carried off and (in virtue of an Act of Parliament, it was said) pressed into the fleet. Thus on all sides obstacles arose in the way of these new ventures, and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War shortly after put a final end to them. Nothing remained to bear witness of the unfortunate attempt to divert the commerce of Asia to East Friesland except the numerous specimens of old Chinese porcelain which were still to be found there forty years ago. At that time costly red vases with quaint raised gilt figures, precious dinner services of transparent ware, and little cups decorated with intricate and inimitable arabesque, might be seen among the possessions of rich Frisian farmers in the fen land, even in outlying "places." These treasures have now grown extremely rare, and china lovers have to pay exorbitant prices for the few remaining pieces left by collectors and Jew dealers.

It was natural that the East Frieslanders should never forget the brief blossoming time of their commerce and prosperity which followed upon the union with Prussia. For the vigorous life which throbbed through all circles

of society when, in place of a degenerate line of princes and after centuries of internal dissensions, a young and able monarch seized the reins of power, carried everything before it. The inhabitants suddenly felt themselves members of a mighty state, nor was this feeling troubled by the imposition of new and onerous burdens. With a wise caution Frederick refrained from exacting the annual quota of recruits from the new province, foreseeing that such a measure would be regarded with peculiar abhorrence by the "free Frisians." He therefore contented himself with the annual payment of a money contribution.

Nevertheless the impartial historian is bound to confess that the reasons why the tide of wealth did not flow back into the old channels, nor the flourishing times of the Hanseatic League return, lay deeper than either king or people supposed. The gorgeous chambers of the Guildhall at Emden remain as empty as ever, and through the great rooms, which in past centuries were thronged with merchants of every land and clime, flows only the yearly tide of tourists who flock in summer to the health resorts of the North Sea, admiring the curious mediæval weapons and richly inlaid suits of armour so tastefully arranged on the walls. The harbour has been choked with mud, and in the islands of East Friesland curious fences made of monster ribs are all that testifies to the many merchantmen that once put out hence for the northern seas. It is unjust to make the war, which turned Frederick's energies into another direction, solely answerable for this mournful issue. It was not this circumstance alone which brought his masterly projects to such pitiable wreck. And it is peculiarly unjust to reproach the succeeding Hanoverian government because the commercial enterprises of the first period of Prussian rule developed no farther. Both Frederick and the East Frieslanders overestimated the effect which the long-desired harbour was likely to exert from afar upon Prussia. They both overlooked the fact that the existing means of communication were inadequate to ensure a sufficient market for their wares inland. Moreover, ever since the discovery of the ocean route to the East Indies, the two maritime powers, England and Holland, had held almost absolute control over the trade with the East. Hamburg and Bremen had long since monopolised the small traffic of Germany beyond seas. A long time would therefore necessarily have elapsed before the great mercantile houses of the Continent made up their minds to import their wares from other sources or distribute them through other channels. And again, the royal interference with the existing conditions, though the inspiration of a master mind, was too precipitate and too much bound up with the king's personality to produce lasting results. The Hanoverian government, practical and thorough, though systematically deliberate and far less showy, did much more for the real good of East Friesland than the first period of Prussian administration. It turned its attention to immediate needs, and to it the province is indebted for its network of roads, its new Emden ship canal, its railway, the fostering of the trade of Leer and Papenburg, and the revived prosperity of the merchant-service. And the credit of bringing the bog land into cultivation by the system of dikes is solely due to the Hanoverian government.

One of the improvements, however, and that perhaps the most beneficial of all, is unquestionably the work of King Frederick. He was the first to teach the people how wide stretches of fertile land could be recovered from the sea by means of embankments against the floods which had formerly swept the soil away. The many flourishing "swamps" along the shores of the Dollart and the North Sea are speaking memorials of his activity. With the same zeal, though not with the same success, he undertook the cultivation of the extensive areas of marsh land which he had passed on his progress to Aurich. But if in the execution of this project he made many mistakes, who shall take him to task for them? He had before his eyes no examples of marshes profit-

[1752-1758 A D]

ably planted, such as we now see in the district of Stade and other parts of East Friesland. For one thing, the lots which he gave to the colonists to cultivate were too small. The proceeds of agriculture in thisiggardly soil were not sufficient to maintain a family, and hence the descendants of the unfortunate peasants whom he transported hither from remote provinces form to this day a degenerate proletariat, eking out a miserable subsistence by begging on the highway. But when we read of the stimulus given to improvements in agriculture, home administration, and even domestic life, by Frederick's brief visit, we cannot but marvel at the insight and the indefatigable energy of the man, and at his constant thought for his subjects. Through the medley of official receptions his keen eye noted what was amiss, and the few hours of leisure left him were devoted to the consideration and invention of remedies.

ENGLISH COMPLICATIONS

In England this energy was looked upon with suspicion, and the sudden expansion of the trade of Emden roused envy and apprehension. King George was not alone in his wrath when a province he had intended to win for himself flung itself with enthusiasm into the arms of his nephew; the whole British nation shared his exasperation. Frederick's care for the prosperity of this part of his dominions was interpreted as a link in a long chain of hostile demonstrations against England. The unfortunate affair of the captured ships was still pending, and added to the discord. The communications exchanged between the two cabinets steadily assumed a more acrimonious and insulting tone. Finally, in the year 1752, Frederick determined to bring the matter to an issue. He declared through his agents that it seemed to him that the English courts were maliciously determined to postpone their decision indefinitely, but that he neither could nor would wait any longer, and would attempt to compensate his subjects by other means. After the lapse of three months (April 23rd, 1753) he should cease to pay interest on the Silesian loan, the securities for which were mainly in English hands.

A perfect tempest of indignation broke forth in England. The duke of Newcastle could not have yielded if he would. In a fresh note (April 12th) couched in the mildest terms, Frederick tried in vain to justify the step he had taken. The temper of the London populace rendered a reconciliation impossible. The coercive measure he had used as a threat was actually put into force. Then there arose throughout Great Britain a clamour against the "unjust," "obstinate," and "malicious" king of Prussia. No meanness was too base to be imputed to him. His object was to ruin England; he had a secret understanding with France and with the Jacobite plotters. The appointment of Keith to the Prussian embassy in Paris, the summons of Tyrconnel to Berlin, were evidence enough. In the general excitement it was even thought not unlikely that he might land fifteen thousand men in Scotland to restore the exiled dynasty. The unfortunate Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of the famous Lochiel, being captured about this time on the lands of the laird of Glenbucket, was taken for a Jacobite emissary of Frederick's, and six years after the rising under Charles Edward this noble-hearted man perished on the gallows amidst the rejoicings of the mob. Caricatures and lampoons of the king of Prussia were circulated in England, and even persons of position and influence gave credence to tales of the most extravagant political projects on the part of Frederick. The idea was very natural and excusable. For it was impossible that his contemporaries should know that a wise moderation in his aims was the king's greatest quality, together with a singular faculty for distinguishing between the near and attainable and the visionary in politics. On

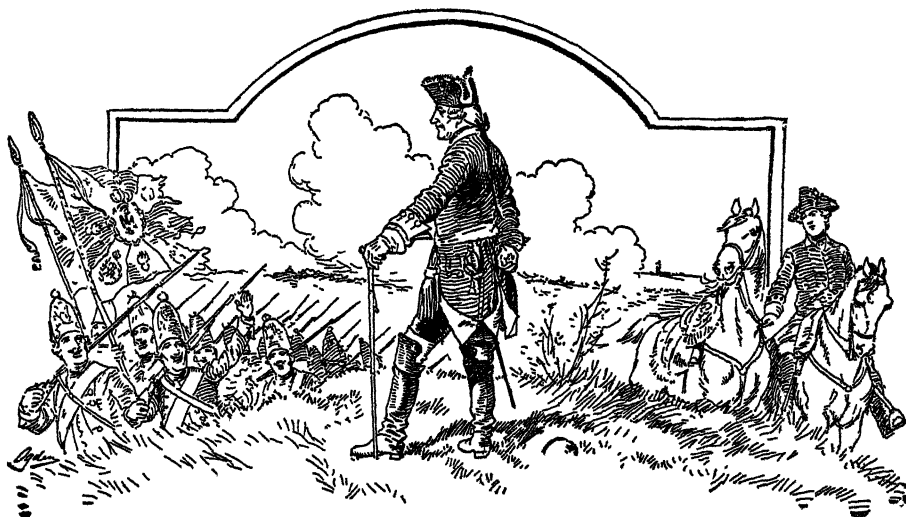
[1753-1756 A D.]

the contrary, from his earliest performances it seemed not improbable that he might develop into a ruthless and insatiable conqueror, such as Napoleon gradually became. And even the soberest politicians were convinced that in his alliance with France he contemplated the seizure of Hanoverian territory. When, about the same time, a project for the election of a king of the Romans came to nothing, the failure was regarded as a result of Prussian intrigues, and in the summer of 1753 matters had come to such a pass that hardly anyone doubted that there would be a speedy outbreak of hostilities between England and Prussia.

The fact made George II realise all the more keenly the necessity of knitting closer the ancient alliance with Austria. But, to his surprise and disappointment, he found that the overtures of his ambassador were received with increasing coolness at the court of Vienna. Maria Theresa did not even seem particularly interested in securing the election of her own son as king of the Romans. King George was clearly more "imperial" than the empress and mother herself. This indifference on the part of his "natural" ally stirred the ready choler of the British monarch. He felt his consequence as an elector and his greatness as king of England deeply wounded. To those about him he let fall angry words concerning this "vagabond stranger whom he had helped to the throne."¹

Meantime Frederick, taking quick advantage of the situation, formed and put into immediate execution a plan no less unexpected than extraordinary. Abandoning the lukewarm aid of France, which lay, as it were, in a state of political lethargy, and had afforded him but very trifling assistance in his two Silesian wars, he suddenly turned to England, now so much increasing in power and enterprising boldness, and claimed her alliance; and the English nation acceded to his proposal. Both nations needed this reciprocal aid against other adversaries; and, at the same time, required the confidence of each other in order that England might be at ease with regard to Hanover. Hence the alliance between England and Prussia, which based its security in the sympathy of both nations, might be truly termed a natural alliance, and was founded upon firmer grounds than those of mere state policy.

By this single turn the relations which had hitherto existed between the different states of Europe were altogether changed. Prussia had declared herself independent of France, and England of Austria; and through a singular capricious sport of fortune, France and Austria, who had been enemies for three hundred years, now found themselves, to their own astonishment, placed in close proximity, and called upon to give each other their hands; and all the rules of political calculation hitherto held as immutable were at one blow demolished. Luckily for Austria, she possessed in her prime minister, Prince Kaunitz, and in the empress Maria Theresa herself, two whose power of mind enabled them at once to perceive and avail themselves of the altered position of affairs, and who did not suffer themselves to be held in check by ancient custom. They sought for an alliance with France, and obtained it. On the 1st of May, 1756, the Treaty of Versailles was drawn up, after that between England and Prussia had been already concluded at Westminster in the month of January of the same year.²



CHAPTER IV

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

[1756-1763 A.D.]

To me it appears evident that a private person ought to be scrupulously tenacious of his promise, though he should have made it inconsiderately. If he is injured he can have recourse to the protection of laws, and, be the issue what it may, an individual only suffers. But where is the tribunal that can redress a monarch's wrongs, should another monarch forfeit his engagement? The word of a sovereign may draw down calamities on nations. Must the people perish or must the monarch infringe a treaty? And where is the man weak enough to hesitate a moment concerning his answer?—FREDERICK II.

THE union of the house of Austria and Bourbon, so lately formed, began to make it suspected that the Treaty of London could not maintain the tranquillity of Germany. Peace might be said to be suspended only by a hair; some pretext was but wanting; and, when that is the sole thing necessary, war is as if declared. It soon appeared inevitable; for information was obtained that the politicians had all been deceived in their dependence on Russia. That power, over which the intrigues of the Austrian ministers prevailed, broke with England because of the alliance which the king of Great Britain had concluded with the king of Prussia. Count Bestuschef for a moment remained undecided between his passion for English guineas and his hatred toward the king; but hatred was victorious. The empress Elizabeth, an enemy to the French nation after the last embassy of the marquis de la Chetardie, was better pleased to league with that nation than to preserve the least alliance with a power which had become connected with Russia. Active in every court of Europe, the

court of Vienna profited by the passions of sovereigns and their ministers, to attract them to itself, and govern them according to the purpose proposed.

During these sudden and unexpected changes of system the English ships no longer kept any measures with those of France. The vexations and infractions they committed enforced the king of France, in his own despite, to declare war. The French ostentatiously announced that they were preparing to make a descent on England. They lined the coasts of Brittany and Normandy with troops, built flat-bottomed boats for their transportation, and assembled some ships of war at Brest. These appearances terrified the English, and there were moments during which this nation, which has the character of so much wisdom, imagined its destruction near. To remove these fears, King George had recourse to Hanoverian and Hessian troops, that were brought into England.

The first thing necessary, at the commencement of the war, was to deprive the Saxons of the means of making themselves parties in it and of disturbing Prussia. The electorate of Saxony must be traversed to carry the war into Bohemia. If Saxony were not conquered, an enemy would be left behind; who, depriving the Prussians of the free navigation of the Elbe, would oblige them to quit Bohemia, whenever the king of Poland should please.¹

In the autumn of 1756, therefore, Frederick, unexpectedly and without previously declaring war, invaded Saxony, of which he speedily took possession, and shut up the little Saxon army, thus taken unawares, on the Elbe at Pirna. A corps of Austrians, who were also equally unprepared to take the field, hastened, under the command of Browne, to their relief, but were, on the 1st of October, defeated at Lobositz, and the fourteen thousand Saxons under Rutowsky at Pirna were in consequence compelled to lay down their arms, the want to which they were reduced by the failure of their supplies having already driven them to the necessity of eating hair-powder mixed with gunpowder.²

THE DEFEAT OF THE SAXONS AT PIRNA (1756 A.D.)

Whilst the chill October rain descended without intermission upon the wretched Saxon soldiers, their leader sat warm and dry in the impregnable fortress of Königstein. Through the floods that poured across the window-panes of the commandant's quarters he saw the long columns of his battalions cross the bridge and struggle painfully up the slippery footpath which led from the hamlet of Halbestadt to Ebenheit, above the precipitous river bank; he saw the exhausted horses toiling vainly to draw the light guns up to the plateau, the cavalry crowding in the narrow space between the declivity and the stream till their turn came to defile.

And when he turned his eyes from the dreadful throng, the hopeless confusion by the river, towards the spot whence, in fair weather, the domes and towers of his capital could be seen gleaming, he saw, to his dismay, the Prussian hussars already on the table-land where his own camp had stood during the past weeks. He saw the bold horsemen climb down the pass by which his own troops had just come, he saw his own men in terror cut the cables of the bridge and let it drift down-stream. Nor did the darkness draw a merciful veil over the mournful scenes at his feet. His camp had no rest. Far into the night he could not choose but hear, in angry grief, the shouts of the triumphant enemy, busy over the plunder of the abandoned tents and baggage wagons, and searching his own late headquarters at Struppen for spoil. But one ray of hope was still left to the unhappy elector. When the day dawned he fancied that he should see his army cut its way through the ranks of the enemy.

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A message from Field-Marshal Rutowsky dashed this hopeful prognostication. He reported that his men were utterly exhausted and that the last provisions were gone. He had succeeded, though with difficulty, in forming the bulk of the infantry into three or four divisions on the plateau of Ebenheit, but half of the artillery had stuck fast in the river. The cavalry, too, was incapable of reaching the top. To add to these misfortunes, he had no news from Browne; the messenger who had undertaken, for a large sum of money, to convey a message to him by secret paths through the forest had in all likelihood been taken prisoner, and it was vain to count on the co-operation of the Austrians. Under these circumstances he was of opinion that nothing but useless bloodshed could result from an attempt to storm the Prussian positions alone.

This was too much even for the feeble Augustus III. His desperate plight did not, it is true, inspire him with the energy which of old hurled the last Palæologus out of the gorgeous halls of the palace of the Cæsars and from the luxury of an oriental despot, to die unrecognised among his warriors in the breach. He did not embrace the manly resolution of inspiring his soldiers by his presence in person, and of perishing with them if needs must be, but he sent strict orders to his field-marshal to cut his way out at all hazards.

It was two o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 14th of October, when he despatched these orders. At the same time he sent down to the river one hundred and fifty horses from his own stable, plentifully fed with oats and hay, while the beasts in the camp were dying of starvation. These powerful animals were meant to draw the guns up the slope, but even their exertions were of no avail. The grey dawn was rising as they splashed and swam across the river. At the same time (about seven in the morning) Rutowsky received the message from Browne which he had almost ceased to look for. It had been given to the messenger at ten o'clock on the previous evening, but he had taken the whole of the stormy October night in getting back uncaught from Lichtenhain. The contents of the paper destroyed the last hope. The Austrian general wrote that since Tuesday he had been waiting in vain for the Saxon signal guns, and had therefore concluded that the enterprise had failed. His own position was one of extreme peril, as the Prussians were opposed to him in greatly superior numbers. The utmost he could do was to wait till nine o'clock Thursday morning; if then he had no news he must withdraw.

The hour he named was almost past already. To be ready to attack by that time was impossible, more especially as the Prussian force on the Lilienstein had been increased to eleven battalions, with twenty-two guns. Rutowsky sent again to the elector and begged permission to capitulate, and again he received an answer in the negative. Then the cannon of Königstein began to thunder, to stay the Austrians if possible; but wind and weather were unpropitious, and no sound of them reached Browne. He marched away as he had said he should. Rutowsky listened in vain for the rattle of musketry announcing the Austrian attack. Silence was over all.

That was the end. He summoned his generals to a council of war, and in one of the little huts of the hamlet of Ebenheit a brief consultation took place. All were agreed that escape was impossible. To lead the soldiers as they were, exhausted by unprecedented exertions and chilled by seventy-two hours of rain, against the enemy's entrenchments, was obviously to sacrifice them to no purpose. They had eaten nothing since the day before; for months they had been living on meagre rations. The ammunition was spoiled by the wet. There was nothing to be done but capitulate. Now at last Augustus III bowed to the inevitable, and a preliminary convention with General Winterfeld, who was in command on the right bank of the Elbe, procured the first of necessities, bread, for the miserable invested army.

The Capitulation

Next day (Friday, October 15th) Count Rutowsky went over to Struppen to arrange the details of the surrender with King Frederick, who had hastened thither from Bohemia. He found the monarch, to whom he submitted a draft of the terms of capitulation, in the worst of tempers. The unexpected delay which the obstinate resistance of the Saxons had imposed upon his military operations had embittered him. He would hear of no terms and demanded an unconditional surrender. In vain did Rutowsky try to save at least the Polish body-guard of the king and the Household Grenadiers from the general dissolution that menaced the army. Nay, even the status of prisoners of war was not assured to them in plain terms. On the contrary, Frederick with his own hand wrote on the margin of the document: "If the king will give them to me they need not become prisoners of war." Nor was it possible to obtain a promise that no one should be forced to serve Prussia. Arms, cannon, tents, and all military stores naturally fell to the victors. The small concession that officers might retain their swords and that the drums, flags, and standards should be placed in safe keeping at Königstein was obtained with difficulty. In a postscript to the deed of capitulation Rutowsky stated that he was empowered to let the troops lay down their arms, but not to absolve them from their oath. The elector, too, refused to yield this last point. But they could not hinder the king of Prussia from dealing as he pleased with the unfortunate soldiery. And Frederick feared that such a large number of prisoners of war, whom he could hardly expect to exchange, would be a great anxiety to him personally and an enormous drain on his military resources. These reasons impelled him to a course of conduct unprecedented in history and opposed to every law of civilised nations.

No one who has not experienced it can form any conception of the bitterness of feeling which such a dire catastrophe stirs in the breast of the soldier. To his last hour he is haunted by the painful memory of the fatal day that witnessed the destruction of the army to which he had devoted his life's service and dissolved forever more the bonds of comradeship which had grown dear to him; and every year that goes by makes the thought of the past more grievous. In proportion as the darker features and the little drawbacks of the old state of things recede from memory, the advantages of what is now lost to him shine forth more brightly. But the capitulation which annihilated the Saxon army took place under circumstances so peculiarly galling that they left a sting even to succeeding generations. It dated its fame from the earliest days of standing armies; it had fought with distinction against the terrible Charles XII, and even against its present opponent. Its present evil case was not the fault of its leaders, but of the wrong-headed policy of its master and (to a still greater extent) of his notorious minister, Brühl. And in spite of all, the soldiers had borne the disasters of the last weeks with exemplary discipline and un murmuring subordination.

And for their reward they were spared none of the humiliating formalities which an ancient and barbarous custom imposes on the vanquished. The victors could not deny themselves the pleasure of seeing the captured army march past them on Sunday, the 17th of October. On that march there were only about twelve thousand left to give up their weapons. It is easier to imagine than to describe the sensations with which the disarmed warriors must have gone down the Elbe by the craggy valley (now the resort of thousands of tourists) which leads from Waltersdorf to Niederrathen. At the point where now the motley swarm of visitors to the *Bastei* flows to and fro through the summer weather, they found the bridge which was to have led them to

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liberty only a few days before; the Prussians had fished up the pontoons, and now it bore them not to prison but to a worse fate.

At Oberrathen, now a station on the Bohemian line, the officers and men were separated. Of the former, five hundred and sixty-eight were let go on giving their parole not to fight against Prussia; only fifty-three took service with Frederick. The non-commissioned officers and the rank and file were handed over to Prussian superiors. The king seems to have had no great opinion of the binding quality of the oath which still pledged them to the service of their old master. But, with an odd self-contradictoriness, when none of them would come over to him of their own free will, he obliged them to swear a new oath to him *en masse*. Then he formed them into separate divisions, to be transmuted into Prussian troops within the boundaries of the Prussian kingdom. Halle, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Frankfort, etc., were the stations assigned to them. Ludwig of Dessau, the Iron Prince, was charged with the troublesome task of supervising the transformation. But in spite of dismal experiences their loyalty to their hereditary princes proved stronger than the harshest coercion and the fear of punishment. Some actually deserted on the first march, and the rest were so inspirited by their example that hardly a third of the men reached their destination. They arrived as mere skeleton regiments, and to swell their ranks Frederick imposed a levy of twelve thousand recruits upon unhappy Saxony!

King Augustus, the princes Xavier and Charles, Bruhl the minister, and a numerous suite of five hundred persons started on their journey to Warsaw on the 20th of October. Never again was the king to see Dresden, where the queen and the electoral prince had been left; he died in the Polish capital in the last year of the war.

The Saxon drama was at an end. In seven weeks Frederick had made himself master of that rich country. He now exploited its resources ruthlessly for his war, just as he had endeavoured to reinforce his army with its sons. His officials treated the people with extreme harshness; and Frederick wreaked on the palaces and gardens of Bruhl, the minister, the personal grudge which he bore that statesman. To this day some of these properties bear traces of the ignoble vengeance which the Prussian monarch took in his own person upon his political adversary.

The king of Prussia was far less concerned about the justice than about the utility of his dealings with Saxony. To him the advantages resulting from the occupation of the country seemed greatly to outweigh the disadvantages that might ensue from leaving it in an attitude of doubtful neutrality in his rear. But he now realised with solicitude that his personal animosity had led his political sagacity astray. The resistance of Saxony had cheated him of six precious weeks. He had been unable to profit by the opportunity of winning great successes in Bohemia while the Austrians were still unprepared. The advanced season now put a stop to all military operations. Snowy and tempestuous weather set in unusually early; it was impossible to keep the troops under canvas. At the end of October, therefore, the Prussian army at Lobositz started on the march back to Saxony, and Field-Marshal Schwerin, who had pressed forward from Silesia as far as Koniggratz, retreated across the frontier. The king himself remained at Gross-Sedlitz till the 14th of November, and then removed his headquarters to Dresden.^c

THE BATTLE OF PRAGUE (1757 A.D.)

The preparations made for the ensuing campaign presented to the eyes of Frederick an aspect in prospective affairs of a character anything but encouraging. The great powers of Europe, infuriated by the stand he made, had

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now become more firmly united than ever in their determination to destroy him, and combined together with all their armies to overwhelm him. Austria came forth with all the troops, together with all the wealth and resources furnished by her extensive territories; Russia contributed no fewer than 100,000 men; France supplied even a greater number, Sweden came forward with 20,000 men; whilst the Germanic Empire generally, regarding the invasion of Saxony by Frederick as a violation of the peace of the country, offered to the imperial court an additional aid of 60,000 men. Thus a combined army of at least 500,000 men stood under arms ready to march against the king of Prussia; whilst he, on the other hand, could oppose to this mighty and overwhelming force but 200,000 men, collected only at the sacrifice of every resource at his command. As allies he possessed only England, the landgraf of Hesse, and the dukes of Brunswick and Gotha, and he was obliged to leave them alone to carry on the war with France; with respect to the other powers, he hoped to make up for his inferior force by the ability of his great generals and by doubling his strength by rapid marches, thus swiftly passing with the same army from one point to another, to be enabled to fight his enemies one after the other. Thence, he resolved to direct his first and principal effort against Austria, whom he regarded as his chief enemy, whilst in the mean-time he left behind 14,000 men under the command of his old field-marshal Lehwald, for the defence of Prussia itself against the attack of the Russians, leaving only 4,000 men for the protection of Berlin against the Swedes; fortunately, however, for Prussia, the Swedish portion of the allies took no very serious share in the war.

Maria Theresa, influenced by an extraordinary predilection for her husband's brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, appointed him, although he had already been twice beaten by Frederick, commander-in-chief of the imperial army; whilst under his orders she placed the talented and experienced soldier, General Browne. This arrangement proved of great service to the king. Browne, with his usual prudence and forethought, advised Prince Charles to anticipate the quick movements of the Prussians in the attack they contemplated, and penetrating into Saxony and Silesia, thus remove the seat of war from the hereditary states of Austria; Charles of Lorraine, however, although on other occasions too precipitate, resolved in this case to be the very opposite, preferring to adopt the defensive, and was anxious to wait until he had drawn around him all the forces he could collect. This was exactly what Frederick most anxiously desired, and he contrived to strengthen the prince in the belief that he himself, overmatched by so many powerful enemies, thought it most prudent to assume the defensive likewise. Suddenly, however, and whilst the Austrians imagined themselves in perfect security, the Prussians broke up; dividing themselves into four divisions, they poured forth in rapid marches across the mountains into Bohemia, and, like so many mighty and impetuous mountain rivers, swept all before them, taking possession of all the supplies of the imperials, which served to furnish them with provisions during several months, and reunited their forces at a certain hour on the morning of the 6th of May, at the appointed quarters in the vicinity of Prague.

The prince of Lorraine, hastily collecting together all his troops, had now taken a strong, intrenched position in the mountains, near Prague, where he considered himself secured against every attack. Frederick, however, to whom every hour which delayed the execution of the final blow appeared lost, resolved to give battle at once now that the enemy was within sight, and in this determination he was cordially seconded by his favourite officer, General Winterfeld, a bold and undaunted warrior. Accordingly the latter received orders to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and he reported that their right

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wing might be easily attacked, as in front of it were several green meadows which would facilitate the advance of the troops. But what he thought to be meadows were nothing but deep dried-up ponds, with slimy bottoms, which had been sown with oats, and after the harvest were again to serve as fish ponds. This error served ultimately to produce much injury to the Prussians in their attack. The venerable field-marshal Schwerin, who had arrived at headquarters only that morning with his fatigued troops, and was altogether unacquainted with the spot chosen for the scene of action, suggested that they should postpone operations until the following day; but the king, whose impetuosity was not to be restrained, and who, having now completely formed in his mind the plan of a glorious battle, was impatient to put it into execution, would not listen for a moment to any further delay. Upon this the old warrior, who, in his seventy-third year, still retained a great portion of his youthful fire, exclaimed, as he pressed his hat over his eyes, "Well, then, if the battle shall and must be fought this day, I will attack the enemy there on the spot where I see him!"

The battle commenced only at ten o'clock in the morning, so much time having been taken up in making the necessary preparations, as the ground turned out to be generally swampy and hilly. As the Prussians worked their way through and approached the enemy, they were received with a terrific cannonade; the carnage was dreadful, and whole ranks were levelled with the ground; indeed, it seemed impossible for human courage to hold out against such tremendously destructive odds. Each attack made was unsuccessful, and the ranks of the Prussians began to waver. At this moment the brave old marshal, Schwerin, seized an ensign, and calling upon his troops to follow him rushed into the thickest of the fire, where, pierced with four balls, the veteran warrior fell and died the death of a hero. General Manteuffel released the gory standard from the firm grasp of the dead veteran and led on the troops, now burning with revenge at the loss of their brave commander. The king's brother, Prince Henry, sprang from his horse, and led on his men against a battery, which he captured; and Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick attacked and overthrew with the greatest courage the left wing of the Austrians, pursuing the enemy from hill to hill, and captured seven intrenchments.

Nevertheless, the victory remained undecided as long as Field-Marshal Browne was able, by his influence and command, to maintain order among the ranks of the Austrians; at length, however, he fell, mortally wounded, and with his fall vanished all fortune from the Austrian side. King Frederick, who with his keen eye surveyed the field of battle, quickly perceived that the enemy had begun to give way; seeing a large gap in the centre of their ranks, he at once advanced, with some of his chosen troops, and, dashing into it, completely destroyed all communication between them, putting them entirely to rout. Thus the victory was gained; the Austrians fled in every direction, the greater portion of the fugitives throwing themselves into Prague, and the rest hastening to join Marshal Daun, who was posted in Kuttenberg with an army of reserves.

Dearly, however, was this victory purchased! Twelve thousand five hundred Prussians lay dead or wounded on the battle-field, and among them was included one precious corpse—that of Field-Marshal Schwerin; but the remembrance of his heroic death, and the blood-stained flag he bore in his nervous grasp, were regarded by the Prussian army as the most sacred legacy, serving them as a continual incitement to follow in the same path of glory. The Austrians, likewise, suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Field-Marshal Browne; he had grown grey in the wars of his country, and the experience he had gained rendered him the most distinguished general of his day.

The struggle in Bohemia was by no means decided by this battle, although

the actual position of the parties was such that the campaign bade fair to terminate gloriously in favour of Frederick; for he now kept the prince of Lorraine a prisoner in Prague, together with forty-six thousand men, without any resources left to enable them to hold out for any length of time. Their only hopes of relief rested in Field-Marshal Daun, who was then in the immediate vicinity with a considerable body of troops; but if he should be defeated by the king, the army hemmed in within the walls of Prague must be lost, the campaign itself won in the most glorious manner by the Prussians, and peace obtained, perhaps, already in the second year of the war; for Frederick desired nothing more than what he obtained at the end of the war—the retention of Silesia. Fate, however, had not decreed that he should obtain this object so easily, and it was decided that his career of success should receive a check, whilst his spirit was doomed to undergo bitter and painful trials.

THE BATTLE OF KOLIN (1757 A.D.)

He determined not to wait for the attack of Daun, but to anticipate it; and after he had remained five weeks before Prague he withdrew, with twelve thousand men, in order to join Prince Bevern, who had kept the army of Daun in observation, which army Frederick forthwith attacked, near Kolin, on the 18th of June. The plan of the order of battle adopted by the king was excellent; and had it been followed out entirely it would have given him the victory. Frederick decided upon this occasion to employ the same order of battle as that used in ancient times by Epaminondas, by which he overcame the invincible Spartans; this was termed the oblique line of battle. By this plan the weaker force, by promptitude of action, was enabled to operate with advantage over a superior body. If the general in command has recourse to such a bold manœuvre it is very seldom that he fails, but to ensure victory he must be certain of the perfect co-operation of his army, so that by the celerity and exactitude of its movements the enemy may be completely deceived and vanquished before he has even had time to perceive the plan of attack by which it has been accomplished.

Such was the manœuvre practised by the Prussians at Kolin, and the first onset made by generals Zieten and Hulsén upon the right wing of the Austrians put them entirely to rout. The centre and the other wing of the Prussian army had now only to follow it up forthwith, by falling upon the enemy's flank, battalion after battalion in succession, and thus complete its entire annihilation. Whilst, however, everything was thus operating in the right direction, the king himself, as if the usual clearness of his mind became suddenly clouded in impenetrable gloom, gave orders for the rest of the army to make a halt! In truth, throughout the whole of this important day, Frederick presented in his own person and manner something so unaccountably gloomy and repulsive that it rendered him totally incapable of attending to the ideas and observations suggested by those around him; he rejected everything they advised, and his sinister look, together with his bitter remarks, made them shun his presence.

When, at the most important and decisive moment, Prince Maurice of Dessau ventured to represent to the monarch the serious consequences that must result from the change he had commanded to take place in the plan of the order of battle, and reiterated his observations and arguments in the most urgent manner possible, Frederick rode up close to his side, and with uplifted sword demanded, in a loud and threatening tone of voice, whether he would or would not obey orders. The prince at once desisted and withdrew; but from that moment the fate of the day was decided. Through the ill-timed halt thus made the Prussian lines found themselves right in front of the position

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held by the Austrians, which position they had strongly intrenched and made completely insurmountable; and when they made an attempt to take it by assault, the regiments were swept away one after the other by the destructive fire of the Austrian artillery. No exertion, no desperate effort, could now obtain the victory; fortune had changed sides. General Daun, already despairing of success at the commencement of the battle, had marked down with a pencil the order to sound a retreat, when, just at that moment, the colonel of a Saxon regiment of cavalry having perceived that the ranks of the Prussians changed their order of battle, resolved to delay execution of orders, and placed the official paper in his pocket. The Austrians now renewed their attack, and the Saxon regiments of horse were more especially distinguished for the desperate charges they made, as if determined to revenge themselves for the injuries endured by their country. In order that all might not be sacrificed, orders were issued to make a retreat, and Daun, too well pleased to gain this, his first victory, over Frederick the Great, did not follow in pursuit. The Prussians lost on this day 14,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 45 pieces of artillery. This formed nearly the moiety of the Prussian army, for in this battle 32,000 Prussians had fought against 60,000 Austrians.^d

FREDERICK AFTER PRAGUE AND KOLIN

An interesting account of the battles of Prague and Kolin is given by Sir Andrew Mitchell who was ambassador from England and was in Frederick's camp. His letters are worth quoting in some detail because of the interesting light thrown upon the personality of Frederick. Whether as victor or as vanquished, he appears an heroic figure.^a

On the 6th of May, the day of the battle of Prague, Mitchell writes: "The whole of the Prussian army is in tears for the loss of Marshal Schwerin, one of the greatest officers this or perhaps any other country has produced, and one of the best of men."

"I had the honour" (continues Mitchell on the 10th) "to congratulate the king. He appeared in high spirits, but moderate at the same time, in the midst of his great successes. He said his brother Henry did extremely well on the right—that to him the success was owing there; that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick also, who was on the left, went afterwards and flanked the Austrians, while they were engaged at our right; that Prince Frank (?) of Brunswick had greatly distinguished himself, and that he would make a great officer. The prince of Wurtemberg also distinguished himself. In conversation, the king gave the preference to Prince Charles of Lorraine as a general, before Marshal Browne. At Friedberg, he said, Prince Charles did ill, but his disposition at Torr was admirable, though his orders were not obeyed. Prince Charles did not approve the disposition of Browne, and told him he would be flanked, which actually happened."

In another despatch of the 11th of May, Mitchell repeats his praise of the king's moderation: "The king appears unflushed with victory, and moderate in the midst of success. He highly commended to me the behaviour and conduct of Prince Henry, his brother, in the late battle, adding, 'I would say more if he were not my brother.' He likewise said that the princes Ferdinand and Francis of Brunswick had greatly distinguished themselves; and everybody is full of the praises of Lieutenant-General Zieten."

"The number of the wounded is very considerable on both sides, and soon after the battle, as there was a scarcity of surgeons and wagons, the king of Prussia sent to Prague, to desire they would send surgeons and wagons for the relief of the Austrian wounded, which was refused. So they remained several days on the field of battle without dressings; but they have since been brought

to this side of the river, and are treated in the same manner as the Prussian soldiers are."

After receipt of the despatches relative to the battle of Prague, Lord Holland writes: "The admiration we already had for his Prussian majesty is raised to the highest pitch. Men, women, and children are singing his praises. The most frantic marks of joy appear in the streets."

Mere admiration, however, did not help the king out of his difficulties. He therefore said to Mitchell: "I see I have nothing to expect from England. The English are no longer the same people. Your want of union and steadiness has dissipated the natural strength of your nation, and, if the same conduct is continued, England will no longer be considered of that great importance in Europe."

Six days after these expressions (18th of June) the battle of Kolin was lost. "The morning after the battle," Mitchell writes, "the Prussian army retired to Numburg, in perfect good order, with their baggage and artillery, having left behind them only some few cannon whose carriages had been damaged in the action. It is the unanimous opinion of all the officers I have talked with that, had the cavalry done their duty, victory was certain."

In a second letter of the same day he says: "The desire of the king to give immediate succours in lower Silesia, his impetuosity of temper, and, above all, the contempt he has conceived for the enemy, have been the causes of this defeat. He might have had more infantry with him, and there was no necessity to attack the enemy so posted."

On the 29th of June, Mitchell continues: "On Monday the 27th, the king of Prussia arrived at Leitmeritz with fourteen battalions; so we have here an army of fifty battalions and seventy-five squadrons, all in perfect good order and in great spirits. When the king rode along the front of the camp, the soldiers of themselves turned out of their tents, and said, 'Give us but an opportunity, we will revenge what has happened.' An Austrian officer said, 'We have repulsed the attack, but have not gained the battle.' The king bears his misfortune greatly, though it is the first of the kind he has ever met with. Since his arrival here he was pleased to describe to me the whole action of the 18th. He says the posts the Austrians occupied were indeed too strong, but he does not think them stronger than those he drove them from in the battle of Prague. He had too few infantry, and it was not the enemies' soldiers, but their artillery (upwards of two hundred and fifty cannon), well posted, that made his men retire.

"He imputes the loss of this battle to the ardour of his soldiers, who attacked the enemy in front, contrary to his orders; for by the disposition he had made his left wing only was to have attacked the right of the Austrians in flank. This they did with great success, took several batteries, advanced two hundred paces beyond them, and, having gained the flank of the enemy, put them in great confusion. From this right wing he had intended to draw troops to support the attack on the left, if there should be occasion; and by remaining in the position he had placed it in, the left of the enemy would have been kept in respect, and could not have acted. But the good effects of this disposition were entirely defeated by the too great ardour of his soldiers towards the centre, who, unhappily seeing the progress the left wing was making, and eager to share in the victory which they began to think certain, attacked first a village, which lay a little to the centre of the Austrian army, which they took, and then the whole Prussian wing engaged, and was by that means exposed to the dreadful fire of the Austrian battery and lines, whose artillery were all charged with cartridge shot.

"The cause of these misfortunes is chiefly owing to the great success the king of Prussia's army has had in eight successive battles against the

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Austrians, and particularly at the victory of Prague, which made his Prussian majesty sanguine that he could force them from the most advantageous position, and, indeed, one must be more than man to be so absolutely free from presumption after such a series of successes. I am informed that the king, unaccustomed to disappointment, was a good deal dejected after the battle. He has now recovered his spirits, and applies himself as usual to business. I had yesterday a very long conversation with him. He talks very reasonably and with great coolness upon the unhappy event. He sees, in the full extent, what may be the consequences to him, to his family, and to all Europe; but he fears them not, and has taken his party. He thinks another battle lost must end in his ruin, and therefore will be cautious of venturing; but he will not lose a favourable opportunity. What chiefly distresses him is the number of his enemies, and the attacks they are threatening in the different parts of his very extended dominions.

"The king said, 'I will now speak to you as a private man. You know my aversion to all subsidies—that I ever refuse them. I thought, and I think still, it is too mean a footing for me to put myself upon. Considering the great progress of my enemies, I wish, however, to know whether I may depend upon assistance, and how far, on the loss of my revenues. I have still good hopes to be able to do without any pecuniary assistance; and I give you my word that nothing but absolute and irresistible necessity shall make me be any burden to my allies; and the kinder their dispositions are, I will be the more cautious of abusing them.' For nine months together," adds Mitchell, "in consequence of the internal dissension of England, the king has been answered with fair words. But in the situation his affairs are now in, there is no time to be lost; if England will not endeavour to save him, he must save himself as he can."

THE DEATH OF SOPHIE DOROTHEA

On the 28th of June, ten days after the battle of Kolin, died Sophie Dorothea, the mother of King Frederick. Mitchell speaks in several despatches of Frederick's unfeigned and profound sorrow.

"The king" (he writes on the 2nd of July) "has seen nobody since he has received this news, and I hear he is deeply afflicted. His grief, I am sure, is sincere; for never did any man give stronger marks of duty and affection than he has done on every occasion to his mother; and no mother ever deserved better of all her children than she did. Yesterday," he continues on the 4th of July, "the king sent for me, which was the first time he had seen anybody since he received the news of the death of his mother. I had the honour to remain with him some hours in his closet: I must own to your lordship I was most sincerely affected to see him indulging his grief, and giving way to the warmest filial affections by recalling to mind the many obligations he had to his late mother, and repeating to me her sufferings, and the manner in which she bore them, the good she did to everybody, and the comfort he had to have contributed to make the latter part of her life easy and agreeable.

"The king was pleased to tell me a great deal of the private history of his family, and the manner in which he had been educated: owning, at the same time, the loss he felt for the want of proper education; blaming his father, but with great candour and gentleness, and acknowledging that in his youth he had been *étourdi*, and deserved his father's indignation, which, however, the late king, from the impetuosity of his temper, had carried too far. He told me that, by his mother's persuasion and that of his sister of Bayreuth, he had given a writing, under his hand, declaring he never would marry any other person than the princess Emilia of England; that this was very wrong

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and had provoked his father. He said he could not excuse it, but from his youth and want of experience. That this promise unhappily was discovered by the late Queen Caroline, to whom it was intrusted, having shown or spoken of it to the late General Diemar. He had betrayed the secret to Seckendorf, who told it to the king of Prussia. Upon this discovery, and his scheme of making his escape, his misfortunes followed.

"He told me, with regard to making his escape, that he had long been unhappy, and hardly used by his father. But what made him resolve upon it was that one day his father struck him, and pulled him by the hair, and in this dishevelled condition he was obliged to pass the parade; that, from that moment, he was resolved, cost what it might, to venture it; that during his imprisonment at Küstrin he had been treated in the harshest manner, and brought to the window to see Katte beheaded, and that he had fainted away; that ——¹ might have made his escape and saved himself, the Danish minister having given him notice; but he loitered, he believed, on account of some girl he was fond of.

"The king said the happiest years of his life were those he spent at ——,² a house he had given to his brother, Prince Henry. There he retired after his imprisonment, and remained till the death of the late king. His chief amusement was study, and making up for the want of education by reading, making extracts, and conversing with sensible people and men of taste. The king talked much of the obligation he had to the queen his mother, and of his affection to his sister, the princess of Bayreuth, with whom he had been bred. He observed that the harmony which had been maintained in his family was greatly owing to the education they had had, which, though imperfect and defective in many things, was good in this: that all the children had been brought up, not as princes, but as the children of private persons."³

FREDERICK ASSAILED ON ALL SIDES

What a change of fortune was this to Frederick! After having been on the point of capturing an entire army in the very capital of the country, and thus extinguishing, at the first moment of its commencement, and in the short space of eight months, the most dreadful war, he found himself forced to raise the siege of Prague, and abandon Bohemia altogether. The allies of Austria, after this unexpected victory, resumed operations with greater activity than ever. The Russians invaded the kingdom of Prussia, the Swedes pursued their preparations more vigorously, and two French armies crossed the Rhine in order to attack the territories of Hesse and Hanover, and thence to march against the hereditary states of Prussia.

One of these armies, under the command of Prince Soubise, advanced towards Thuringia, in order to form a junction with the imperial forces under the orders of the prince of Saxe Hildburghausen; whilst Marshal d'Estrées, who commanded the leading French army, on entering Hanover, fought and beat the duke of Cumberland at the head of the Anglo-Germanic troops, on the 26th of July, near Hastenbeck, on the Weser. This defeat was produced through the inexperience of the English general; for his army, although limited in force, had, nevertheless, obtained considerable advantages through the courage and good generalship of the hereditary prince of Brunswick, and had forced the French general to sound a retreat, when the duke, to the no little surprise and indignation of everyone, abandoned the field of battle, nor halted in his shameful retreat until he reached the Elbe near Stade. Nay, to complete

[¹ The space for the name is left blank in the MS., but M. von Raumer thinks it may be Katte.]

² Without doubt, Rheinsberg.

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the disgrace, he was forced shortly afterwards to conclude at Closter Seven, on the 9th of September, a convention by which he engaged to disband his troops, and give up to the French Hanover, Hesse, the duchy of Brunswick, and the whole of the country situated between the Weser and the Rhine.

The duke of Richelieu, who succeeded D'Estrées in the command of the French troops, drained the country by every possible means. The bad reputation of the French army contributed not a little to gain over the hearts of the majority of the people throughout Germany in favour of the cause of Frederick. Indeed, it was almost inconceivable with what joy the people generally received the news of the victories he gained, although perhaps at the same moment their own princes, as members of the imperial states, were in arms against him. But much of this feeling was produced, likewise, through beholding how Frederick, with the aid only of his own Prussians, had to contend against hordes of barbarians from the east, as well as the hated and most formidable enemy from the west; whilst in the interior he had to face the Austrian armies composed of soldiers all differing in language, customs, and manners, but all equally eager after pillage, including Hungarians, Croats, and pandours. Had Frederick carried on the war merely against the Austrians and other Germans, true patriots would only have deplored the blindness of the hostile parties in thus contending against each other when they ought, on the contrary, to have sheathed the sword and held out to each other the hand of fraternal peace and friendship. The north of Germany was more especially attached to Frederick, ranking itself on the side of his own people, and participating in their joys and sorrows; for as that was the seat of war against the French, the cause of Frederick was regarded as that of Germany.

The convention of Closter Seven paved the way for the French as far as the Elbe and Magdeburg itself; and their second army, now united with the imperial troops, was already in Thuringia, and made preparations for depriving the Prussians of the whole of Saxony, whence the latter received their stores and supplies of provisions.

THE BATTLE OF GROSS JÄGERNDORF (AUGUST 30TH, 1757)

This was not the only side by which Frederick was hard pressed. The Swedes spread themselves throughout the whole of Pomerania and Uckermark, and laid those countries under heavy contributions, whilst they had only to avail themselves of their whole force in order to advance direct upon Berlin itself, and make themselves, with scarcely any opposition, masters of that city. The Russian general, Apraxin, had already entered Prussia with one hundred thousand men, and to oppose him Field-Marshal Lehwald had only twenty-four thousand men; nevertheless, he was forced to give the Russians battle, however great the sacrifice, as Frederick sent him strict orders to drive out these barbarians and put an end to their devastations. Accordingly the action took place at Gross Jägerndorf, near Wehlau; but the most undaunted and desperate courage displayed by the Prussians was employed in vain against a force so overwhelming.^d The Prussians advanced in three columns through the forests against the left flank of the Russians. They threw back the Russian cavalry and the first line of infantry and captured three batteries. The Russian artillery fire, however, broke the ranks of the assailant, and they yielded when General Romanzov brought into action twenty fresh battalions on the threatened Russian left.^e Lehwald was forced to retreat, after a loss of several thousand men, and thus Prussia now appeared irretrievably lost—when, to the astonishment of all, Apraxin, instead of advancing, withdrew to the Russian frontiers ten days after the battle he had gained.

Thus we find, from time to time, the troubled path of Frederick illumined by a glimmering ray of hope, which appeared to lead him on to better fortune. This time it originated in the serious illness of the empress Elizabeth of Russia; and the grand chancellor Bestuschef, believing her death close at hand, and having his eye directed to her successor, Peter—son of the duke of Holstein and an admirer and friend of the Prussian hero—lost not a moment in commanding General Apraxin to withdraw his troops from the Prussian dominions. This enabled the army under Lehwald to march against the Swedes, who, on the approach of the Prussians, evacuated the entire country and retreated as far as Stralsund and Rügen.^d

BATTLES OF ROSSBACH AND LEUTHEN (1757 A.D.)

Autumn fell, and Frederick's fortune seemed fading with the leaves of summer. He had, however, merely sought to gain time in order to recruit his diminished army; and Daun having, with his usual tardiness, neglected to pursue him, he suddenly took the field against the imperials under the duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen and the French under Soubise. The two armies met on the 5th of November, 1757, on the broad plain around Leipsic, near the village of Rossbach, not far from the scene of the famous encounters of earlier times. The enemy, three times superior in number to the Prussians, lay in a half-circle with a view of surrounding the little Prussian camp, and, certain of victory, had encumbered themselves with a numerous train of women, wig-makers, barbers, and modistes from Paris. The French camp was one scene of confusion and gaiety. On a sudden, Frederick sent General Seidlitz with his cavalry amongst them, and an instant dispersion took place, the troops flying in every direction without attempting to defend themselves—some Swiss, who refused to yield, alone excepted. The Germans on both sides showed their delight at the discomfiture of the French. An Austrian coming to the rescue of a Frenchman, who had just been captured by a Prussian, "Brother German," exclaimed the latter, "let me have this French rascal!" "Take him and keep him!" replied the Austrian, riding off. The scene more resembled a chase than a battle. The imperial army (*Reichsarmee*) was thence nicknamed the runaway (*Reissaus*) army. Ten thousand French were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the Prussians amounted to merely one hundred and sixty men. The booty consisted chiefly in objects of gallantry belonging rather to a boudoir than to a camp. The French army perfectly resembled its mistress, the marquise de Pompadour.¹

The Austrians had, meanwhile, gained great advantages to the rear of the Prussian army, had beaten the king's favourite, General Winterfeld, at Moys in Silesia, had taken the important fortress of Schweidnitz and the metropolis, Breslau, whose commandant, the duke of Bevern (a collateral branch of the house of Brunswick), had fallen into their hands whilst on a reconnoitring expedition. Frederick, immediately after the battle of Rossbach, hastened into Silesia, and, on his march thither, fell in with a body of two thousand young Silesians, who had been captured in Schweidnitz, but, on the news of the victory gained at Rossbach, had found means to regain their liberty and had set off to his rencontre. The king, inspirited by this reinforcement, hur-

¹ Seidlitz, who covered himself with glory on this occasion, was the best horseman of the day. He is said to have once ridden under the sails of a windmill when in motion. One day, when standing on the bridge over the Oder at Frankfort, being asked by Frederick what he would do if blocked up on both sides by the enemy, he leaped, without replying, into the deep current and swam to shore. The Black Hussars with the death's head on their caps chiefly distinguished themselves during this war.

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ried onwards, and, at Leuthen, near Breslau, gained one of the most brilliant victories over the Austrians during this war. Making a false attack upon the right wing, he suddenly turned upon the left. "Here are the Würtembergers," said he; "they will be the first to make way for us!" He trusted to the inclination of these troops, who were zealous Protestants, in his favour. They instantly gave way and Daun's line of battle was destroyed. During the night, he threw two battalions of grenadiers into Lissa, and, accompanied by some of his staff, entered the castle, where, meeting with a number of Austrian generals and officers, he civilly saluted them and asked, "Can one get a lodging here too?" The Austrians might have seized the whole party, but were so thunderstruck that they yielded their swords, the king treating them with extreme civility. Charles of Lorraine, weary of his unvarying ill luck, resigned the command and was nominated governor of the Netherlands, where he gained great popularity. At Leuthen twenty-one thousand Austrians fell into Frederick's hands; in Breslau, which shortly afterwards capitulated, he took seventeen thousand more, so that his prisoners exceeded his army in number.^b

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Four grand battles and numerous actions more or less important had combined to make the year 1757 one of the most sanguinary to be found in history. Both parties had sufficiently tested their strength against each other; and Frederick now offered at the court of Vienna terms of peace, manifesting by this the principles of ancient Rome—not to propose peace until after he had gained a victory. But the empress Maria Theresa still continued too much embittered against the conqueror of Silesia to admit of the acceptance of his proposals; and, in addition to this, every care had been taken to conceal from her the heavy losses sustained by her army at the battle of Leuthen, as well as the distressed condition to which the war had reduced her states. She was likewise influenced in her resolution by France who insisted upon the continuation of the war in Germany, otherwise that power would be obliged to contend alone against England. Hence the offers of Frederick were rejected, and preparations for a fresh campaign renewed on a more extensive scale than ever. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had lost the confidence both of the army and of the country, was forced to resign the chief command. It was found, however, extremely difficult to meet with his substitute, for the brave field-marshal Nadasti, owing to the jealousy and intrigue excited against him, was completely supplanted; and eventually the choice was fixed upon Field-Marshal Daun, for whose reputation the victory of Kolin had effected far more than his otherwise natural tardiness of action and irresolution merited.

The French armies were likewise reinforced, and another general-in-chief, Count Clermont, was appointed instead of the duke of Richelieu. The latter, accordingly, returned to France with all the millions he had exacted, during the period of his service, upon which he lived in the most extravagant, gorgeous style, in the face of the whole world, and in defiance of all shame and disgust. Russia also joined in the desire for a continuation of the war, and the chancellor Bestuschef, who had in the previous year recalled the army from Prussia, was removed from office, and another leader, General Fermor, was placed at the head of the Russian troops; he, in fact, lost not a moment, but marched at once against Prussia, in the month of January, and conquered the kingdom without any resistance, owing to the absence of General Lehwald, who with the army was then in Pomerania, contending against the Swedes.

In order to oppose and make a stand against such serious and overwhelming danger, Frederick was forced to summon together the entire and extreme

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resources of his own dominions, as well as those of the Saxon territories. Levies in money and troops were forthwith made with equal activity and rigour, and the king found himself reduced to the necessity of coining counterfeit money for the payment of his troops—a measure which such a case of extreme necessity alone can justify or excuse. He knew, however, too well that, since the feudal system of war had been succeeded by that of modern times, the grand principle upon which war must now be carried on was founded upon the employment of its influential agent—money. For as regarded allies upon whom he might place dependence, he possessed only England and a few princes in the north of Germany, and these were already paralysed by the disgraceful Convention of Closter Seven.

Fortune, however, served him very favourably at this moment in England; the British nation, always ready to acknowledge and appreciate patriotic achievements in every quarter, was inspired by the battle of Rossbach with the greatest enthusiasm for Frederick, whilst the most complete disgust was generally excited against the shameful Convention of Closter Seven. In accordance with these feelings, the celebrated William Pitt, who had just been appointed prime minister, caused this treaty, which had not as yet been confirmed, to be at once disavowed, and determined to continue the war with renewed vigour. The army was forthwith augmented, and the appointment of its leader was intrusted to Frederick himself. His eagle eye soon fixed upon the genius best adapted for its extraordinary powers to be chosen to co-operate with himself, and he accordingly furnished the allied army with a truly distinguished chief, Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, who by his good generalship so well justified Frederick's choice that his name will ever continue to maintain its brilliant position on the side of that of the great king, in the records of this sanguinary war.

According to a plan agreed upon between Frederick and himself, the duke opened the campaign in the month of February, and, marching at the head of his small army, he surprised the French in their winter quarters, where they were living in abundance and luxury at the expense of the Hanoverians and Hessians; the odds between the two armies were great, for the duke had only 30,000 men against their 100,000. But with him all his measures were so well calculated, whilst on the part of his adversaries so much negligence and frivolity existed, in combination with the incapacity of their general, that in a very few weeks the duke completely succeeded in driving them out of the entire country situated between the Aller and Weser, and the Weser and the Rhine, their haste being so great that they abandoned all their provisions and ammunition, and more than 11,000 were taken prisoners by the allied army. They recrossed the Rhine near Dusseldorf, hoping there to be secure; in this, however, they deceived themselves. Duke Ferdinand pursued them to the other side of the Rhine, attacked them at Crefeld, and, in spite of their superiority in numbers, he put them completely to rout, causing them a loss of 7,000 slain. After this battle the city of Düsseldorf surrendered to the duke, and his light cavalry scoured the country throughout the Austrian Netherlands, even to the very gates of Brussels itself.

Frederick, during this interval, had not been idle. He commenced with laying siege to Schweidnitz, which strong and important place still remained in the hands of the Austrians, and carried it by assault on the 18th of April. Field-Marshal Daun meantime remained stationary in Bohemia, and used every exertion to cut off the march of Frederick into that country, for he fully expected to be attacked there by the king. But whilst he imagined himself perfectly secure, Frederick suddenly broke camp with his army, and instead of proceeding to Bohemia, advanced, by forced marches, to Moravia, and laid siege to Olmutz. In this expedition was shown the peculiarity of Frederick's



FREDERICK THE GREAT SURPRISES THE AUSTRIAN OFFICERS IN THE CASTLE AT LISSA
After Arthur Kampf's painting "Bon Sovr, Messieurs!" reproduced by permission of the Berlin Photographac Co., N. Y.

[1758 A.D.]

genius, which led him to undertake the most bold, extraordinary, and perilous enterprises, whilst his constant aim and glory were to take his enemy by surprise; and on this occasion he was more especially influenced by the idea that, if he once became master of Olmutz, he would then have the command of the most important position in an Austrian territory hitherto perfectly undisturbed, and thus be enabled to threaten the immediate vicinity of Vienna itself. Fortune, however, did not this time second his bold design; the place defended itself with the greatest bravery; the inhabitants of the country, faithful to their empress, annoyed the Prussians as far as was in their power, and conveyed intelligence to the imperial army of all their movements. By this means Daun was enabled to intercept and seize upon a convoy of three thousand wagons, upon the arrival of which the entire success of the siege depended; whence it was obliged to be given up. But now the retreat into Silesia was blocked up; and Daun, having taken possession of every road, felt certain that he had caught the enemy within his own net. Frederick, however, suddenly turned back, and marching across the mountains, arrived in Bohemia, where the Austrian general did not at all expect him, without the loss of a single wagon; and he would not have been forced to leave this country so soon again had not the invasion of the Russians recalled him to Pomerania and Neumark. Accordingly he recrossed the mountains from Bohemia into Silesia, and leaving Marshal Keith behind to protect the country he hastened with fourteen thousand men to attack the Russians.^d

THE BATTLE OF ZORNDORF (1758 A.D.)

Clausewitz^b describes the battle as the most interesting of the whole war. And he is right: it is one of the most interesting in all history. We know of no other instance where two opposing forces have revolved about each other in such a vortex.

As it was impossible to outflank the right wing of the Russian army which had the Zabern hollow in rear, King Frederick determined to make a frontal attack. He had long recognised that he must not, as in his first war, rely so exclusively on his solid infantry, drilled by the old Dessauer; that, contending with the great numerical strength in artillery of the Austrians and Russians, he must overwhelm one point by multiplying his attacks in that direction. We see him here bringing up masses of artillery, and in the first place directing a continued fire of sixty heavy cannon against the spot he desired to attack.

In every account the effect of this terrible fire in the very heart of the Russian position is mentioned. The left Prussian wing was to lead the attack. According to custom, the king placed a vanguard of eight grenadier battalions in front of the two divisions of this wing, so that in the actual attack three divisions were there to support each other. Only here, as at Kolin, the instructions of the royal general were very indifferently carried out. It often happens in war that things easy in conception are extremely difficult to execute. The eight battalions of the vanguard remained as described with their left wing in the Zabern hollow, but the leader of the first division thought he ought to remain on the right with the reserved right wing. The battalion marched right and closed in. The second division followed the same direction, and remained far behind. The first ranged itself close to the right of the vanguard, and remained in exact line with it, and so eventually came upon the enemy, not in three divisions but in one thin line, with no reserve. After a brief fire on both sides, the whole left wing of the Prussian division was driven back in great disorder.

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It has been remarked that it was here King Frederick realised for the first time that his old and trusted infantry from Prague and Kolin was no longer adequate to his needs. This remark, however, hardly seems to apply just here, for it was the East Prussian regiments that gave way and fled—that is to say, those regiments that till this moment had suffered least, sustaining relatively insignificant losses and counting only a few recruits among their almost untouched ranks of seasoned men. It is indeed said that the king never forgave this regiment for its flight at Zorndorf.

It is known that the right wing of the Russians, probably without receiving any decisive word of command, started off amidst loud hurrahs to follow the flying Prussians, and seemed able to move forward only some few hundred paces without falling into disorder. Seidlitz, whose fame rests on this day above all others, used the moment, dashed with his squadrons across the Zabern valley, repulsed the Russian cavalry, who themselves were in pursuit, and so utterly routed the Russian infantry that those of their men who escaped the Prussian swords were not able to form again or to reappear on the field that day.

The left wing of the Russians stood on the farther side, in the east of the Galgen (Gallows) hollow, and so protected against a flank attack from the cavalry under Seidlitz was quite undisturbed; but it was obliged, after the defeat of the right wing, to await quietly, or rather inactively, any further events, since there was no possibility of turning the now doubtful result of the fight by means of an attack in the rear. Seidlitz, who could not start out with his cavalry on any further enterprise from the field of victory, led them back to Zorndorf, there to reorganise them and let the horses rest. An attempt was also made to reorganise the infantry of the left wing, and this apparently succeeded—but only apparently. In consequence occurred a pause of two hours' duration in the battle, which was occupied by a cannonade. During this, the king ordered the right wing of his infantry to press forward a little, so as to engage the enemy's attention.

About three o'clock began what may be called a second battle. This again came near being lost to the Prussians, and again it was Seidlitz who with his cavalry rode to the rescue and changed into victory what might have been defeat. This time it was the right wing of the Prussians which was to attack the extreme left of the Russians at Doppel (double) valley. The Prussian left wing, formed from those battalions which had suffered defeat earlier in the day, was held in reserve. The Russians made an unexpected rush, partly between the Zabern and Galgen hollows, partly between the latter and Doppel hollow. Those in this latter direction pursued, and after some initial success came to grief in attacking the Prussian infantry; the other division once more chased the Prussian battalions of the left wing till they fled in wild disorder as far as Wilkersdorf.

But Seidlitz closed with his cavalry the breach once more made in the order of battle and drove back the Russian cavalry, which was partly destroyed, into the swamps near Quartschen, and then fell upon the Russian infantry. The right wing of the Prussian infantry broke at the same time into the ranks of the Russians, and the end was a complete rout of all that remained of the Russian force which had taken the field that day. This was preceded by a final struggle with naked weapons, a mode of combat which has scarcely ever been resorted to in modern warfare. It was about ten thousand cavalry and nine battalions numbering not more than five thousand men, which defeated the entire Russian military force.

Late in the evening, the Prussian generals succeeded in getting their troops drawn up in line in fair order, in a position where the right wing had the river Mützel on its rear, whilst the left extended to Zorndorf. The Russians also,

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chiefly through the endeavours of General Demikov, or Demicoude as this Vaudois should really be called, sought to get some of their troops into order, and to muster them behind Gallows hollow. It is said that at first he could get together only about two thousand infantry and nearly one thousand cavalry; but these must have been quickly augmented. For the dispersed soldiers must soon have been impressed with the fact that their only safety from the embittered peasantry lay in holding together in force.

A last attack on the position, which five Prussian battalions were to undertake, failed, as the king himself relates, because the Prussian soldiers, finding the Russian war-chest in Gallows hollow, remained to plunder it, and laden with booty retraced their steps instead of pressing forward. The wounded general, afterwards Field-Marshal Panin, met with some troops which had been cut off from the main body, on the Drewitz heath. These troops used the night for the recovery of the baggage which had been taken along the Landberg road nearly as far as Great Kamin. Already in the morning, on the defeat of the right wing, General Fermor had been compelled with many other generals to flee before the Prussian cavalry. Where he had been wandering through the day is not known; it is certain only that it was late in the evening before he rejoined his troops.

The loss of the Russians was officially estimated at 21,529 men, among whom were about 2,000 prisoners. But when it is remembered that the four infantry regiments under Panin, which numbered before the battle 4,595 men, suffered a loss, according to this general's special report, of 3,120 men (1,389 dead and 1,725 wounded), and that after the fight there remained only 1,475 rank and file, one is tempted to believe that the entire loss was no doubt somewhat greater. The Prussians had also lost one third of their men, and the result of the battle had not quite answered the king's expectations, in spite of greater sacrifices than had been anticipated.

RUSSIAN TACTICS

The king had certainly not reckoned on so obstinate a resistance as he had here encountered. He had had no personal experience of the bravery and powers of endurance of the Russians, and here their staying power, on which he had not reckoned, was increased by many peculiar external circumstances. That with all their bravery even Russian infantry might in certain circumstances take refuge in flight was proved a year later at the battle of Kunersdorf, though in this case complete dispersal was as good as impossible. The tightly packed condition of the Russians was in itself sufficient hindrance, and still more the impassable swamp almost immediately in the rear of the army. The destruction of an enemy's army on the field itself is practically possible only in case of an enormous number of prisoners being taken. But the Russians would not submit; they carried resistance to the farthest possible point—not certainly out of principle or "Roman pride": their obstinacy had other reasons more peculiar to themselves; for instance, European war was new to them, and the soldier, not knowing that he could surrender himself prisoner, understood only fighting with the Turks, where men were simply mown down as soon as they ceased to defend themselves. In the Prussian officer's account of the plundering of the war-chest, it is plainly shown that the Russian resistance was no mere question of tactics, carried out under a tactician, but the resistance of desperate men who had no hope of rescue and who wished to sell their lives as dearly as they might. Finally, in the Russian reports, it was stated that part of the troops, having plundered the stores of brandy in the baggage, raged about the battle-field in the madness of intoxica-

tion; that the men shot at each other blindly and struck down their own officers.

At daybreak on the 26th of August the Russians from their position on the Zabern ground opened a lively cannonade, and went through some manœuvres as if they intended attacking—no doubt merely to impose on their enemy and save themselves from an assault, so that they might get safely through the day without further mishap, and under cover of the sheltering darkness venture on the dangerous retreat round the left wing of the Prussian force.

In order to attain this end, Fermor had recourse to another plan, which was really stupidly conceived, as it betrayed in what great danger he felt himself to be; he proposed a truce, ostensibly for the purpose of burying the dead. The truce was refused by the Prussians, but nevertheless King Frederick could not decide upon making a fresh attack. The Prussian army, drawn up in line as it now was between the Mützel swamps and the land surrounding Zorn-dorf, was to all appearances, compared with the forces the Russian generals had at the same time drawn up in line upon the Zabern ground, the superior in numbers; but still the king might have very good reasons for not renewing the fight.

After the enormous expenditure of ammunition the day before, his troops were no longer lavishly supplied, and this alone was an all-sufficient reason for not pushing matters to extremities. But besides this, the Prussian army being now on the march and in readiness for battle, a few hours of the night for rest under arms could be afforded. The men had so far eaten nothing, or as good as nothing, and were completely exhausted. It is natural enough that King Frederick, after his experience of the preceding day, should not be inclined under these circumstances to place great confidence in his infantry. Then, no doubt, the king reasoned with himself that the Russian army, even as things stood, was sufficiently disabled for the rest of the campaign, and scarcely yet in condition to hazard a decisive move; that it would therefore be unwise to place again in jeopardy the success of the previous day.

The Russians set against their unwilling detention in the Zabern hollow the advantage that the greater part of their troops, wandering desultorily in the neighbourhood, would be enabled to find their way back to their flag. Only about two thousand of these scattered men fell prisoners into the hands of the Prussians. During the following night the Russians marched back to their barricade of wagons near Great and Little Kamin, and intrenching themselves in this position had nevertheless already forsaken it on the evening of the 31st, in order to unite themselves on the 1st of September, at Landsberg on the Warthe, with the cavalry brought there by Rumantzow von Schwedt. Here they remained till the 19th of September."

THE BATTLE OF HOCHKIRCH (1758 A.D.)

The four weeks from September 12th to October 14th in Lusatia, where Frederick the Great opposed Field-Marshal Daun, chiefly in his camp at Stolpen, have a sort of strategical reputation, because of the skill in manœuvring shown by both generals. The whole case was reduced to very simple elements. Frederick the Great advanced and took up a position near Dresden, where he could easily replenish his commissariat. Daun had several advance posts on the Bautzen road, the principal one being near Radeberg, under Laudon. Frederick the Great advanced upon him; Laudon retreated half a mile and took up his position. This he also yielded some days after, and so came to Bischofswerda. Thereupon the king encamped near Bischofswerda opposite Daun's right wing.

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In this way he kept open the road to Bautzen and slightly threatened Daun's connection in the Zittau. This, however, did not benefit him; Daun, whom he would have liked to see manœuvring towards Bohemia, stood fast; so the king now marched to Bautzen and despatched Retzau as far as Weissenberg. This was a gain. Daun set out and encamped at Lobau; the king supposed Daun to be behind Lobau, and encamped at Hochkirch, with the avowed intention of better concealment, wishing to unite with Retzau and fall upon the prince of Durlach. Probably the intention of obtaining more command over the Gorlitz road was his chief reason for this step. There was nothing very intricate, very finely conceived or artistic in all this; and so it is with most of the strategical measures employed, which at best consisted in a scuffle for posts, where often obstinacy rather than actual necessity was the motive power. Frederick the Great had few outposts at this time. Retzau's corps, which he had detached to the left upon the Gorlitz road, was almost the only one, although the distance from Dresden and the constant transportation of bread and meal thence was a great responsibility. He preferred this to losing six or eight of his battalions. Frederick the Great was almost always without an advance guard, and he acquired the habit of always pressing close to his enemy or his enemy's outposts, which answered so badly at Hochkirch. Daun, on the contrary, was never without four or five outposts.^b

On the approach of the king, he retired to a strong position he had selected in Lusatia. His object was to cut off the passage of the king into Silesia, in order that his general, Harsch, might have time to conquer the fortress of Neisse. Frederick, however, who perceived his aim, hastened to occupy the route to Silesia through Bautzen and Gorlitz, and marched close past the lines of the Austrian army, in order to encamp upon an open plain situated between the villages of Hochkirch and Kotitz. This plan was anything but wise, although it showed great contempt for the enemy. Marwitz, his quarter-master, and at the same time a confidential favourite, represented to him the great danger to which he exposed himself by taking up this position, and, hesitating at first, he finally refused to pitch the camp there, in spite of the king's commands. He was, however, forthwith placed under arrest, and his duties were transferred into the hands of another. The army continued encamped here three days, completely exposed to the attacks of the enemy, so much superior in numbers; whilst Frederick remained obstinately deaf to all the representations of his generals. He considered that, as the Austrians had never attacked him first, he might easily calculate that Field-Marshal Daun would never think of such a bold step, and that he was quite incapable of accomplishing it; whilst, in addition to this self-deception, he was betrayed by an Austrian spy, whom the enemy had bought over, and who accordingly furnished him with false reports of their plans and proceedings.

On the morning of the 14th of October, before the dawn of day, the Prussian army was aroused by a discharge of artillery; the Austrians having, during the night, silently advanced to the village of Hochkirch, exactly as the church-clock chimed the hour of five, they fell upon the Prussian advanced posts, took possession of the strong intrenchment at the entrance of the village, turned the muzzles of the cannon against their adversaries, and by a murderous fire destroyed all the Prussians that attempted to make a stand in its defence. The slaughter committed was dreadful, for the troops poured forth in thousands to assemble in the principal street of the village as headquarters. The generals and principal officers endeavoured in vain, amidst the darkness, to form them in regular line of battle; the brave prince, Francis of Brunswick, had his head carried away by a cannon-ball, in the very moment he was about to attack the enemy on the heights of Hochkirch; Field-Marshal Keith, a venerable but equally brave and well-tried warrior, fell pierced

with two bullets, and Prince Maurice of Dessau was likewise dangerously wounded.

Generals Seidlitz and Zieten formed their squadrons of cavalry on the open plain, and threw themselves with all their usual bravery upon the Austrians; but the advantages they gained could not compensate for the serious loss already sustained. Hochkirch, the camp, together with all the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. The dawn of day brought with it no advantage, for an impenetrable fog prevented the king from reconnoitring the enemy's position as well as his own, otherwise he might perhaps have been able by a prompt movement to bring back to his colours that good fortune which had thus so unexpectedly abandoned him. Nevertheless, his regiments had now, through that discipline which was never so admirably displayed as at this moment, succeeded in forming themselves into regular order, and when towards nine o'clock the sun made its appearance, he perceived that the Austrian army had already nearly surrounded him on every side, and he accordingly gave orders for a retreat. This took place in such good order that the Austrian general, taken by surprise, found it impossible to attempt to oppose it, and returned to his old quarters. The king, however, had suffered the loss of several of his best generals, nine thousand good soldiers, and more than one hundred pieces of cannon; and, as he had lost all his baggage, nothing was left wherewith to supply his troops with clothing for the approaching winter.

Meantime, the king maintained the utmost tranquillity and firmness of mind throughout this period of trial, and his appearance inspired his troops with the same feeling. And in truth, if Frederick ever showed himself great in misfortune, he did so after this serious loss; for, although defeated, although deprived of all the necessary provisions and supplies for his army, he nevertheless was not less successful in accomplishing by hasty marches and masterly manœuvres his original plan: thus, deceiving the enemy, and circuiting his position, he forced General Harsch in all haste to raise the siege of Neisse. Silesia was now entirely freed from the enemy; whilst Daun, conqueror as he was, after being unable to prevent Frederick from entering Silesia, and obtaining, by his attack upon Dresden, no other result but that of forcing the Prussian general, Count Schmettau, in his defence to set fire to the beautiful suburbs of that capital, returned in mortification to Bohemia, where he established his winter quarters. Thus superiority of genius produced those results for the conquered which otherwise might have fallen to the share of the conqueror.

THE CONDITION OF THE ARMIES

At the end of this year Frederick found himself, in spite of the vicissitudes he had undergone, in possession of the same countries as in the preceding year, in addition to which he now had Schweidnitz which was not previously in his hands; whilst in Westphalia all his provinces, which had been captured by the French, were now reconquered by the valour of Prince Ferdinand. The latter had not certainly been able to maintain, with his small army, his position on the other side of the Rhine; but, at the end of the campaign, he forced the French to abandon the whole of the right bank of that river, and to establish their winter quarters between the Rhine and the Maas.

The following year, however, in spite of the perils he had already undergone and battled against, the heroic king found himself destined to encounter vicissitudes which rendered this period of the war more trying perhaps than any other. The hope of being at length enabled to crush him excited his enemies to strain every effort in order to effect this object. The Austrian army

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was completely reorganised and reinforced to its full complement, and indeed, with every coming year, it marched into the field with increased vigour and augmented numbers, because the ranks were filled up with the hardy peasantry of the hereditary lands, who were well drilled, and who, being intermingled with the more experienced and well-trying veterans of many a hard-fought battle—of whom, notwithstanding the heavy losses sustained, the army still retained a powerful body—were soon initiated in the rough and perilous scenes of the camp. In Frederick's small army, on the other hand, which had to contend equally with Austrians, Russians, Frenchmen, and Swedes, as well as with other troops of the empire itself, the number of those who had escaped the sword and disease formed but a small body, and consequently its ranks were principally filled with newly levied and inexperienced recruits. And however speedily these young soldiers, who often joined the army as mere boys, entered into the spirit and honour of the cause for which they fought, and in which they emulated, as much as possible, the acts of their more veteran comrades—sometimes, perhaps, even surpassing them in daring courage—still their number was far inferior compared with those levied in Saxony, Anhalt, Mecklenburg, and such as were collected in various other parts, consisting chiefly of deserters.

Thus, although the Prussian army was soon completed in all its numbers and appointments, it fell far short when compared with the Austrians in internal organisation and united strength.¹ Besides this, Frederick's own estates, as well as those of Saxony and Mecklenburg, suffered so much by oppressive taxation and the continual conscription, which thus seriously diminished the male population, that it seemed as if they could never recover from the sad effects. The duke of Mecklenburg, indeed, in his indignation, acted with such imprudence at the diet of Ratisbon as to place himself at the head of those princes who were most loud and bitter in their complaints against Frederick, and demanded nothing less than that the ban of the empire should at once be pronounced against him; for which act the duke's land was subjected to the most extreme severity of treatment, and, in fact, dealt with rather as that of an enemy than of an ally. The imperial ban, however, was not adjudged against the king, for as the same sentence must have been pronounced against the elector of Hanover, the evangelical states refused to condemn two such distinguished members of their body. Besides which this sentence, which in ancient times was more fatally annihilating in its effects than the sharp edge of the sword itself, had unfortunately long since become void of power and effect, and if pronounced would only have exposed more degradingly the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation.

Maria Theresa, however, by her urgent appeals to the sovereigns of France and Russia to carry on the war, endeavoured to effect the destruction of Frederick with far more certainty than could have been accomplished by all the bans pronounced against him by the imperial diet. The empress of Russia,

¹ A foreigner of rank and great wealth having requested to be permitted to serve in the campaign of 1757, as a volunteer, Frederick granted his wish, and the noble recruit arrived in a splendid carriage, attended by several servants—in fact, displaying an unusual lavishness of expense and luxury. He received, however, no mark of distinction, and, indeed, very little or no attention, being generally stationed in the wagon-train. He bore no part in any engagement, much less in any general battle, and had to experience the mortification of not sharing in the victorious action of Rossbach. He had often sent a written complaint to the king, but without any effect; at length, however, he had an opportunity of addressing the king in person, when, in reply to his representations upon the subject, Frederick said, "Your style of living, sir, is not the fashion in my army, in fact, it is highly objectionable and offensive. Without the greatest moderation, it is impossible to learn to bear the fatigues which accompany every war, and if you cannot determine to submit to the strict discipline my officers and troops are forced to undergo, I would advise you, in a friendly way, to return to your own country."—MÜLCHER.

in order to obliterate the stain of the battle of Zorndorf, sent fresh troops under the command of General Soltikoff, a brave and active officer. In Paris, the duke de Choiseul, hitherto French ambassador at Vienna, and the chief promoter of the war against Frederick, was now chosen prime minister, and he determined to employ all the forces at command, in order to reconquer Westphalia, Hanover, and Hesse. Had this design been brought into execution, these countries would have experienced the most dreadful persecution, and Hanover more especially would have been singled out by France as the object upon which to wreak her vengeance for the losses she had sustained both at sea and on her coasts, from the naval expedition of Great Britain. For the glorious victories obtained by the British men-of-war had greatly diminished the maritime force of France, whilst both in North America and the East Indies all her settlements and possessions were reduced or captured. Prince Ferdinand with his small army was, however, the only disposable power at command to oppose the enemy in his designs from this quarter against Germany.

Ferdinand was menaced upon two sides: on that of the Maine by the army of the duke de Broglie, whose headquarters were at Frankfort, which he had taken by surprise—for, in spite of its being an imperial free city, and although it had accordingly furnished, without hesitation, its quota of contributions to the confederation in men and money for the war against Frederick, it was not the less exposed to attack; and from the lower Rhine, Marshal de Contades advanced with the main body of the army, to invade and overrun Hanover. Ferdinand hoped to be able, like Frederick, to make a successful stand against both armies through the celerity of his movements, and marching at once against the duke de Broglie at the opening of the campaign, came up with him on the 12th of April at Bergen, near Frankfort. He immediately attacked him with his brave Hessians; but the position occupied by the French was too strong: they were enabled to replace the troops they lost by continual fresh supplies, while the Hessians were repulsed in three attacks. Ferdinand now prudently resolved not to expose his army to the chances of a total defeat, and accordingly made a retreat in good order. It required, however, the exercise of all the genius and experience he possessed to enable him to protect lower Saxony against the attack of Marshal de Contades. This general had succeeded in crossing the Rhine near Dusseldorf, and, marching through the Westerwald towards Giessen, formed a junction with Broglie, and took Cassel, Paderborn, Münster, and Minden, on the Weser. In all his operations thus far he had been equally prompt and successful, and Ferdinand found himself forced to withdraw as far back as the mouth of the Weser near Bremen, whilst the French general now regarded Hanover as already within his grasp.

BATTLE OF MINDEN (1759 A.D.)

In Paris all were in high glee at this glorious beginning, but the German hero soon changed that exultation into the opposite feelings of sorrow and depression by gaining a brilliant victory. Ferdinand, placing full confidence in his resources, marched to meet the French army, and found it, on the 1st of August, near Minden, occupying a position the nature of which offered him every advantage for the attack. Contades was forced to fight, inasmuch as his supplies were cut off, but he calculated upon his superiority in numbers; he however gave very few proofs on this day of his talent and experience, although at other times he had not shown himself wanting in ability. Contrary to all military practice hitherto, he placed his cavalry in the centre, and this very error in his tactics, which, no doubt, he expected must operate to

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his advantage, produced his defeat and Ferdinand's triumph. He ordered the British and Hanoverian infantry, whose steady firmness he had already tested, to advance and charge the enemy's cavalry—a bold and happy idea, which by the results effected was through its realisation an additional evidence of Ferdinand's superior genius, which at such a moment directed him to swerve from the ordinary course of operations. The French cavalry, forming the *élite* of the whole army, astounded at this daring attack of the allied infantry, met the charge with tolerable firmness at first, and endeavoured to force the ranks of their bold opponents and gallop over them; but every attempt they made against these solid and invulnerable ranks of bayonets was completely defeated, and at length the sweeping discharges of the artillery, together with the destructive execution made by the well-aimed muskets of the infantry, produced the greatest confusion among them, and put them completely to flight.

Ferdinand now gave orders to General Sackville to dash through the hollow space thus left in the centre of the French line, with his British cavalry, and to pursue the flying enemy; by obeying which orders he would have completely divided the two wings of the French army, and thus overpowered by the allies, its entire destruction must inevitably have followed. But whether it was through jealousy or cowardice—for his unaccountable behaviour has never been clearly explained—the English general turned traitor, disobeyed the order given by the duke, and thus allowed the French time to reassemble and make good their retreat. As it was, however, they lost eight thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon. But the results of this battle were still more important. Contades being now continually pursued, withdrew along the Weser to Cassel, and thence continued his retreat southwards to Giessen; whilst the army of Ferdinand captured successively Marburg, Fulda, and Münster, in Westphalia, so that, by the end of the year, this distinguished general found himself once more in possession of the same territories he occupied at its commencement.

King Frederick had not shown his usual eagerness to open the campaign this year, inasmuch as his advantage did not now, so much as at the commencement of the war, depend upon the results of prompt measures, but the main object of his plans at this moment was rather if possible to prevent the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies. He encamped himself in a strong position near Landshut, whence, by sudden incursions directed equally against the Russians in Poland and the Austrians in Bohemia, he wrested from them their most valuable magazines, and thus prevented both armies, for a considerable time, from undertaking any important enterprise; for when, according to the system pursued by the belligerent parties at this period, the armies remained quartered in a country for any length of time, they abstained as much as possible from depriving the inhabitants of all their provisions; whence much greater supplies were rendered necessary for the troops.

THE BATTLE OF KUNERSDORF (1759 A.D.)

At length, however, the Russians, consisting of 40,000 men, crossed the Oder, and Laudon was waiting ready to join them with his 20,000 Austrians. Frederick, in such an extremity, resolved in order to save himself to have recourse to extraordinary measures. Amongst his generals he had one, young it is true, but at the same time distinguished beyond any other for his daring courage in difficult circumstances: this was General Wedel. Him he held as best qualified to be intrusted with the command against the Russians; but he was doubtful whether or not the senior generals would submit to his orders. The king, however, decided at once to adopt the plan of the Romans, who in

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extreme danger made it a rule to place the whole authority and direction of affairs in the hands of one man, whom they styled their dictator, and accordingly appointed General Wedel dictator over the army opposed to the Rus-

sians. According to the royal instructions he received, he was to attack the enemy wherever he came up with them.

These instructions the young dictator obeyed to the letter, but without reflecting upon what such orders presupposed. Accordingly he attacked the Russians on the 23rd of June, at the village of Kay, near Züllichau, but planned his attack so badly that, in order to make it, his army was forced to cross a bridge and march over a long narrow road, in single files, so that the battalions were able to reach the field of battle only in successive bodies; where, as they arrived, they were received by a murderous discharge of grapeshot, and were thus destroyed in detail by the Russians. The Prussians lost more than five thousand men, and the enemy being thus no longer opposed, effected a junction with Laudon without any further delay.

It was necessary now that Frederick himself should hasten with his forty-three thousand men to meet the combined forces of the enemy. He knew and felt the great danger to which he was about to expose himself personally, and summoning his brother Henry from his camp at Schmottseffen, gave him strict charge to watch the movements of Field-Marshal Daun, and besides this appointed him regent of the Prussian dominions, in case he himself should either be killed or be taken prisoner in this expedition. At the same time,



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however, in the event of such a misfortune, he demanded from him the most solemn promise never to submit to a peace which in the slightest degree might bring shame or disgrace upon the house of Prussia. Frederick well knew how to live and die as a king, and he would willingly have lost his life rather than be made a prisoner, for he was too well aware what great sacrifices his enemies would have demanded for his ransom. On the 12th of August he found the united forces of the Russians and Austrians, amounting to sixty thousand men, strongly intrenched upon the heights of Kunersdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder.^d

This time King Frederick abandoned his tactics of drawing his army up in line to be used as one instrument. A special corps under General Finck, formed of twenty-eight squadrons and eight battalions—not the best infantry—was to advance independently, face the left flank of the Russian force, dismount, and cover the flank movement of the army. As the king knew next to nothing of the front of the Russian army and its condition, or rather knew

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nothing at all, his forces could not be arranged beforehand in readiness for attack, but everything must be left to be decided on the spot.

However, as the predominating idea was that, in order to attack the right wing the left must remain "refused," as the technical expression is, we may well suppose that if the army were drawn up in line southward of the enemy, the right wing would, after Frederick's usual custom, have been guarded in face by eight grenadier battalions, and Finck's infantry would have been ordered to make a simultaneous attack on the Muhlberg. If this were all carried out it might well have been expected, seeing Frankfort also was held by Prussia, that the roads towards Crossen and Reppen would be cut off by the attack itself, and so a large part of the enemy's force would have been compelled to surrender.

At two o'clock in the morning the king ordered his army to march under cover of Finck's corps, hoping to engage the enemy about seven o'clock. But the difficulties entailed by every movement in active warfare, and for which it is impossible to allow even approximately, made themselves felt here in an extreme degree. The march through the sandy forests was slow; the day was well advanced when they were still far from their goal, and then the moving column came upon an obstacle to their progress of which they had known nothing—a break in the ground, which stretched out of the Neuendorf forest from south to north, as far as the village of Kunersdorf. In the boggy soil of this break several small lakes formed a chain, with only one road across—a ridge of earth between the Dorf See and the Blanken See, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kunersdorf, sometimes only half the width of the squadron, passable by artillery only with the utmost difficulty and great waste of time, if indeed passable at all. How much time must be lost if the army or even a considerable part of it was, according to arrangement, to be drawn up on the western side of this cleft! Another thought may also have made the king pause—namely, that his force must then be cut in halves and that one half would be of small support to the other. But nothing of all this is known. In any case the king altered his plans, ordered the army to form between the brook named Hünerrfless and the recently discovered hollow, and decided to make the attack solely on the flank of the Russian army, directing it up the Muhlberg.

The march through the forest, the advance to its borders—all this again demanded time, was difficult, and could not be done without great fatigue to the men, the artillery teams being also exhausted. The attack on the Muhlberg was commenced by the artillery opening fire from all sides, partly firing downwards from commanding positions and so succeeding without any too great fatigue to the Prussian infantry. The Russian foot regiments completely broke up their lines and fled over a wide area, and eighty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians.

Nevertheless, the Russian battalion of the line could not be "rolled up," as the tacticians of that time used to express it, from the left to the right wing. Within the Russian position there were several trenches lying parallel to the conquered flank, in the right corner touching the front line. These were suitable for defence and could be occupied efficiently without much loss of time. Just such a trench was the Kuhgrund ("cow-hollow"); farther westward was another on the so-called "Deep way" and a third at Laudon's hollow [as it was afterwards called].

Thanks to this disposition of the ground and to the direction of the attack, the length of this cover was equalled by its depth, and the right wing of the Russian horse became a complete reserve. Here, guided by circumstances, one troop after another defended these natural trenches as though automatically, for no tactician of that time would have been equal to arranging such a movement,

or would intentionally have directed it. To these successive struggles with continual fresh relays of troops the Prussian attack at last succumbed. It is only in later times that a sharp military eye has recognised the utility of the earth trenches, with which Laudon at the head of the Russian and Austrian infantry first gave check to the Prussians.

The Prussian attacks on the Spitzberg were of no avail. General Seidlitz led cavalry between the Dorf See and the Blanken See down through the plain to the foot of the Spitzberg, but these attacks, ordered by the king when the fate of the day became doubtful, came to grief finally at the fortifications by the "Wolf pits" at the foot of the hill (Spitzberg).

The Prussian artillery had not followed the foot regiments to support the attack; so that the Russian artillery, numbering at least four hundred and fifty guns, made all the greater impression. Because of the succession of forces engaged, the superiority in numbers told, as hardly ever before in any battle of any time; it became apparent that the disproportion in the number of the infantry told against the Prussians more than their general inferiority. In the Prussian infantry, at most thirty-one thousand men were opposed to the Austrians, without reckoning the Croats. Virtually, however, the Prussian attack doubtless failed through the exhaustion of the men. The Prussian army had marched the whole night of the 10th to the 11th, on the 11th had forded a river and endured a considerable march; passed the night of the 11th-12th under arms, and had now on the 12th for fifteen hours, mostly under a burning sun, marched along difficult sandy ground and fought without interruption, without having strengthened themselves by breaking their fast since the day before. Such exertion was too much. When strength is exhausted resolution also wavers.

Laudon recognised this moment of exhaustion and knew how to use it with sure tact. He sent his Austrian cavalry to chase the Prussian infantry down the "Deep way"; the Prussian foot regiments wavered, broke up, and fled; the battle was lost and turned into a complete defeat such as the Prussian army had never before sustained. Completely routed, scattered, discouraged, unfit at the moment for any further effort at carrying on the war, they all fled, bewildered, across the bridge of the Oder near Goritz.

LOSSES AND REORGANISATION

The Prussian losses were relatively enormous; they amounted to 18,500 (85 officers, 5,963 men killed; 425 officers, 10,676 men wounded; 38 officers, 1,316 men missing; altogether 548 officers, 17,955 men). The small number of the missing is noticeable. As the infantry regiment of Diericke was surrounded and "almost all" taken, the entire army can have lost hardly any unwounded men—a proof that neither Russians nor Austrians were very energetic in pursuit, or else one would suppose it would have been easy to take many prisoners among the over-exhausted Prussians, who could hardly have fled far.

It is said that Laudon called upon the Russian generals to follow up the pursuit immediately, but they one and all, having by no means through all the phases of battle felt sure of a victory, so lost their heads with joy that they were no longer to be depended upon. It is almost surprising, such being the case, that the fiery Laudon did not himself start off in pursuit with his own Austrians; ten thousand men of the line and six thousand Croats, whom he commanded, would no doubt have sufficed hopelessly to rout all the Prussians who had got together in the night by the Oetscher bridge.

The Prussian army had also lost many trophies; the greater part of its artillery, not less than 172 cannon, 26 flags, and 4 standards. The loss of the

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Austrians and Russians was also very considerable; it amounted in dead and wounded to nearly 16,000 men (13,480 Russians, including 559 officers, and 2,216 Austrians, including 118 officers; 15,696 in all). As the Russian army could not exactly boast of very great tactical ability, it might well for the next few days not be in proper condition—in consequence of its loss in officers—to undertake in energetic style quick and decided operations.

FREDERICK'S DESPAIR

It is well known what dangers to his own person Frederick the Great incurred towards the close of this eventful day, and how crushed he felt at first after such unheard-of defeat. He believed the cause of Prussia to be lost; in a letter written on the evening of that unhappy day he bade "Farewell forever" to Minister Finckenstein, declared his brother Henry governor-general of the army of Prussia, and left the special charge of the defeated force in the hands of Lieutenant-General Finck.

The orders which the general received the following day are noteworthy, because the king, in the very moment when he resigns the command, not knowing what next to advise, yet indicates what in his mind should next be done, and whilst he renounces all hope still appears to open a way for hope to come. The king says, in these instructions issued on the 13th: "The unhappy army, as I leave it, is in no condition to fight longer with the Russians; Hadik will hurry to Berlin, perhaps so Laudon will also; if General Finck follows them both up, the Russians will fall on his rear; if he remains stationary by the Oder, he will get Hadik on this side: nevertheless, I believe, should Laudon go for Berlin, he might attack him on the way, and try to beat him. If that went well it would make a stand against misfortune, and hold matters stationary; time won is much in such desperate circumstances."

The conclusion of the document—"This is the only advice which in these unhappy circumstances I can give; if I had had any resources I should have held on"—seems certainly again to abandon hope. But, as a fact, the king gave up neither hope nor the command of the army. Already during the night of the 12th-13th he had considered how he might bring such troops as were in any way within reach to the help of the defeated army. This night he even despatched an order to Count Hordt, who, returned from his skirmishing on the Vistula, was waiting with a small division on the Warthe, to join the army at Reitwein. On the 13th reports came in from Hordt and from the country round Meissen; the king certainly sent them to General Finck, but with the remark that he would like to speak with him on the subject.

During the morning hours the Prussian generals and officers succeeded in bringing about twelve thousand men into tolerable order at Oetscher. These flocked back across the Oder to Reitwein, where they were joined by the battalion under Wunsch, and the king saw himself once more at the head of a force of eighteen thousand. The day before he had already named Reitwein to Count Hordt as a place of meeting—a proof that he hoped to keep his division here for some days. The bridge across the Oder was of course destroyed; the scrap of an army which confronted the Swedes was brought over it. On the 14th the king formally resumed the post of command, and held it undauntedly with as firm a hand as ever.

On the day after the battle the Russian generals had not yet recovered from their fever of triumph; they held a solemn thanksgiving service and there was no question of practical activity. Nothing of all that the king had foreseen and dreaded in spirit came to pass, chiefly because what Frederick the Great from his point of view regarded as the inevitable consequence of a lost battle lay quite outside the ken of most of the strategists of his time.^o

THE VICTORY OF LIEGNITZ (1760 A.D.)

This event led to Frederick's going in person to Silesia under very discouraging circumstances. On the 29th of June, 1760, he wrote to Prince Ferdinand not to be surprised if he should soon hear bad news. But on the 17th of August, he was able to report to the prince that "Thanks be to



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heaven!" he had gained a great advantage over the enemy. Since his arrival in Silesia he had done his very best to reach Schweidnitz or Breslau; "but all efforts," he said, "were fruitless, all my plans were wrecked by reason of the position of the Austrians, and the alertness of Lacy and Laudon. Pressed by the Russians, who refused to advance into Silesia unless the Austrians first gained a battle, Daun determined to attack me. Laudon was to take up his position on the heights of Liegnitz on my left, whilst Daun was to attack me in front. Informed of this plan, I took the heights of Pfaffendorf which Laudon wished to take." We simply repeat the report which Frederick gave the ducal ally. To comprehend vividly the incidents of the conflict, one must mount the church tower of Liegnitz. Frederick then encountered Laudon, who was at that moment approaching. Whilst the king took the necessary steps to keep Daun where he was, he attacked Laudon, completely defeating him; Laudon had left under arms only six thousand men of the thirty thousand under his command.

The king could not sufficiently praise the courage of his troops; the whole matter was settled in two hours. "We have given a companion to Rossbach." The Russians had only waited for success to attend the Austrians in order to make common cause with them. After the battle they retired across the Oder, and the king was able to re-establish his connection with Breslau. But it would be quite false to

attribute to him the feelings of a conqueror who is certain of his cause and its triumph. All his letters show that his situation was not at all improved by the victory. He had counted on an agreement between France and England, and he was now convinced that this was out of the question. The affairs of France were so closely connected with those of Austria and Russia that a peace which would have reconciled England to France and Prussia to Austria was impossible. He had confidently expected a movement of the Turks against Austria, for they had actually spoken of an alliance with England and Prussia, but Laudon's advance into Silesia showed him that Austria no longer feared the Turk's movements. And if the Danes once betrayed any intention to unite with England and Prussia so that with their help the Swedes might be expelled from Pomerania and the Russians from Prussia, this hope also failed, as it was impossible for Denmark to break at the same time with both France and Russia.

Frederick said there remained nothing for him to do but to attack the foe that first appeared, beat him, and then hasten to the spot where the next danger threatened. To project and execute his own plans was to him impracticable. His movements always depended upon circumstances. "One does not know

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which way to turn; I meet everywhere the same hindrances, the same difficulties, the same superiority. May heaven support us, for human foresight is not sufficient for such a cruel and desperate condition as ours." When Frederick turned to Silesia he felt how much his position in Saxony and his own hereditary dominions were thereby imperilled. "I could never justify myself were I to deliver all my lands to the violence of the enemy. We shall destroy ourselves in our own midst without a battle."

He conjured Prince Henry, who showed some indecision, to take strong measures and not to waver—a bad decision being better than none. With all his activity and zeal Prince Henry in his letter had betrayed that he felt too weak to fulfil his duties under these conditions. In his answer the king drew his attention to the fact that it was easy to serve the state in bright days, but a good citizen devoted his services to the community in times of misfortune. "We fight for honour and our fatherland undismayed by the superiority of our enemies. My cheerfulness and my good humour are buried with the beloved and honoured persons to whom I was attached. I have a great machine to control and am moreover without assistance; I tremble when I think of it. No wonder the trouble and disquiet which I have gone through in these two years have undermined my constitution" (he suffered then from nervous attacks). "My motto is 'Die or conquer'; in other cases there is a middle course; in mine there is none."

"You set a value upon life as a sybarite," he wrote to D'Argens; "I regard death as a stoic. I will never consent to sign a dishonourable peace. I will be buried under the ruins of my fatherland, or, if fate presses me too hard, I shall know how to put an end to my misfortune when it becomes unendurable."

It is, as we know, not the first time that he gave expression to this thought. His non-fulfilment of it was due to the fact that events never took such a turn as to exclude all possible outlet. It was only in the case of the state being completely ruined that he thought of putting an end to his existence. We do not doubt that he would have done it.



PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA (1726-1802 A D)

THE BATTLE OF TARGAU (1760 A D)

In striking contrast to this despairing state of mind of the king was that of the empress-queen, who in spite of the misfortune of Liegnitz urged with growing courage a decisive step against him. In her, as we have already said, was centred the direction of military affairs, and the supreme military council met under her presidency. Occasionally Daun would send his generals' opinions to Vienna, without adding any of his own, waiting for a decision, and the answers of the empress were decisive for the policy followed in the field. She wished above all things to have another action against Glogau, at which place the union with the Russians could really become an accomplished fact, and moreover the latter were not disinclined to co-operate in such an action.

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But Laudon, the general of the ordnance, usually so enterprising, declared against it because the transport of the necessary siege material offered an insuperable difficulty. In fact, the Austrians themselves would not have been pleased to see an effective union of the two armies in Silesia, for the Russians, by reason of their small pay, were almost compelled to resort to plunder, and their commissariat would have involved great inconvenience. The empress also thought of taking Schweidnitz, as only by its possession could she be insured against further invasions of the king. She demanded this undertaking even in the case of its causing a battle, of which she herself would take the full responsibility. To this Daun replied that it was impossible to carry on the siege and at the same time be protected from the attacks of the king.

In the mean while Frederick had effected a junction with Prince Henry's army, and taken up a strong position. Maria Theresa thought her troops strong enough to attack it; it was intolerable to her that the campaign should end without resulting in any important victory for her. And as far as we can see Daun actually decided one day on such an attack, but the king exchanged his position for a still stronger one, in which he was unassailable. As nothing could now be accomplished in Silesia, Laudon advised the removal of the scene of war to Saxony. Lacy conceived the plan of making an incursion in conjunction with the Russians into Brandenburg, he himself taking command of the enterprise. It was not his intention to take possession of the country, but rather to plunder it chiefly for the benefit of the Russians.

This movement as well as the critical position of affairs in Saxony determined the king to leave Silesia and to meet his foes elsewhere in person. For the sake of Brandenburg such a move was necessary, as it had already been vacated by the invaders. The empress felt it was of the greatest importance for the Austrian army to follow up the king to Saxony, and she ordered her field-marshal especially to hold Leipsic and Torgau, and if necessary to venture a battle for this. And so it happened. Daun had taken up a strong position on the heights of Suptitz near Torgau, and fortified it with numerous cannon. The king attacked it forthwith (November 3rd). It was here that Zieten gained his fame. Zieten still represented the sentiments and character of the times of Frederick William I. He had gained his reputation as leader of the hussars who so successfully encountered Nadasdi's Croats. His undertakings met with such success that everyone wished to serve under "Father Zieten" (as they called him), and the highest military posts came within his reach. The half of the army which Daun was to encounter was intrusted to him. It is not known whether the king attacked prematurely or whether Zieten tarried longer than was expected. At last he appeared. Then victory was assured to the Prussians. Attack and resistance were worthy of each other. "It was," says Frederick, who never lost his literary vein, "as if two thunderstorms driven by contrary winds came into concussion."

The Austrians retreated to Dresden. The king defeated them once more, but he did not thereby bring about any notable change in the situation. "I must," he said, "expel the Russians from the Neumark, Laudon from Silesia, and Daun from Saxony. I shall be in a no better position after the battle than in the preceding year." Thus he entered on the year 1761.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1761

It was felt in Austria, and during the winter the feeling was confirmed, that nothing could be done against the Prussian power, which had the best positions in Saxony and occupied the fortresses in Silesia; but yet the continuation of the war was desired as the country was sure of Russian support.

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The Russian court, having its own great interests at stake, also agreed to war. It did not much signify that the chief command had passed from Soltikoff to Buturlin, as Fermor was and remained the soul of the undertaking.

The Russians' attention was now immediately directed to Kolberg. But they also wished to take part in the campaign of the Austrians in Silesia. Let Daun, said they, keep the king busy in Saxony, and they would co-operate with Laudon, who commanded almost independently of the field-marshal in Silesia. Hence the king intrusted the army in Saxony to his brother, in order that he might meet the greater danger in his own person. The Russians moved forward slowly. In the middle of July, 1761, they crossed the boundary of Silesia and struck their camp at Militisch. Laudon, strengthened very considerably from Lusatia, was preparing to join them. Although the union of the foes was at first prevented, it could not long be deferred. In the second half of August both armies came in direct touch in the vicinity of Liegnitz. Frederick then took up a strong position at Bunzelwitz, which, however, they could not decide to attack. When both the armies separated again, Frederick hoped by threatening Moravia to force Laudon to vacate Silesia. But Laudon, on the contrary, profited by the first withdrawal of the king from Bunzelwitz to deal a bold stroke at the badly fortified Schweidnitz, and to take the place on the 1st of October, 1761. So Frederick was powerless; he had to allow the Austrians and the Russian corps that had remained with Laudon to take up their winter quarters in Silesia.

In Saxony the Austrians, united with the imperial army, maintained good positions on the Elbe, in the independent portion of Saxony (Vogtland) and on the Saale. The campaign in lower Saxony was of great importance. The French had made fresh efforts to conquer Hanover. It has been maintained that an army as great as that now put into the field by them had never been collected in this war. The French had already gained possession of Cassel and Gottingen, places of little importance, but which were rendered tenable by the French with their capacity for rapid fortification. But Duke Ferdinand knew how to meet them with the cleverest manoeuvres, even after they had crossed the Weser. By incessant small engagements he saved Hanover; they had pushed on even as far as Einbeck, but he obliged them to evacuate the place. Nevertheless the French held their own in Hesse; from Muhlhausen, which they held, they were in touch with the imperial army, which had advanced as far as Saalfeld. It was the common fate of the Prussian armies in Silesia, Saxony, and in the west of Germany to be attacked by a very superior power, against which each held its own in ever-renewed danger.

The three generals at the head of these armies formed a triumvirate of defence; they vied with each other in talent, application, and military capacity. For the Saxon lands intrusted to him Prince Henry had formed a defensive system which he brought into use both prudently and persistently, making the most of the smallest advantages offered by the topography of the country. Duke Ferdinand succeeded in uniting the Hanoverian interest with the Prussian and in opposing it to the French because it was north German. He was a pupil of Frederick, whose strategic principles he adopted. The defensive rôle which he was compelled to adopt he carried out by a system of continual attack. He also knew how to unite for a great aim the various divisions of his army advancing under different colours. By his tactful combinations he deceived the enemy, even though superior in number, and finally repulsed him.

Frederick was occupied with continual strategic encounters, ever appearing at the point where the danger was greatest, ever ready and alert, never broken by misfortune, summoning fresh courage after every defeat, inexhaustible in bold designs, showing equal skill in taking advantage of small oppor-

tunities and in seizing the great, decisive moments. His particular characteristic was the combination of politics with war, both uniting in maintaining the position which he held. Great men are not made by luck alone. Battles can be won by chance or by a one-sided talent. The hero is formed by maintaining a great cause under misfortunes and dangers. Frederick is frequently compared with Napoleon. The chief difference between them is that Napoleon was against all the world, but all the world was against Frederick; Napoleon wished to found a new empire, Frederick, during the Seven Years' War, only wished to defend himself. Napoleon set enormous forces in motion, Frederick was master of very limited resources. Napoleon fought for an authority embracing the whole continent, Frederick for his very existence. Frederick we see contending for long years with stronger enemies, always on the edge of the abyss which threatened to engulf him; Napoleon also passed long years in continual struggle, but always in view of a definite triumph, until the superior world powers overthrew the ambitious man at one blow. Napoleon's bequest was the military glory of the French; Frederick's bequest to his state was the salvation of its existence.

THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH OF RUSSIA (1762 A.D.)

When one considers the position of affairs—the still indissoluble alliance of France with Austria, the insuperable enmity of Maria Theresa, and the importance of the assistance which she expected from Russia for the next campaign—there was only one event which could materially change Frederick's position, and that event occurred: the empress Elizabeth died on the 5th of January, 1762. Although far-reaching political plans in Russia were connected with the war, the origin of the participation of Russia in the plans of Austria was of a very personal character, and the empress Elizabeth had another faction at her side, which only waited for her death to put an end to the war.

At the first news Frederick still doubted what the outcome of the matter would be. But on the 5th of February he wrote to Duke Ferdinand that he hoped in a few weeks to be at peace with Russia. The greatest danger with which he had to contend was the union of a Russian force with an Austrian corps. On the 5th of February he was able to announce that Chernichev, the leader of the Russians, would separate from the Austrians the following day.

The new czar, Peter III, was enthusiastically attracted to Frederick by the fame of his martial deeds. "All the news I receive of him," writes King Frederick, "shows me that he is well inclined towards me; I hope that the differences which I have with Russia will soon be settled and that the Russian troops will return home." Another prospect, for which he had long hoped, became more than ever probable. For he learned that an attack of the Turks was feared in Poland as well as in the Austrian domains. In the Divan there was, in fact, a party headed by the mufti and the grand vizier who desired an alliance with Russia. But the influence of Austria and France was exerted against this. The king still hoped to forestall a decision in favour of Austria by bringing about an alliance with himself; he had also some reason to count upon the support of the Tatars.

But these eventualities were, as subsequent events showed, very uncertain; and far transcending them in importance was the change in the relations with Russia. Strong assurances of friendship were exchanged between Frederick and Peter III; and Frederick considered it a good omen that the czar asked him to grant him the highest Prussian order. A truce was concluded, and peace negotiations set in seriously. Frederick, who regarded the matter pri-

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marily from the military point of view, remarked in his letters to Prince Henry that now the Prussian army had its back free.

It is in the nature of political alliances not only to affect the relation of one state to another, but also to be conditioned by the inner changes in the different states. Frederick had just experienced similar effects in England, when the ministry which was friendly to him was followed by a faction which manifested an aversion to him. That which in England was the result of parliamentary division was in Russia the consequence of a palace revolution which precipitated Peter III from his throne and put his wife in his place.

That which had been commenced in the year 1757 was carried out in the summer of 1762. The grand duchess had always had a party of her own, which would unite neither with the empress Elizabeth nor with Peter III. Soon after the accession of the latter to the throne, foreign ambassadors sought to establish connections with the grand duchess, who gave utterance to what she would have done had she not been destitute of all influence. The foolish actions of her husband which equally affected the Russian church and the Russian army, led to the catastrophe. Catherine placed herself at the head of a movement which had a national complexion. But those in Vienna who expected that she would revert to the system of the empress Elizabeth were doomed to disappointment.

Catherine recognised the peace which her predecessor and consort had concluded with the king of Prussia. Prussia and Pomerania, which were still in her hands, she returned to Frederick without enforcing upon him conditions in favour of Austria. She desisted only from rendering the aid which had been promised to the king, and she gave orders to her army to return to Russia. The old system of the empress Elizabeth was permanently abandoned. It was at the commencement of her reign that Catherine conceived the idea, to which she adhered to the end of her life, of taking up a position between Austria and Prussia. But this also led to a further change in the relation of the belligerent powers. Frederick profited by the last moment, in which it at least seemed as if the Russians were on his side, to take from the Austrians their position at Burkersdorf, which might have been menacing to him; and after some time Schweidnitz fell into his hands, on the 9th of October. A few weeks later Prince Henry succeeded in surprising the Austrian and the imperial troops at Freiberg and expelling them on the 29th of October from their strong position; so that the Prussians in the war with Austria, towards the end of the year 1762, were unquestionably in the ascendant. In the mean while Duke Ferdinand had unexpectedly attacked the French, and in a campaign full of vicissitudes he managed to besiege Cassel, the most important place still held by the French, and to force it to capitulate on the 1st of November. But this did not in any way conclude the great struggle. Austria and France still remained armed, and it was not evident how their alliance against Prussia would be broken. An unexpected change of affairs was then imminent.

PACIFICATIONS

The peace negotiations between France and England that had been often commenced and always interrupted were now formally entered upon. It cannot be asserted that England quite overlooked her obligations towards Prussia, for more than once reference was made to the Treaty of Westminster in the negotiations concerning the return of Wesel, Gelderland, and the Westphalian possessions of the king of Prussia. George III declared that he could not conclude the matter without the assent of Frederick. But far more decided was the consideration shown by France to Austria. Choiseul let the

empress know that he was ready to drop the negotiations with England if Austria did not approve of them. We do not venture to deny the truth of this utterance. For if Russia had declined further participation in the war, it could nevertheless have been continued by the French and Austrians, as in fact it was continued. But at that moment a crisis came which made the possibility of continuing the war extremely doubtful for both powers.

The declaration of the going-over of the emperor Peter to the enemies of Austria had just been made known. Galitzin had given official information of it to Prince Kaunitz on the 2nd of June. It was the moment in which England, if the peace were not concluded, could have taken a Russian army to Germany, and would thereby have dealt a decisive blow in favour of the Prusso-English and to the detriment of the Franco-Austrian interests. And it seemed always possible that Bute would be overthrown and the Great Commoner would again hold the rudder of England, an eventuality which the king of Prussia desired, but one which the French, who were now at one with the English ministry, regarded with horror.

At the moment of this all-threatening crisis it was thought in Vienna that above all things the good understanding of the French ministry with the English should be utilised in order to assure the peaceful settlement which was now attainable. The oriental complication had also advanced so far that the war in Germany could not be continued without imperilling Austria. It was under this pressure that Maria Theresa dropped the idea with which she had undertaken the war, and to which she had hitherto clung. She excuses herself for abstaining from showing the king of Prussia his proper place, necessary as this was for the welfare of her house, of the Catholic religion, and of Germany. She now abandoned her original idea of bringing about a state of affairs in which all danger from the Prussian side would be put an end to. She had no objection to a peace between France and England, provided the county of Glatz were given her and an indemnity to the elector of Saxony. It was this declaration, which was quite opposed to the purposes for which the alliance had been concluded with France, that rendered peace possible. The French accepted it with satisfaction, albeit not with the warmth which Maria Theresa had expected; moreover they attached to the proviso concerning Glatz the condition that indemnification should be given them on the Netherlands border, which caused astonishment and anger in Vienna.

A certain transatlantic event also placed difficulties in the way of a settlement of peace. The negotiations were powerless to prevent the blow already waiting to descend: Havana fell into the hands of the English. This event, like the entire naval war, was to the detriment of France and her allies. However, the conclusion of the peace was not thereby hindered; France gained some advantages from its stipulations, owing to the compliance of the English ministry. The preliminaries were signed on the 3rd of November, 1762.

In the above-mentioned declaration of Maria Theresa, and the conclusion of the preliminaries between France and England, lay the peace of the world. Both together manifest the signification and the result of the Seven Years' War. France abandoned the idea of staying the power of the Anglo-American development on the other side of the ocean, and although England had undoubtedly gained the maritime preponderance in North America, she abandoned the idea of destroying the French and Spanish colonial power, in which, as affairs stood at the moment, she might have succeeded. Austria also renounced the idea of freeing her old authority in Germany from the limitations imposed on it by the Prussian power.

She determined to grant the king of Prussia that safety the imperilling of which had led him to take up arms. If there were moments in which Fred-

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erick could have trusted himself to impose laws upon the Austrian power or to overthrow it, such a plan was perhaps not even formed, much less would it have been practicable. Austria had in the years of the war developed her own military forces, and was unbroken in power. The countries of the monarchy were bound together closer than ever by the danger and strain of the war.

The fact of importance in the history of the world is that North American independence of France and the undiminished existence of the Prussian state were not only contemporaneous, but there was a very close connection between the struggles attending them. The first opened up a measureless future, but the eyes of contemporaries were directed mostly to the latter. It was an event of eminently historical importance. All life is preserved by struggle. The Prussian state had been evolved upon ancient principles corresponding with those of the other powers, although not quite like them; and it had gained a position of real independence which represented a peculiar principle. But it was attacked by superior foes, and threatened with limitations which would have annihilated it. For its existence lay in its power. This immense danger was now victoriously withstood by Frederick; for the province, by the acquisition of which the rank of a European power had been attained, could be regarded as permanently secured. This was the position of affairs in the main; in detail there were still questions of a certain importance to be decided.¹

THE PEACE OF HUBERTUSBURG (1763 A D)

The exchange of ratifications of the treaty was accomplished by the three ambassadors at Hubertusburg, on the 1st of March, 1763. On that occasion Fritsch delivered a protest against Article XVIII of the Austro-Prussian treaty of peace, touching the Julich succession, which was accepted by Hertzberg and Von Collenbach with a counter-protest. This was the last time that Saxony disputed about the succession of Julich.

King Frederick thereupon received the plenipotentiaries at Dahlen. Collenbach could not sufficiently praise the great consideration which the king had manifested for the empress at this conference. He sincerely wished to live henceforth at peace with Maria Theresa. At the Austrian court, also, there prevailed a conciliatory mood. Kaunitz felt compelled to speak highly of the attitude of the king throughout the peace negotiations. The evacuation of conquered territory, usually connected with so many disagreeable features, was soon accomplished, and the generals in charge easily came to an agreement with regard to the exchange of the prisoners of war.

The document relating to the inclusion of the allies was signed later, by Hertzberg at Berlin on the 12th of March, by Collenbach at Dresden on the 20th of the month. The delay sprang from the desire of the Austrian government to obtain the assent of the French court, which was given only reluctantly; the latter evinced some surprise at the readiness with which the imperial court had yielded to the Prussian demand in respect to the empress of Russia.

As soon as his presence in Saxony was no longer needed, Frederick departed for Silesia, in order to give affairs in that province his personal supervision. On the 30th of March he returned to the capital, which he had not entered since the 12th of January, 1757. The queen had returned from Magdeburg on the 17th of February, and was received with lively demonstrations of joy. The public rejoicing reached its height, when, one half-hour after her arrival a courier from Leipsic brought the news that the peace was consummated.

EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

King Frederick avoided a solemn reception; he arrived in Berlin at a late hour, towards nine in the evening. At his side was Ferdinand of Brunswick, who had journeyed to meet him. The king was not in a happy state of mind. On the 25th of February he had written to D'Argens: "As for me, poor grey-headed man, I go back to a city where I know only the walls, where I find none of my old acquaintances; where immeasurable labour awaits me, and where my old bones will soon find a refuge that will be disturbed neither by war, nor by misfortune, nor by man's baseness."

The task which awaited Frederick he himself describes with sharp strokes. "The Prussian state is like a man covered with wounds, weak from loss of blood, and about to succumb to the weight of his sufferings; he needs fresh nourishment to raise him up, a tonic to strengthen him, balsam to heal his scars."

The nobility were exhausted, the lower classes ruined, a multitude of villages had been burned down, many cities laid waste, partly through sieges, partly by incendiaries in the service of the enemy. A complete anarchy had overthrown the administrative and police regulations, monetary conditions were deranged; in short, the devastation was universal. The army was in no better condition than the rest of the country. Seventeen battles had snatched off the flower of officers and soldiers. The regiments were ruined, and consisted, in part, of deserters and prisoners. Order had almost vanished, and discipline had become so lax that the old infantry regiments were no better than a raw militia. It was necessary to fill up the regiments to restore order and discipline, and, above all, to reanimate the young officers with the spur of fame in order to restore to this degenerate mass its former energy.

Great Britain, also, had heavy burdens to bear as a result of a war waged on three continents. The national debt was almost doubled and reached the amount of nearly £150,000,000. But the public credit remained unshaken, industry and commerce received a fresh start, the value of imports and exports during the war had increased by millions, and the new conquests more than compensated for the large expenditure of money. That the English people did not garner the fruit of its glorious achievements was the fault of its unwise and unjust government. It is true that Lord Bute was obliged to give way to the universal hatred: he gave up his office on the 8th of April, 1763, and stepped behind the curtain; but the narrow-minded and short-sighted governmental system of George III and his ministers was not thereby changed. The final result was that England stood alone among the European powers, without a friend, that the grievances of the colonies against illegal treatment and oppression rose higher from year to year, until the climax was reached in the open breach and the declaration of the independence of the American colonies of the mother country. However, even after the dissension and separation there still remained as a result of the Seven Years' War the prize of victory—not the least among those striven for on the German battlefields—that the future of America belonged to the Germanic race.

Wholly otherwise was it with the powers that were mainly responsible for the war—France and Austria. Louis XV had abandoned the most loyal colonies for the German war, shaken to its foundations the maritime position of France, and utterly exhausted the finances. True, Choiseul's diplomatic skill had isolated England, while France maintained her alliance with Spain and Austria. Charles III of Spain counted on France for a future reckoning with England, and as far as Germany was concerned, the French court directed its aim after, as before the war, to "binding the cabinet of Vienna to itself by the

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fear of Prussia." But the inner rottenness widened and deepened as the result of a war conducted in opposition to every interest of France, and merely to please the obstinacy of Louis XV. The order of Jesuits had, indeed, been suppressed. The highest courts of justice, the parliament of Paris at their head, declared the statutes of the order to be incompatible with the laws of the realm, and pronounced the dissolution of the order. The government readily assented to the execution of the decision. This was a step in the direction of reform, but the ruin had spread so far that even Choiseul now foresaw a convulsion, yea, even a revolution of the existing political order.

By the dissolution and dismemberment of Prussia, Maria Theresa had hoped to make her house, and also the Catholic church, supreme in Germany. The wisdom and perseverance of Kaunitz enabled him to press for this purpose into the service of the empress the gold and the armed power of France, as well as the armies of Russia and the contingents of Sweden and the princes of the empire. But the system of the Austrian alliances was too artificially fashioned, and the mutually repellent peoples never worked harmoniously together. Thus the superior genius and indomitable perseverance of a Frederick, supported by the decision and faithfulness of a Pitt, and—when the latter had to give way to the intrigues of his opponents at court—by the sudden and complete reversal in the policy of Russia, had enabled him to keep the field against terrible odds. On the other hand, Maria Theresa saw her plans of conquest frustrated, and although she came out of the struggle with honour, yet her country could not so easily recover from the evil results of the war. The national debt, which in 1755 amounted to 180,000,000 florins, was raised to 271,870,164 florins—a burden so intolerable that it was no easy task to re-establish a balance between income and expenditure. The imperial authority in Germany more than ever was weakened, and the states of the empire that had remained true to the imperial house, above all Saxony, were estranged from it by their bitter experiences, and were completely exhausted. The Catholic powers had weakened, while the Protestant peoples had strengthened and matured.

Prussia had sunk low at the close of the Seven Years' War, yet her heart was sound. Under the heroic leadership of her great king her existence was saved, and the baptism of fire and blood which the Prussians received enabled them to rise to new power and prosperity. This was a blessing for the entire German race. As Goethe says: "Frederick saved the honour of a part of the Germans against a united world, and every member of the nation was allowed to share in the victories of this great prince by applauding and admiring him. He was the brilliant polar star around whom Germany, Europe, yea, the whole world seemed to revolve." When later Prussia was again crushed down, it was out of this glorious past that she drew the strength to steel herself for the great conflict, to demonstrate to all the world her moral and intellectual energy, and to approve herself the shield of the German name and honour. In the victories and in the perseverance of Frederick the Great lay the future of the German fatherland.^h

THE STRATEGY OF FREDERICK AND NAPOLEON

The difference, partly essential, partly the result of circumstance, between the armies of Frederick and Napoleon, lies in the fact that Frederick's army was much smaller, had no skirmishers, and was not an army of conscription. None of these characteristics is peculiar to Frederick alone, but all have their analogy in the armies of his opponents. Consequently a battle under the new

rules of war was considered from quite a different standpoint than a battle under the old rules.

Battle is the most efficient means for deciding the issues of war. It seems as though almost any mistake that can be made in strategy can be retrieved by a victorious engagement; and a general who decides upon a pitched battle, and in it comes off conqueror, appears, in no matter what circumstances, to have done well in war. Accordingly one might suppose that, at any rate, the stronger of two adversaries in war could have no other intention from beginning to end than to force an encounter, and by repeated victories convince his opponent that he has no resource but complete submission.

But this is not always unconditionally the case. There are also Pyrrhic victories. It may happen that the advantage to be gained by victory is so small that it disappears when compared with the losses involved and the danger—never entirely to be overlooked—that even after a battle is won there may come a reverse; and the general may count with safety upon serving the purpose of war better in some other way. A general with such a force as Napoleon or a general of our time in such a position and in such circumstances cannot act rightly in this way.

The number of his forces enabled Napoleon invariably to follow his victories to the utmost extent and to occupy whole countries. For his swift *voltigeurs* no position was impregnable, and if the enemy once in a way did find such a position, it was still easy for Napoleon, hampered by no anxious fears for his commissariat, to find a way round; and even if the enemy did not then come within fighting range, his army was so numerous that he could march past the force of the enemy and occupy so much of his territory that the latter was compelled to follow lest he should lose the whole.

Frederick could do nothing of this kind. The advantages which he might have expected from a victory were far fewer. For instance, it happened to him that, after his brilliant victory at Soor, in Bohemia, he had to go back to Silesia over the mountains. He could neither pursue in Napoleon's fashion, nor, owing to the smallness of his army, could he occupy the enemy's country as Napoleon did. And eventually he found the enemy collected in bands unassailable by the rigid lines of his infantry. He must feel the loss of a battle far more heavily than Napoleon. According to the nature of linear tactics, a battle for him was a much bloodier business than for Napoleon, he often lost a third, and more than a third of his force; for Frederick, also, losses were far more difficult to replace than for Napoleon.

For these reasons Frederick's strategic system, and not his only but the system of his epoch, of Turenne, of Eugene, of Marlborough, of Ferdinand of Brunswick, necessarily differed from Napoleon's. Let us next examine the leading features of the Napoleonic strategy, without personal reference to Frederick.

To call it "methodical warfare" is not a happy expression, nor is the meaning very clearly defined. It is an unfortunate phrase, for, after all, every war waged according to a plan, whether Napoleon's or Moltke's, is methodical; the method is only different from that of the eighteenth century. The idea is, besides, not sufficiently defined, because it is often used merely for a system which has become stereotyped. We have therefore called it the system of the old monarchy, which lasted from the Thirty Years' War and Louis XIV up to the time of the Revolution. The train of thought underlying this system is as follows:

The weapons of war at one's disposal are not sufficient completely to defeat the opposing power. We should not, even after the very greatest victory, be in a position completely to destroy his fighting strength, to take his capital, and occupy the greatest part of his possessions. Therefore he must be reduced

to submission and peace not so much by conquest as by being worn out. If we take one of his border provinces and several fortresses, and choose a strong position from which he cannot hope to drive us, he will, when the tension has lasted some time, and his finances are exhausted, quietly submit to our conditions of peace. The most direct way of obtaining such an ascendancy is of course a battle; but it is also possible in some circumstances to manœuvre back the enemy by skilful marching. One must try to win a position where one can protect both magazine and commissariat from the enemy, and at the same time try for a position so unassailable that the enemy will not venture to attack there.

It was in this manner that in the year 1744 the Austrian field-marshal Traun manœuvred Frederick out of Bohemia, without, so to speak, firing a single shot, and yet causing the Prussians terrible losses through hardship, want, and desertions. A very common and successful move in warfare was to lay siege to an enemy's position, and, with the force used for this siege, to cover an encamped post which the enemy would not venture to attack. If such a situation were successfully arranged, and thoroughly prepared with cunning and celerity, strategy conquered without either the danger or the loss caused by an encounter. All movements, aimed in this manner, at getting the better of the enemy without direct bloodshed, are called in the exact sense manœuvring, as opposed to those movements which are aimed at securing, by means of a pitched battle, the greatest advantage obtainable.

Manœuvring and the Pitched Battle

The strategical system of the old monarchy has therefore two opposite poles—manœuvring and the pitched battle. In the Napoleonic system, manœuvring, in the above sense, played scarcely any part, and was only rarely employed. On the other hand, two theorists of the eighteenth century, Lloyd and Bulow, went so far as to declare pitched battles to be quite superfluous. They brought "methods" to bear on the question; for example, substituted for the fact that the nearer you keep to your commissariat the safer it is, the "rule" that the army must be separated from its "base" (the district from which the commissariat is supplied), only in so far that, joined to the terminus of the "base," it should form a right angle; and declared, "skilful generals will always make knowledge of the country, science of position, encampments, and marching, the groundwork of their regulations, rather than let the matter rest upon the uncertain issue of a battle." Those who understand such matters can direct campaigns with geometrical exactness, and conduct a long war without ever finding it necessary to come to a "pitched battle." Here we have the point of departure of Frederick the Great from his contemporaries.

The natural warlike instinct prompts a general to let battle decide the issue. A victory—a victory in a great battle—lives forever; it not only destroys the material fighting power of the enemy, but destroys his confidence and energy. The changes in human fate which mark universal history move between the lines of battle. No truly great general can be imagined without the temperament to feel himself driven by a sort of passion to challenge the great issues of fate, to measure his own strength against the greatest that humanity can do, to crown himself and his cause with victory. This was the line followed by Charles XII, one of nature's great generals; and it led him to Pultowa. But Frederick was greater than Charles XII, because he did not abandon himself to this impulse, because he knew not only the strength of his power and his army, but also the limits of that strength; because he could control his own passion and abide by the strategical system of his time. But it was within the limits of this strategical system that his superiority to all his

contemporaries showed itself, because he so immeasurably excelled in the great military quality of boldness; and by virtue of this quality, to keep to our metaphor, stretched as far towards the pole of battle that, on the other hand, he closely embraced the opposite pole of manœuvring. It is clear that a general with such a grasp of mind might in practice easily make use of a stratagem whose difference from the Napoleonic is not to be recognised at first sight.

The system of the old monarchy demands battle not for its own, for mere destruction's sake; but there must be a still more particular, a still more definite reason. So far, good. Now if, during a lengthy period of war, such special reasons for battle are continually shown, and the general is determined on this account continually to strive for battles, he practically turns for the time in the direction of the Napoleonic strategy. Frederick the Great often turned in this direction, and this fact is responsible for a widespread historical misunderstanding. When Napoleon threw the rules and the system of war of the old Europe to the winds, it was not the least of his advantages that the generals opposed to him were still in the toils of the old strategy, which had become stereotyped as "method." They still believed in the "magical power of manœuvre," and before they saw their mistake the enemy was upon them and they were defeated. The archduke Charles, too, clung to the old principles: and in the campaigns of 1814, in his headquarters particularly, these principles caused the one general amongst all others who had most outgrown them, Charles' ally, Gneisenau (with Blücher) the greatest difficulties. The mistake Wellington made in 1815, entailing not only upon himself but also upon the Prussians the defeat of Ligny, also sprang from the old, now rather obsolete, strategical point of view taken by this otherwise great general.

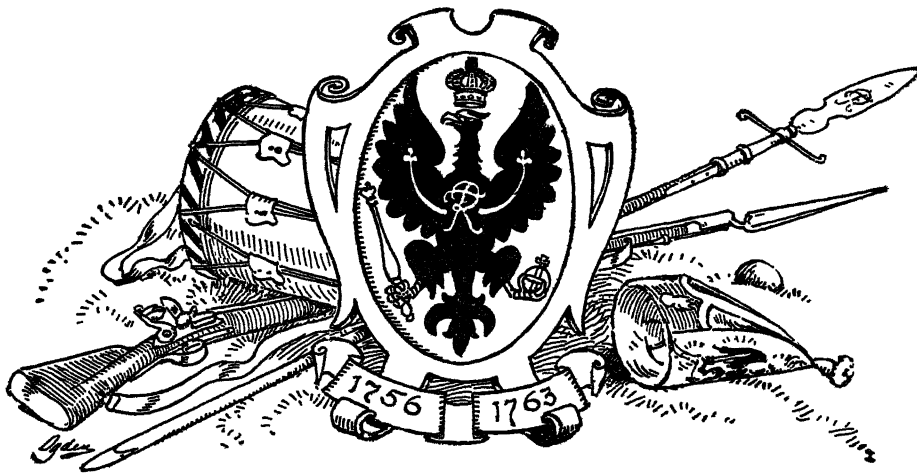
It was in the first instance through Clausewitz's teachings that the old leaven was entirely worked out of the minds of the Prussian officers. But it was only actually adopted when a new view crowded out the old—namely, that battle must be understood as absolute, not relative. The disciples of the new did not say to those of the old, "You were in the right formerly, but times have changed"; but they said, "You spoiled it through folly and blundering." To us it now looks different. We regard the warfare of the eighteenth century as something historically authorised and inevitable.

This in no way teaches us that all salvation lies exclusively in tactical decision and therefore battle must always be striven for. It gave other means of the art of war into our hands. And it is not difficult for anyone to understand that even men who are found worthy to stand at the head of an army should, in the face of immeasurable responsibility and danger, evince a certain preference for the gentler way; and that even in moments when only the "proud law of battle" ought to have been invoked, even in moments when fate showed itself most favourably inclined to them, they should not always have known, like Frederick, how to snatch a fleeting opportunity.

We have even seen how Frederick's own greatness begins to lose its gloss, if we take him out of his own and measure him by the rule of the nineteenth century. Why had he not begun the war already in July, 1756? Why did he not storm the camp at Pirna? Why did he not continue the war in October? Why did he only let himself be persuaded to take the offensive by Winterfeld and Schwerin in 1757? Why did he avoid battle at Olmütz? Why did he not fight it out to the end at Zorndorf? Why, after he had beaten the army under Laudon at Liegnitz, did he not straightway fall upon Daun and his troops? Why, in 1761, did he not attack Laudon at Nossen? Why, in 1762, did he fight no decisive battle? Why did he, through the whole of 1778, never once go to battle?

A hundred such questions one could put from the standpoint of doctrinary

strategy, and by each the king would appear less great. It is as if one looked at him through the wrong end of a field glass. But it is otherwise, and it is truer, if we succeed in picturing the natural strategic system of the old monarchy as Frederick's system; and—against the monotonous background of the web of manœuvres that he spun year after year—we see standing out the victories of Prague and Leuthen, Rossbach, Zorndorf, and Torgau, and finally, only to enhance the glories of these victories still more, the dark shadows of defeat in Kolin and Kunersdorf. Then only, placing him where he lived, in his own century, you see that the figure of this great monarch towers, not above a host of pygmies, but even above a host of those we reckon in the first rank of the world's heroes.'





CHAPTER V

THE LATER YEARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

[1763-1786 A.D.]

Frederick was a ruler in the noblest sense of the word. Whatever be the final word of investigation concerning him, one thing is certain. Frederick not only raised his country to the rank of a great European power, but he also lighted for it a torch of truth so powerful that the way to further light and glory can be missed only by the most reckless carelessness. But King Frederick is a historical giant not only to the Prussians: all nations, all princes, all philosophers can strengthen and edify themselves by the study of his life, of which even the small spots, like the spots of the sun, are instructive.—PREUSS b

REPAIRING A RUINED PRUSSIA

THAT story of Frederick's sitting wrapt in a cloud of reflections Olympian-Abysmal, in the music chapel at Charlottenburg, while he had the Ambrosian Song executed for him there, as the preliminary step, was a loose myth; but the fact lying under it is abundantly certain. Few sons of Adam had more reason for a piously-thankful feeling towards the Past, a piously-valiant towards the Future. What king or man had seen himself delivered from such strangling imbroglios of destruction, such devouring rages of a hostile world? And the ruin worked by them lay monstrous and appalling all round. Frederick is now fifty-one gone; unusually old for his age; feels himself an old man, broken with years and toils; and here lies his kingdom in haggard slashed

[1763-1766 A.D.]

condition, worn to skin and bone: How is the king, resourceless, to remedy it? That is now the seemingly impossible problem. "Begin it,—thereby alone will it ever cease to be impossible!" Frederick begins, we may say, on the first morrow morning. Labours at his problem as he did in the march to Leuthen; finds it to become more possible, day after day, month after month, the farther he strives with it.^o

AUSTRIA AND THE EMPIRE

Frederick had wrested Silesia from the house of Austria, but he did not fulfil his second intention, which was to detach the empire from this house and to re-establish the highest authority in the empire on a wider basis. The famous princess who lost Silesia conquered the empire by the force of her arms; she handed it over to her husband of the house of Lorraine, and, after his death, to her son. In truth she was the emperor: the empire was and remained a constituent part of the power of Austria. The seat of the aulic council was at her royal residence; the supreme imperial court was directed from Vienna, and the majority of votes at the diet of Ratisbon belonged to Austria. As of old, the ecclesiastical princes and Catholicism in general joined themselves to Austria; the conqueror of Silesia played in the empire only the part that his rank as one of the first princes of the empire allotted to him, although he was raised beyond all comparison by his military power and his fame.

But as the loss and gain on both sides resulted not only from a German but also a European war, and as both powers were not only German but also European, their opposition formed one of the most important moments in international relations.

Under all the disputes, especially those in regard to European affairs, the necessity and desire for an understanding became apparent. Nothing had ever made a greater impression on the young emperor, Joseph II, who in 1765 succeeded his father Francis I, than the fact that the prince of a territorial state should not only have been able to withstand the great powers who had hitherto only needed to threaten to find obedience, but should also have successfully resisted them when in unison they turned their arms against him, and compelled them to seek a disadvantageous peace with him; he was convinced by this that Austria required an inner regeneration before it would again be able to measure itself with him. He participated in the general admiration which the king aroused in the world, but at the same time he perceived in him an enemy who would at all times be dangerous. From his example he thought to borrow the means and ways to fight against him.

Eager to see the world and to instruct himself by travel, in the year 1766 Joseph visited the battle-field of Torgau, on which Frederick had compelled the Austrian army, far superior to his in number, to evacuate the strongest positions. When on the spot he was seized by the desire to know the powerful captain who had succeeded in doing so much. A high Prussian officer was present, and it would have required only a word from the emperor to bring about a meeting, for there is no doubt that the king also desired one. But at first there was much opposition to the idea in Vienna. Prince Kaunitz foresaw a thousand and one annoyances that might ensue; he was even afraid that the king might gain an influence over the emperor. He suggested to the empress to write to her son in this sense. Later, when advances were observed on Frederick's side, there was not so much opposition against it, as a refusal might have offended the king. But the emperor, meanwhile, had received instructions from his mother and had followed them. In a meeting with the Prussian general Kameke he did not pronounce the expected word; he sup-

[1768 A.D.]

pressed his wish, which was still very active, to learn to know the admired ruler. On continuing the journey which led to upper Silesia he sorrowfully perceived from a height the lost provinces which he was not to enter.

In the year 1768, on the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey, by which Austria was very closely affected, it seemed advisable to the empress and to the leading statesman himself to concede to the desires of Joseph. Austria was then arming, in order to intervene, if necessary, in favour of Turkey. It seemed worth while to ascertain the attitude which King Frederick, the ally of Russia, expected to assume in this conflict. The Austrian general, Nugent, who officiated as ambassador in Berlin, made overtures toward this end. Frederick would have liked first to have certain questions answered with regard to Poland and the Franco-English relations; that this was refused in Vienna did not nevertheless prevent him from acceding to the proposal. The meeting was arranged for the last days of August, at which time the king would be in Silesia, where it could take place most easily. The emperor, who had just returned from a journey in Italy, expressed himself to the effect that nothing he had seen till now could compare with the acquaintance which he expected to make on this occasion. But whilst he looked forward to the gratification of his wishes, in which curiosity, admiration, and irrepressibly hostile feelings were strangely mixed, a political task also fell to his share: he was to inspire the king with confidence, to remove from his mind any anxiety about further hostile intentions on the part of Austria, and at the same time to show him that there was no jealousy felt on account of his alliance with Russia.

JOSEPH II VISITS FREDERICK

On the 25th of August Joseph entered Neisse. He had stipulated to remain under the incognito of Count von Falkenstein, under which he chiefly travelled, and to take up his residence at an inn (the Three Crowns). On his arrival, however, he drove straight to the residence of the king, who awaited him at the steps and immediately led him to the dinner table; the meal lasted long enough to form a first general acquaintance. The emperor was astonished that the princes present—the brother of the king, who was remarkable for his external insignificance, and his nephew, who excited notice by his tall figure and manly beauty—willingly observed a respectful silence towards the king. The latter spoke almost alone; but Joseph was by no means silent.

Soon after the dinner the king visited him at the inn, and they had a long interview, which extended over the next two days, occasionally interrupted and enlivened by military manoeuvres. These pleased the emperor the most; the conversation gave him a feeling of embarrassment and discomfort. It must have been a curious sight, these two princes—the grey weather-beaten hero with a glorious past, and the young, aspiring emperor facing a brilliant future—on intimate terms with each other. The conversation touched upon everything, including the events of the late war. Joseph was astonished at the modesty with which the king spoke of his warlike deeds. Both in speaking and writing he was just to his opponents. Literature was lightly passed over; the principal object of both was political discussion. In the strongest terms Joseph many times repeated that Austria had no longer any thought of Silesia. The king was not completely convinced as to this, but it was of the greatest importance that the two princes should promise one another that, no matter what might happen under the prevailing uncertainty of European relations, they would always observe the peace restored between them. In this Frederick rightly saw a confirmation and strengthening of the treaties of Dresden and Hubertusburg.

[1788 A.D.]

The Franco-English complexities which affected the ascendancy at sea raised no difficulties, the relations with Russia were far more insidious. Joseph, though still the adversary of Catherine, praised her talent, saying that she had the genius of a born ruler. Frederick, her ally, did not fail to observe that the increase of Russian power was a danger in itself, which must be checked in time: for the empress would not conclude peace with the Turks, without having first made considerable conquests; after the war with Turkey she would begin one with Sweden. "Sire," said Joseph, "you are our advance guard against Russia; provided that you are at peace with us, you will easily have done with the Russians." The king rejoined that an alliance with Russia was a necessity for him, although he unwillingly paid it a subsidy. With this they touched upon the critical point of their politics. If they came to an understanding, they could prevent the increase of Russian power. Frederick called the attention of the emperor to the influence Russia might exert in the Austro-Hungarian provinces, and advised him to avert it by tolerance towards those of the Greek faith, for in Breslau it was said to have been observed that the merchants of this faith joyfully celebrated the Russian victory over Turkey.

Frederick's remarks were open enough in themselves, but they betrayed a greater interest in the welfare of Austria than he was given credit for. As he had once felt in regard to the French, so he now wished to see Austria hold herself erect against Russia: of course without disturbing his relations with that power. Informed by his ministers that the Viennese court was only seeking to undermine his treaty relations with Russia, he avoided everything that might further their aim. But the interview reached a point where both princes promised each other that they would not be carried away by the Russian war into any hostilities against each other. The king considered this quite consistent with his Russian alliance; he had no misgivings in promising it in writing to the emperor, who in like manner gave him the same assurance. The meeting at Neisse forms an important moment in German history, as the two most prominent princes promised each other to maintain the neutrality of Germany in the impending general embroilments in the east as well as in the west. Even under the altered circumstances a common policy seemed possible: common interests were spoken of and also the peace which was to be maintained within the empire and the world by both powers.

It is to be regretted that these inclinations were not more firmly established and of a nature to endure. Frederick never doubted that Joseph meant honourably by his promise not to attack him; nevertheless, the latter's personality did not inspire him with confidence. He was, said he, a young man full of aspirations, still held in check by his mother, whose yoke he bore with impatience. His mind was full of ambitious schemes. When once he came into power he would be sure to undertake something—perhaps against Venice or Silesia: "When he becomes master, Europe will be in flames."

Joseph, also, on whom the intellectual superiority of Frederick and his whole personality had made a deep impression, as can be seen by the letter which he afterwards wrote to him, distrusted his friendly feelings. To his mother he writes: "He talks a great deal, but there is some purpose hidden in every word which he says. He may desire peace, but not out of love for it—only because he sees that at the present he could not carry on war with advantage."

Thus did the two princes meet with an upright desire for mutual understanding, which attained an expression quite important in itself; but their mutual mistrust, which arose from the position and nature of both states, was not destroyed: on the contrary, it was rather strengthened by the personal acquaintance.

FREDERICK'S RETURN VISIT

In September, 1770, they met once more: King Frederick paid the emperor a return visit at his camp at Neustadt in Moravia. The danger of a rupture between England and France still hung over western Europe; on the other hand the East was convulsed by the progress of the Russians in the Turkish provinces. They had gained decisive victories on land and sea, and left no doubt that they intended to use their advantage for the establishment of their ascendancy in the East. They roundly demanded of the Porte the independence of the Crimea and of the principalities of the Danube. The chancellor-prince Kaunitz therefore thought it proper, thereby meeting the wishes of the king, to accompany the emperor to the new meeting.

In Neustadt Joseph was treated with all the personal regard due to his high rank and his qualities. The king rejoiced in his advanced knowledge of French and Italian poetry: thus, he said, should one begin, then philosophy should follow. Joseph had already raised himself above the superstition of the bigoted court; he made fun of the narrow-mindedness of the Viennese censorship, but at the same time was modest. Towards Kaunitz he behaved more like a son than a ruler.

The whole importance of the meeting lay in the conference between the king of Prussia and the Austrian chancellor. One day Kaunitz, in a long discourse in which he would not be interrupted, unfolded to the king the political system of his court as he had organised it after the peace: the alliance between Prussia and Russia formed a counterpoise to the alliance of Austria with France; and this balance suited Europe. He repeated that Silesia was now a healed-up wound, which must not be reopened. He added, however, that it was impossible for Austria to allow Moldavia and Wallachia to pass to Russia—such a neighbour would be intolerable to Hungary—or to stand by and see Russia unsettle Poland and seek to rule it. Kaunitz believed that he had made a great impression on the king by his "bold and candid" discourse, as he himself designated it. But Frederick was not exactly edified by the doctrinarian and self-satisfied tone which the prince adopted; later he often enough stated this. Nevertheless he remarked that with all his eccentricity and presumption Kaunitz was a man of good understanding, even of intellect: he certainly knew it himself and demanded that it should be acknowledged by all. In his main purposes he, the king, was quite at one with him, and these aimed at the maintenance of good feelings on both sides throughout the oriental embroilments and at the settlement of the Russo-Turkish War.^a

THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA (1764 A.D.)

Looking ahead after the Seven Years' War, Frederick saw no means of securing himself so effectually as by cultivating the good will of Russia. In 1764 he consequently concluded a treaty of alliance with the empress Catherine for eight years.^b

A comparison of that treaty, finally signed on the 11th of April, 1764, with a draft Frederick had sent to Petersburg in August, 1763, makes it especially clear what concessions Frederick had to make if he wished to bring about any kind of alliance between Prussia and Russia. A first glance will show that whereas Frederick's draft contained only eight articles, the definite treaty consisted of fourteen; and in addition to these there were some secret separate articles and a secret convention.

A more thorough examination shows that the difference is still more

[1764 A D]

sharply defined. Frederick's draft enjoined both the contracting parties to close with no other proposal which in any way contradicted this alliance. Quite another state of things is shown in the actual contract. The freedom to make treaties with other countries is expressly reserved, certainly under the declaration that the aforesaid contract would in this way suffer no breach, but on the contrary would appear to gain in strength and practicability. It is even agreed that other courts, too, which were of the same mind, should be invited to join. At that time the statesmen of Petersburg were already occupied with that project the realisation of which Russian Poland so often desired—to form an alliance of all the northern powers. Whilst it was insisted that this point should be accepted in Petersburg, not only was complete freedom reserved with regard to forming new bonds, but a handle was obtained which might eventually enable Russia to claim the participation of Prussia in the furthering of her northern policy.

Both contracting parties guaranteed the integrity of their countries to each other, and promised each other mutual assistance, in the case of either being attacked by any power, and, if it should be possible, the support of infantry, ten thousand strong, and cavalry, twenty thousand. Should this support be insufficient, the amount of any further help was reserved for future agreement. In case of need the assistance of the entire army of either country could be claimed. Each party undertook to conclude no peace with enemies unless after mutual agreement, and to embark on no enterprise without the knowledge of the other. Should one of the two powers, whilst giving the support agreed upon, be itself attacked, it should be able to recall its troops two months after notice, but if it was itself engaged in war, it was free from all liability to give help. Joined to this chief contract were four secret articles, and two separate secret articles, which contained the most intrinsically important points. The first secret article set forth the conditions under which military help might be exchanged for a sum of money. If Russia had reason to expect an attack on the provinces along the Turkish or Crimean border, or if Prussia expected the same from Gelderland, Cleves, East Friesland, or from anywhere on that side of the Weser, they should be answerable for support, not in troops but in money. And a yearly sum of 400,000 roubles should be an equivalent for the ten thousand infantry and the twenty thousand cavalry.

Prussia undertook to assist in upholding the present constitution of Sweden, and even if, for the moment, this agreement should be confined to insuring concerted action of the Prussian and Russian envoys at Stockholm, there was a further arrangement for provisional measures of greater effect, should this arrangement be inefficient to deter from their purpose those working to render the kingly power more absolute. Frederick assured to the grand duke, as duke of Holstein, his present possessions in Germany, and promised in the event of negotiations with Denmark for the equalisation of certain differences respecting Schleswig, to use his good offices to obtain for the grand duke full satisfaction of his just claims. Further, the two contracting parties bound themselves to uphold the right of free election in Poland, in such a way that no one should be permitted to make the dignity of royalty hereditary in his family, or to acquire absolute power; any intentions in that direction were to be bitterly opposed, even by force of arms, so as to protect the republic from the overthrow of its constitution and of its fundamental laws. In what sense this general decision about Poland was meant, and what ideas underlay it, were explained in a secret convention and in the two separate secret articles.

Prussia and Russia were agreed as to the manner of choosing a king. Even the name, to place it beyond doubt, was mentioned in a second separate arti-

ele. And, as the empress had already a certain understanding with those of the nation who were favourably disposed, the king of Prussia promised to use every means in his power to support her in attaining her desires. Further, as Russia had already assembled a body of troops on the borders of Poland in case of emergency, the king of Prussia pledged himself to do likewise on the Prussian-Polish frontier. The envoys had already instructions to make public, immediately the choice was known, the name of the candidate recommended by the contracting parties, and to declare that in the event of any one's daring to disturb the peace of the republic, and to conspire against the legally chosen king, Prussian and Russian troops would instantly march into Poland and subject the inhabitants and their property, without exception, to martial law. Should this declaration be ineffectual to quell all opposition, Russia undertook to march alone to the subjugation of the confederates, whilst Prussia was to assist merely by concentrating troops on the border and by other movements. If, however, any foreign power should send troops to Poland, to assist the confederates, the king promised to despatch twenty thousand men to Poland to help the Russian force. In the event of this proceeding leading to any attack against either of the contracting parties, they mutually engaged to supply a further assistance of twenty thousand men.

Finally a decision was also agreed upon with regard to the dissenters. Russia and Poland undertook to protect the Greek (church) Lutherans, and reformers known as dissenters in Poland and Lithuania, by decisive though friendly representations to the king and the republic. They were to try to obtain for them the enjoyment of the rights, privileges, and freedom which they had formerly possessed in both spiritual and secular matters. Should these representations fail for the moment, they were to await a more favourable opportunity, but in the mean-time the dissenters were to be secured from all injustice and oppression.

Russia got all she wanted by the conclusion of this treaty. Frederick's utter isolation forced him finally to agree to all the conditions which in the beginning he had struggled against with all his might. As far as Sweden and the grand duke were concerned, the concessions were fairly innocuous. They imposed no obligation upon Frederick to involve himself in war. Therefore the article regarding Poland fell all the heavier on him.

It assuredly did not escape the keen penetration of the king that, whilst France and Austria certainly used fair words, they were slow to back their words with deeds. In the spring, the reports from Poland were tolerably favourable. Notwithstanding their great opposition to the Russian candidate for the throne, the anti-Russian party showed far too little inner coherence, and a great want of fertility in their plans. But the result could not be safely guaranteed. France and Austria, even at the eleventh hour, might wake to energetic action, or feel themselves, by Russia's sudden step, compelled against their wills to take to the sword. Then all the king of Prussia's hopes for peace would be at an end. Frederick could not even get one of the many far too hard conditions made more easy. There was always the cry, "The contract is difficult enough as it is," or they doubted in Petersburg whether the king ever seriously intended to help to bring Poland into order.

And when Frederick pointed out, and with justice, that throughout the contract Russia had taken the lion's share, the conclusive answer was always ready—that the new alliance was possible only if a belief could be aroused in Russia that it was for the good of the empire, because otherwise those who opposed it would all raise a cry of reproach that Prussia's assistance had been far too dearly bought.

All articles concerning Poland were formulated in Russia, giving the empire in their construction a handle for the government of Poland. Russia, unham-

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pered, would now enforce the imperial authority in Warsaw; the interference of foreign powers being unlikely, once the alliance with Prussia was settled.

However great Frederick's reluctance, under such conditions, to consent to the contract, he felt the value of an alliance with Russia to be sufficient to justify him in at last accepting it. Only one clause, that protecting the dissenters, was of his prompting. He had no *arrière pensée* in this, but only yielded to the entreaties of his comrades in the faith, who implored him to give them his support.^e

FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND

The conditions which Catherine II caused to be put before the king of Prussia as the price of her peace with the Turk compelled him entirely to abandon the business of mediation. His judgment foretold the immediate outbreak of war between Russia and Austria. This affected himself only in so far as the disruption between the Russians and Austrians also recoiled on Poland. Stanislaus Poniatowski, whom he was bound to uphold, was threatened by France and the confederates; Austria was more on the side of the confederates. And Austria had already taken possession of a part of Polish territory which she regarded as an ancient integral part of Hungary: but also on the Russian side men were convinced that the situation of affairs in Poland could not be maintained, and that Stanislaus would not be able to fulfil the obligations he had undertaken in favour of the dissidents. As early as March, 1770, the opinion had been aired on the Russian side that Austria as well as each of the other powers should take possession of a portion of Poland contiguous with her own territory. In this intention may be seen the beginning of the first partition of Poland; thus the basis of it was the conviction that the organisation made by the empress of Russia could not be maintained if Poland remained in its former condition. Frederick II, however, had not entered into this view.

From the Austrian side had already been made a plan to win over the king by offering an acquisition of territory at the cost of Poland; there were thoughts of offering him Courland and Semgallen, but this offer was never actually made to him, for it was seen from the start that he would not entertain it. Without himself taking any action he fell into a situation in which he had to decide between Russia and Austria; for neither the one nor the other of these two powers would have dared to expose itself to the hostility of Prussia. And if Austria had not Prussia on her side, she could not dare to assist the Turk with armed force. But more than this, what could Turkey offer the Austrians? They would have liked to have Belgrade and Widdin, that is to say, Servia. But at the first mention of such a project the Turkish plenipotentiary begged the emperor Joseph not to disturb this string of the political lyre; it might cost the grand seignior his head if he entertained a thought of it. On their side, too, the Turks at that time urged the court of Vienna rather to a policy of indemnity in Poland; they actually proposed a partition of the Polish kingdom in the first instance between Austria and the Porte.

Such an association, however, was impossible. Austria would have had Russia and Prussia at once against herself, and the help of the Turks would have been of little avail in their position at that time. It was at this conjuncture of affairs that Frederick II really dealt with the plan for the partial partition of Poland. He did not wish to alienate the good will of either Russia or of Austria, and thought that Russia would drop those of her conditions for the restoration of peace as were most displeasing to Austria, namely the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia. It seemed to him as if peace might

[1772 A.D.]

be restored if only the three powers could come to an agreement in the Polish affair. It cannot be denied that the occupation of the Zips and of certain neighbouring starostas by the Austrians, who at once introduced an administration into the incorporated provinces, gave the first impulse to the serious treatment of the idea of partition. Catherine intimated that what was permissible to Austria must also be permissible to others, and who could not show similar claims to those produced by Austria?

Frederick II reckoned the increase in territory acquired by Austria in these *réunions* as of great importance; he saw in it a shifting of the balance of power between the two monarchies; to set off Austria's increase of strength he claimed an increased strength for Prussia. But it was not an equal extent in territorial possession that he coveted, but an actual expansion of his power. It seemed to him that the moment had come in which to push to its conclusion a policy of aggrandisement, which was made particularly desirable to him by the untenable geographical position in which he now found himself. He took up the idea which had already been conceived in the fourteenth century by the rulers of the Teutonic order—*i.e.*, to establish an immediate connection between the territory of the order, that is to say East Prussia, with Silesia by the acquisition of Polish districts, a project the execution of which at that time would have been of great importance to advance the German element in opposition to the purely Polish element. At that time the plan had been a complete failure; by joining with the Lithuanians the Poles had on the contrary become masters of the Teutonic order, and had repelled the German element. Without taking his lead literally from these ancient designs, which were altogether buried in obscurity, Frederick II, as sovereign of Prussia and now also of Silesia, saw, in the cementing of the two by the acquisition of strips of Polish territory, a sort of geographical necessity.

The Acquisition of West Prussia (1772 A.D.)

Already as crown prince he had declared it highly desirable from a Brandenburg-Prussian point of view to acquire West Prussia, which in former days had already been wholly under German influence, it was one of those thoughts that seemed to Prince Eugene, when he heard of it, to be a notable sign of the soaring genius in the young prince. But since then Frederick II had not seriously thought of this plan. He entertained no hope of carrying it through, he hesitated to raise a general storm. In the political testament of 1768 he describes this intention as a valuable policy for his successor. But now European complications set in, which tempted him to stretch out his hand towards the possession of this territory.

Very precise were the expressions of the empress Catherine on this occasion. "Why," she asked Prince Henry of Prussia, who happened to be paying a visit to St. Petersburg, "does not the king of Prussia also appropriate for himself the territory of Ermland?" At the mention of this there awoke in the king his old geographical and political reflections; Ermland, which the empress offered him, was too insignificant to be worth a rupture with public opinion on its account; but to take a large province by which East Prussia might be connected with Brandenburg and Silesia—this was a design which he now seriously entertained.

Of dynastic claims there was no question here, and the argument employed was not very far-reaching. The act was a purely political one; Frederick sought for his justification in the fact that it was the only means of avoiding a war between Russia and Austria, in which he would have had to take part himself and which might have become a general war, more especially as a new quarrel between France and England threatened to break out. For himself

[1772 A D]

he claimed those territories which the Teutonic order and the German Empire had lost to the Poles; it was in opposing the accomplishment of this that the old electors of the race of the burggrafs had won their chief title to merit. King Frederick was now in a position to make headway for a stream of the opposite tendencies; he wanted at once to win frontiers which he might possibly utilise as lines of defence against Russia and to preclude the danger of being overwhelmed by a Polish kingdom of the present considerable dimensions which might at some future date acquire an energetic sovereign.

He would have put up with a Polish kingdom of moderate extent. If the two great powers would concede him the territory which he regarded as indispensable to the consolidation of his country, he would have no objection to Russia's acquiring territory five times as large, and Austria acquiring territory three times as large. His sole aim was to strengthen his state geographically and to consolidate it. He knew well that this too must cost him much inconvenience and trouble, but it was his fundamental belief that man was born to work, and that there could be no better work than such as contributed to the welfare of the fatherland.

For the Prussian state the acquisition of West Prussia, which became an accomplished fact in September, 1772, was a condition on which depended its political existence in the future.

On August 5th the treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg. By this act Russia obtained the largest share—about 87,500 square miles, with 1,800,000 inhabitants; Austria took the most fertile and populous districts, Galicia and Lodomira, in all 62,500 square miles, with nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants; and Prussia received only the bishopric of Ermland, West or Polish Prussia, and the Netze district, without the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in all 9,465 square miles, with a population of about 600,000. But this territory lay between Brandenburg and East Prussia, and its acquisition filled up a dangerous gap in Frederick's dominions; so that Prussia was probably more strengthened than either of her confederates. Poland was deprived in all of one third of her area and one half of her population, but the remaining territory was "guaranteed" by the powers.

The land thus acquired by Frederick was waste and ruined, with a poor,



MEDIEVAL FORTIFICATION

[1772-1780 A.D.]

proud, and uncontrolled nobility, and a savage peasantry. There was scarcely anything like a city; and whatever there was of trade or manufacturing industry was in the hands of the Jews. Frederick gave careful attention to the improvement of the country. He constructed a canal from the Brahe to the Netze, connecting the waters of the Vistula and the Oder, and built up Bromberg, from a wretched little town of five hundred inhabitants into a flourishing city, which now contains sixteen thousand people. Other cities, too, grew up with surprising rapidity. He sent faithful officers to the province, trade was made honest and trustworthy, and even the peasants began to have something to live for. Before Frederick's death there was a new creation of German thought and labour in this region.^m

THE SILESIAN MINES

There has never been a ruler who was better informed as to the resources of his dominions than Frederick the Great. But nevertheless Frederick knew very little about the treasures contained in the Silesian mines, and it happened fortunately to be Minister Heinitz whom he despatched thither. He was accompanied by Gerhard, counsellor of mines, Rosenstiel, secretary to the mines, and Baron von Reden, who had been made chief counsellor of mines the preceding year, and appointed to the mining works and foundry department. Their sojourn in Tarnowitz was of the utmost importance. Here there were silver and lead mines which in the sixteenth century had proved extremely productive; but since 1598 the yield had been less, and in 1631 it had completely given out, chiefly in consequence of the miners' and working guilds having been driven from Tarnowitz by the intolerance of Ferdinand II. Since that time the Tarnowitz mining industry had never reached its former importance, and from 1754 it may be considered to have been practically at an end. The dread of the anti-reformation faded in time out of the minds of the people, and now if inquiry were made as to the reason of the falling-off in the mines the answer would be that the industry was too severely taxed. Tithes were claimed by the state, and, in addition, the ninth mulde and three Silesian thalers out of every silver mark had to be paid to Baron Henckel von Donnersmarck and Neudeck.

The visit paid by Minister Heinitz to the province of Silesia was fraught with important consequences. The greatest benefit he conferred on this country, so rich in minerals, was in giving the mining industry such a leader as Baron von Reden, who was not only an aristocrat but a thoroughly capable manager, devoted to the business from his youth, who had increased his knowledge by travel in England, France, Germany, and Poland. To the three mining deputies, established in 1778 in Giehren, Waldenburg, and Reichenstein, there was added later a fourth at Tarnowitz, all four receiving on the proposition of Von Reden the title of "mining officers."

It appears that Von Reden made a special examination of the state of affairs at Tarnowitz; and on the 4th of January, 1780, he delivered a report in Berlin, setting forth proposals for reopening the working of the Tarnowitz mines, and showing why the enterprise, if undertaken, would have good chances of success. At the time this report appeared to have been set aside, but some years later it led to important results. Heinitz no doubt took this opportunity of satisfying himself of the extent of the Silesian iron works. This metal was not in good repute. In consequence Frederick had taken an unusual way to dispose of the manufactures of the royal foundries to his subjects, introducing them gradually and under restrictions, endeavouring thus to wean them from their manifold prejudices and to encourage in some measure the principal works, and so increase the revenues derived from them.

[1781-1789 A D]

In the official document of the 6th of November, 1781, which contains these statements, we find later this proceeding of Frederick's described as "coercion for the sale and settled distribution." What are we to understand by this? Another official document (April 20th, 1787), probably issued by Von Reden, is entitled, "Pro Memoria, concerning the establishment of the Silesian mining works, products of the foundries, and their management." This document gives us the following information:

The Silesians cherished a prejudice against the copper found in their country and against black and white lead, preferring, as they did under the Austrian rule, the minerals of foreign countries. After the Seven Years' War the king had taken into the state management the important copper foundries of Rothenburg on Count Mansfeld's territories, so that the workmen might not be left to starve, and that the usual standard of living might be maintained. Tin forges were started in Neumark and among the Harz Mountains, and as the conviction grew that foreign copper and lead were not needed their importation was forbidden on the 24th of January, 1768, and again on the 5th of January and the 26th of April, 1769.

In order to evade this prohibition, the province undertook to use up a certain quantity of these metals annually, and the merchant company of Breslau were obliged to join in guaranteeing this sale, but they did no more. All that was further needed was brought into the country from Hungary and Saxony. Such a proceeding could not but be detrimental to the growth and prosperity of the home works. The manufacturers in Slawetzitz were allowed to sell no lead in the Breslau district, but were forced to seek a foreign market.

How could this be stopped? Heinitz decided upon introducing a new measure. He had seen how richly upper Silesia was stocked with iron ore and the wood necessary to its working; and he became further convinced that it would be possible to provide all iron and lead required for the provinces on that side of the Elbe. Thus in 1789 the importation of Swedish iron was forbidden; but, on the other hand, this would-be coercive measure was not enforced; delivery contracts aimed against it were formed with the owners of foundries in upper Silesia, with Blankenburg and Wernigerode; several dépôts were started in the provinces, and in connection with the many places of business to which the increased commerce was leading. A special "head iron bureau" was started in Berlin. The Breslau district resigned the management of the upper Silesian royal foundries and iron commerce into the hands of the chief mining council, which then endeavoured not only to increase the trade but also to raise the value of the products.^o

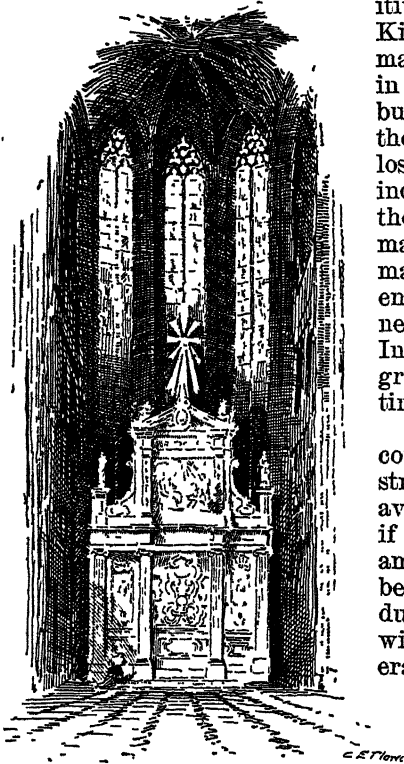
PRUSSIAN RULE IN SILESIA

If we compare Silesia as it was when Frederick the Great conquered it with the Silesia he left behind at his death, we are forced to confess an astonishing progress of development. The number of places of worship and of schools had remarkably increased, the fullest religious freedom had taken the place of narrow-minded intolerance; education in both the higher and the popular schools was noticeably improved; the people rejoiced in a sense of security which under the Austrian rule was undreamed of, even the poorest and meanest having grounds for hope that in a just cause he would gain his rights from justice, though his opponent should be a person of the highest rank. The situation of the lower classes amongst the agricultural population had been especially improved. The municipal commercial legislation protected them from extortionate demands on the part of the landowners. A network of pledges depending on reciprocity assured the whole country of

assistance in cases of misfortune, whilst for the landowners the model institutes upheld the credit of the province. In times when the crops failed, when prices were high, the king opened his storehouse, and he was not sparing of support when there were great fires. In spite of the many wants produced by war and the not entirely favourable condition of trade, the average welfare was greater, the number of inhabitants had risen more than half a million, the land was better cultivated, the towns had a more prosperous aspect, the number of solid houses with tiled roofs had everywhere increased.

As to trade, there is no doubt that since the beginning of Prussian rule Silesia had suffered no inconsiderable losses; more especially because the tariff was rendered more and more prohibitive by the neighbouring imperial state. King Frederick's system of imposts had made many restrictions and difficulties, particularly in Breslau, where the transit and carrying business had till then played a great part, but there were many compensations for these losses. The old pillars of the commercial and industrial life, the Silesian linen goods and the products of Silesian wool-weaving, still maintained the foremost place on the world's market, and the rising industries in the different provinces played an active part in business, thanks to the protection of the state. In short, we have no right to speak of retrogression, but have to call attention to a continual though gradual rise.

The decrease of dependence on foreign countries, for which Frederick successfully strove, was not bought too dearly with an average lessening of commercial gains, and if formerly it was easier for individuals to amass a considerable fortune, there were now beyond computation more people who by industry and knowledge of trade, even if not without strenuous effort, could make a tolerable livelihood. This must surely be considered an economic gain. With all this the country was conducted from a condition of patriarchal government into the methods of a modern state, such as enlightened despotism creates. All that was done for the country came from



TOMB OF THE THREE KINGS—COLOGNE

above. All innovations were made by the king himself with his all-seeing eye, his never-resting providence as father of his country. The constitution of politics which he found existing had to give way before his word of authority, without anybody in the country being the worse, or having a desire that the old order might return. But there could hardly be a doubt that the institutions of a civilised state, such as Frederick dictated to Silesia, must be of incomparably greater value to a sound political development, even with the final end of political freedom in view, than the maintenance and amplification of the Silesian constitution could be as it before existed. It is quite natural that the happy results of the king's active administration in this province, added to the popularity which he had obtained by his victories, led to his being idolized by a grateful people.^h

THE WAR OF THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION (1778, 1779 A D)

Joseph II was eager to aggrandise Austria, and at least to obtain an equivalent for Silesia. For a long time Austria had been longing to acquire Bavaria, and there now seemed to be some reason to hope for success. The ancient line of electors of the house of Wittelsbach died out in 1777 with Maximilian Joseph (December 30th). The next heir was the elector palatine, Charles Theodore, also duke of Julich and Berg, who was not eager to obtain Bavaria, since, by the Peace of Westphalia, he must then forfeit the electorate of the Palatinate, and must also remove to Munich from his favourite residence at Mannheim. Besides, Charles Theodore had no legitimate children, and could not leave to his natural sons either dukedom; so that he was eager to exchange some of his dignities for possessions which he could dispose of by will. Under these circumstances Joseph II made an unfounded claim to lower Bavaria, under a pretended grant of the emperor Sigismund in 1426. A secret treaty was made by him with Charles Theodore, by which he was to pay that prince a large sum of money for lower Bavaria; and soon after Maximilian Joseph's death Joseph II occupied the land with troops. Frederick II, who was ever jealous of the growth of Austria, resolved to prevent this acquisition. He instigated Charles of Zweibrucken, the next heir to Bavaria after Charles Theodore, to protest against the bargain, and pledged himself to defend Charles' rights. Joseph II offered to compromise, but Frederick would have no terms which enlarged Austria; and thus the war of the Bavarian Succession broke out (1778-1779).

Again the Austrian and Prussian armies marched to the borders of Bohemia and Silesia. No decisive battles took place in this war, and no memorable deeds of heroism are recorded. Frederick had a fine army, but held it back, and refused to take Austria by surprise, even when the opportunity seemed most tempting. The war is ever since known in the Prussian army as the Potato War, the only achievement in it being Frederick's stay of some months in Bohemia, living on the country. Neither he nor Maria Theresa wished to renew their useless conflicts; and she opened negotiations with him in 1778, keeping them secret from her son. They failed, but on May 13th, 1779, peace was concluded at Teschen, through the mediation of Russia and France; the empress Catherine declaring that, unless the Austrian claims were abandoned, she would support Frederick II with fifty thousand men. Austria gave up all claim to the Bavarian inheritance; but received the small district between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salzach, known as the Innviertel, containing about eight hundred square miles and a population of sixty thousand. Mecklenburg and Saxony received compensation in money and lands for their claims on Bavaria; and Austria agreed not to oppose the future union of Anspach and Baureuth with Prussia. But the inheritance of Bavaria, upon the death of Charles Theodore without legitimate sons, was secured to the Zweibrucken-Birkenfeld branch of the house of Wittelsbach, which succeeded to the dukedom of 1799, in the person of Maximilian (IV) Joseph, ancestor of the present king. By inviting the interference of Russia in this case, Frederick gave that power a new opportunity to interfere in German affairs.^m

The year after the settlement of the Bavarian dispute Maria Theresa died and was succeeded by her son, Joseph II. When news of this event was brought to Frederick, he exclaimed, "Now there will be a new order of things!" But, contrary to these expectations, Joseph maintained peace, and the years following the Potato War were for Frederick and all Europe years of quiet and of democratic progress. Therefore we may now take leave of

Frederick the warrior, and consider at some length the personality and influence of Frederick the reformer, the philosopher, the dilettante, the patron of science and of letters.^a

FREDERICK'S INFLUENCE ON THE AGE

The favourable influence of the great transformation which Frederick the Great, by his example and rule, effected on the whole life of his time supplies subjects extending far beyond his immediate sphere. Everyone in his states, and even in other German countries, felt himself spurred forward by the sight of a monarch who stood there an example of the most marvellous energy, perseverance, and versatility of thought and action. Everyone felt stronger at the thought of being recognised or praised by this monarch, perhaps even being called upon to assist in his lofty work. A new life seemed to breathe through the whole nation and showed itself by many unmistakable signs.

It was as natural as it was advantageous, in the light of the development of the German nation, that this thoroughness and striving, called forth in large circles by the example of Frederick, should first turn towards the positive and practical spheres of life. The Germans were then pursuing the very opposite of what Frederick qualified as the natural mode in the development of nations. They were striving after the highest aims in the arts and sciences, before they had accomplished the "necessary and needful," before they had taken a firm hold on the practical life of real and positive interests, and had acted accordingly. The example of Frederick drew, in a certain degree at least, the attention of the nation back to these neglected fields. It was a positive, realistic nation through and through; Carlyle calls Frederick in the highest sense of the words, "a crowned reality." He went straight up to his aim without any sign of romance or sentimentality. In him there lay no exaggeration, there was no soaring too high, nothing unrealised or unfulfilled. He knew at all times precisely what he wished, what he was able to perform. Familiar, even intimate with the most advanced ideas of enlightenment and humanity, he always put those ideas immediately into practice, fitting them into the circumstances of the moment and making them a part of everyday life. From his early days the watching of events and of people had been his favourite study. The useful, in the highest sense of the word—the amelioration of the material, civic, and public conditions of the people—was the field which he once again raised to honour, after it had been so long neglected by a great as well as by an intellectual people.

The effects of such a course upon the intellectual life of the nation were not lost. The political sciences encouraged by the toleration and support which the great king granted to them, strengthened by the practical spirit which breathed in all the public acts, rose to an activity which hitherto had not been known in Germany and had scarcely been contemplated. The gathering of statistics carried on by a government of the nature of Frederick's became a science most closely related to practical life and proceeding according to principle. The publicity which first relieved the public life of the German nation from thralldom, and thus lent a higher flight to the spirit of nationality, dates from those days. History, after having busied itself with the doings of the princes and the court, turns towards public life, and, in a more elevated sense, to the life of the nation itself.

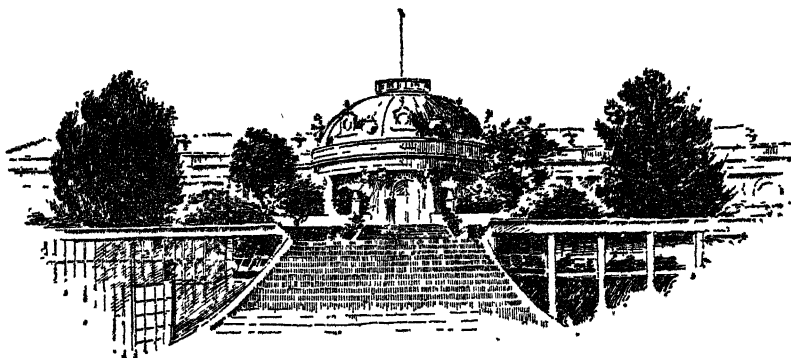
This instinct for the practical and positive was also a useful corrective to the minds of the Germans, who were too much inclined towards the ideal. There was yet a second element which was aroused in the nation by the manner of thought and action of Frederick; or, if not aroused, it at least began to

develop more strongly or was encouraged to greater participation, having until then manifested itself only in timid endeavours. We refer to that truly civic trait of the German mind to which we owe the revival of art in the fatherland, of its sciences and customs during the last century: the truly civic spirit or the manly, earnest, self-conscious disposition which gradually developed among the citizen class who in Germany are the real representatives of national culture. This came about under the direct and unrestricted influence of the personality and government of Frederick the Great. It put a stop to that servile submission wherewith the people of the rank of burghers had submitted, not merely in politics but also in social matters and intellectual questions, to the pretensions of the leading classes of society. It further showed its beneficial influence upon the fields of science and art, and above all on those most lofty ones of philosophy and poetry.¹

FREDERICK AT SANS SOUCI

It is, perhaps, less as a victorious general or the wise administrator of his country, than as the philosopher of Sans Souci, the monarch of the flute, the tolerant friend of Voltaire, that the present generation delights to conceive of Frederick the Great.^a

The cause of rapprochement between Frederick and Voltaire was simple enough. Frederick had learned to hate in his father everything that was truly German; French literature commanded the civilised world and Voltaire com-



SANS SOUCI, POTSDAM

manded French literature; hence it is not surprising that the prince, when but twenty-four years of age, should have entered into a correspondence with the celebrated poet of fifty. In his very first letter he writes: "I feel that the advantages of birth, and those clouds of grandeur with which vanity surrounds us, are of little or no service. How much ought talent and service to be preferred to them!"

Frederick's income, however, was so small at this time that he could not entertain his correspondent. The year of his accession, on November 12th, Frederick met the poet at the castle of Moyland, and he describes in a letter to Jourdan the feeling this interview produced on him: "I have seen Voltaire, whose personal acquaintance I was anxious to make. He is eloquent as Cicero, pleasant as Pliny, wise as Agrippa. I have seen the two things nearest my

[¹Dr. Franz Mehring,ⁿ in his *Lessing-Legends*, opposes the current view of Frederick's influence on German literature]

heart—Voltaire and the French troops.” Under this impression the king invited the French poet to Sans Souci.^s

Situated within a stone’s throw of Potsdam, Sans Souci, according to the original designs of Frederick, was to be only a place of repose, a resting place in a delicious spot. It is picturesquely situated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which flows a river. The main building is unostentatious and is but one story in height. The Italian roof is surmounted by a dome. The two wings are united to the main part by a colonnaded gallery, which suggests St. Peter’s, at Rome. The elevation of the terrace and the isolation of the castle produce a unique impression.

From the court one passes into a vestibule and thence into a round room lined with antique marbles and ornamented with two niches, one of which gives shelter to a figure representing Pleasure, the other to a poetical presentation of Epicurus—both by Adam. Columns of Carrara marble encircle this room, which is dominated and illumined by that gilded dome which is its ceiling. On the left is the dining-hall, adorned with pictures. Presently one comes upon a little room where there is a piano; this is where the king used to take his coffee and spend moments of solitude. Beyond is the large sleeping apartment, ornate and covered with gilding, upholstered in blue. The alcove and balustrading, rich as they are, are yet useless, for it is in a little bed hidden by a screen and drawn close to the chimney that the king slept—a modest bed, covered with old crimson silk on which his dogs were free to romp! For Frederick had a passion for dogs, and when travelling, or even on his campaigns, he kept a tiny levrette buttoned into his vest. This sanctuary has been preserved as it was at the time that Frederick’s great spirit passed away. One is shown the armchair where he died; the little clock which he used to wind himself, and which, according to tradition, stopped at the moment of his death, is still on the chest, sleeping its last sleep.

His library, round like the drawing-room, is at one of the extremities of the building. It is adorned with a bookcase of cedar, trimmed with garlands and festoons of gilded bronze, and surmounted by antiquities of white marble. The ceiling, done by Frederick’s famous painter, De Pesne, represents Apollo. The only pieces of furniture are a revolving desk, on which still lies open the *Art of War*, and a cabinet on which stand two glass cubes, one an inkstand, the other a powder box, and a pair of large scissors. If one may judge a man by the inspection of his library, these cases, which hold not only favourite books but practically the entire intellectual pabulum of the philosopher of Sans Souci, are a revelation. At the house of this German prince, not one German book! The collection is composed almost entirely of French classics, at the head of which stand the works of the illustrious author of the *Henriade*.

As one comes out the view is enchanting—at the left Potsdam, at the right a forest of oaks and maples. In front the garden descends by six terraces to the river; below is a great plain with fountains, lakes, cascades, columns, obelisks, pavilions, labyrinths—the troublous, perturbed architecture of princely gardens in the eighteenth century. Such as it was, Sans Souci was loved by Frederick with partiality and tenderness; here he came as to an asylum of peace, whenever he had a moment of leisure; and its portals opened only to the key of philosophy in the hands of disciples.

“It is sometimes Cæsar with whom I dine,” said Voltaire, “sometimes Marcus Aurelius or Julian. Here is all the charm of seclusion, the freedom of the fields together with all those luxuries of life which the lord of a castle, who is a king, can procure for his humble guests.”

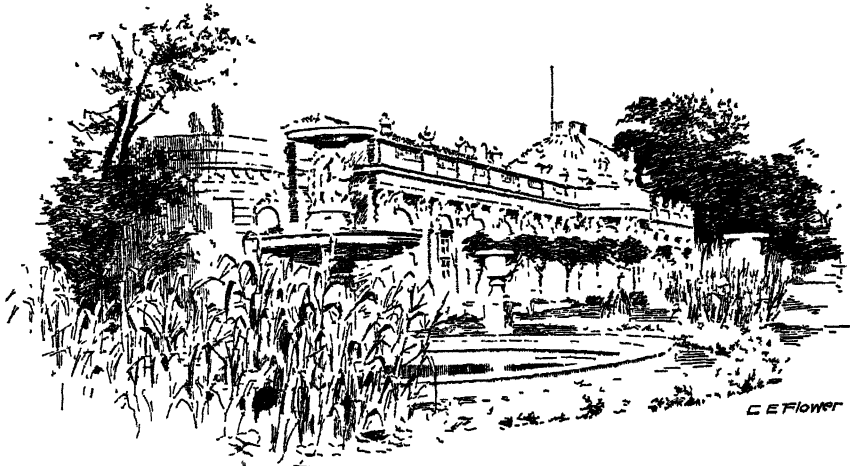
The flavour of the king’s suppers can hardly be given again. Delicious they were and one can fancy the brilliancy, the sparkle of the conversation. Frederick knew how to kindle the fire of controversy by opposition. “He

loved," says Formey, "to take the negative, when others took the affirmative, and vice versa."

Frederick was a tease and somewhat malicious; he took pleasure in pricking and goading his guests. To these faults he joined other and graver defects—a monstrous egotism, and absolute though disguised indifference to all which did not directly concern him.

In order to gain an idea of the intimate society which surrounded Frederick, of that little kernel of free-thinkers grouped round the philosopher of Sans Souci, it would be necessary to study biographies. The five or six faithful friends, Pollnitz, Chacot, D'Argens, Algarotti, Maupertuis, La Mettrie, Lord Tyrconnel, are original spirits worth studying—most of them with a grain of folly and weakness, surprising in sages, in strong and sceptical minds. Moreover, we are in France—we find its usages, its fashions, its language, its quality of thought, its scholars, and its poets. At the intimate dinners of the king, it is true, a few Germans were allowed to slip in, on the condition that they leave everything German behind them. Such was the little group of disciples with whom Frederick was surrounded when Voltaire, his sails full, arrived in Berlin, and was received by his master with a ceremony, a devotion whose style was copied and exaggerated by a court disciplined like a regiment.^t

"The evenings," says Sophie Willemine de Prusse, "are consecrated to music. The prince holds his concerts in his own apartments, where nobody



ANOTHER VIEW OF SANS SOUCI, POTSDAM, GERMANY

may go who is not invited, and indeed such an invitation is a great favour. He generally executes a sonata and a concerto for the flute, an instrument which he plays with utmost perfection. He mouths it admirably, and his fingers are agile and his soul full of music. He composes sonatas himself. I have more than once had the honour to find myself beside him while he played and I was enchanted with his taste, specially for his skill in the Adagio. It is a continuous creation of new ideas."^u

FREDERICK, D'ALEMBERT, AND VOLTAIRE

One must read Fouqué's *Mémoires* to learn the details of the deeply tender and reverent friendship the great monarch felt for Voltaire and for that other great Frenchman, D'Alembert—two friends of his youth: but to understand

how great was the value he set upon friendship and interchange of thought we must turn to the famous letters left by these two men and observe in what fashion Frederick honoured their memory. D'Alembert died in 1783, Voltaire ended his long life, marked as by milestones with many works, at the age of eighty-four; he died in the capital of his own country, which he had so often been compelled to flee, on the 30th of May, 1778. No one can boast of a longer continued or more lively correspondence with the king than these two literati, who are as distinguished in their way as Frederick is in his; he held them both in highest esteem, although in point of character the poet was greatly the inferior of the philosopher. D'Alembert enjoyed Frederick's great respect as a thinker and an honest friend of truth; he never misunderstood his own or the king's value, never presumed on the bond in which inquiry and knowledge had united him and the king. If his distinguished countryman, whose pre-eminence as poet, whose wit, whose bold and free spirit Frederick always admired and loved, had but possessed the same wisdom, he would have ended his days at Potsdam giving and receiving the greatest delight; and even at a distance he would have escaped many scourgings from Sans Souci. Indisputably both men gained immeasurably through this noble and spirited communion with the king.

The relations between Frederick and D'Alembert remained unshadowed; therefore we may believe that his death caused the king much sorrow. Voltaire, on the contrary, inseparable as he also was from Frederick, constantly gave rise to misunderstandings, which for a time would interrupt the harmony of their relations. Still all these little quarrels were so transient that they scarcely had any lasting effect on the feeling Frederick cherished for Voltaire in his heart. The tone which underlies all superficial vexations is one of deep admiration, and this colours all that Frederick says, even in moments of bitterest indignation.

We can imagine what a loss Voltaire's death was for Frederick the Great. For twenty-seven years France had banished her greatest writer, on account of the tendency of his writings. At last Necker, early in the year 1778, obtained from Louis XVI a consent, though but tacitly expressed, to his return to Paris. Voltaire wished to see his latest tragedy, *Alexius Comnenus*, on the stage. The inhabitants of the capital were ready to idolise the long-exiled man; he was crowned on the representation of his *Irene* and died amidst the homage of the people; but the church refused him consecrated burial. Frederick was at that time in Bohemia, and amid the noise and stir of the camp he found time to write a eulogy of the dead man for the Academy of Science in Berlin:

"However your theological brood may strive to dishonour Voltaire now he is dead," so ran the king's letter to D'Alembert on May 11th, 1780, "I can see nothing in the attempt but the impotent struggle of envious rage which merely covers its authors with disgrace. Equipped with all the documents you have furnished me for the purpose, I now begin in Berlin the extraordinary negotiation for Voltaire's requiem; and although I have no convictions as to the immortality of the soul, we will nevertheless have a mass sung for his." So it was. On the anniversary of his death in 1780, the Catholic church in Berlin with all possible pomp and magnificence celebrated the mourning service which France had refused Voltaire; and through Thiebault Frederick had an article on the subject not only in the Berlin paper, but in every other important European newspaper. The Berlin library received a fine clay bust of Voltaire by the celebrated Parisian sculptor Houdon, from whom the king also ordered a bust of him in marble for the collection in the Academy of Sciences. An engraving, *The Apotheosis of Voltaire*, was further sent to his friends in Paris.^b

FREDERICK THE AGNOSTIC

The time at which Frederick began to question the teachings of his church and the influence these doubts had over him are not so authentically known to us as we could wish. Those discussions which, in obedience to the command of Frederick's father, Pastor Müller held with him during his imprisonment in Kustrin, and which were to convince him of the completeness of God's mercy, never overstepped the bounds of traditional dogma. But still, as the prince evidently desired to be instructed through his reason, and was not ready to accept unexplained statements merely because they are in the Bible, these conferences would seem to have been rather endeavours to clear up questions of so-called natural theology than concerned with the deductions of the church's teaching.

During the next few years, too, expressions are not wanting to show the warm interest taken by the subsequent free-thinker in matters of religion, and particularly in Protestantism, without, however, making any statement so definite as to betray how far the religious sentiment, undoubtedly earnest in him, and the Protestant feelings, which later he did not deny, were linked in those early days with belief in the positive dogmas of Christianity.

On the other hand, in the years during which we know him to have been occupied in philosophical studies, Frederick showed himself in his letters and pamphlets so widely and radically opposed to the positive Christian dogmas that we must suppose this opposition to have begun much earlier, and refer them to his studies of Wolf's philosophy and the letters he interchanged with Voltaire.

In any case, the writings of Voltaire, of Bayle, and Lucretius, and of the various English free-thinkers, must have influenced this turn in the young philosopher's thoughts. As Frederick, in March, 1736, already opposed objections to the belief in immortality, it is evident that those teachings which differ more widely from the pantheistic (*Weltansicht*) point of view, and which in most cases take belief for granted, had even before then appeared doubtful to him; and in fact he acknowledges some few weeks later that his faith was very weak, and proves it to be so by questions that clearly show he had ceased to believe in supernatural revelation, in the Old Testament teachings, and in salvation through the death of Christ; and that he believed the Apostles to have been merely enthusiasts. In a letter written in the following year, he expresses himself even more plainly. He even blames his idolised Voltaire because on one occasion he used the expression the "Man-God," and in his pamphlet against Macchiavelli Frederick reckons the introduction of Christianity as a factor in mediæval barbarism. In short, in everything that goes beyond his own deistic belief he can see only error and superstition. The historical part of the Christian religion consists, as he says, "of fables which—less poetical, more absurd, more ridiculous than the most monstrous inventions of heathendom"—only a "facile and foolish credulity" could accept. In his idea of religion, he seems not to differ from Voltaire and Bolingbroke.

"The belief in miracles," he writes to D'Alembert in 1770, "seems just made for the people. One gets rid of a ridiculous religion, and in its place introduces one still more dubious. One sees opinions change, but new ones come in the train of every cult. I feel enlightenment to be good and useful for mankind. He who fights fanaticism disarms the most cruel, most blood-thirsty monster. Philosophy has found more expression, has been attacked with more courage in the eighteenth century than ever before, but what has been the result?" Ten years later he writes: "I found the world steeped in superstition at my birth; at my death I leave it just the same."^h

THE COLOUR OF FREDERICK'S OPINIONS

A complete system of philosophy is not to be deduced from Frederick's works, written amongst and coloured by the events of his time. He had not yet mastered many of the most remarkable works of classical and modern literature; influenced by what he read by the people he met, and by life in general, he wrote poems in which he often sought to forget the weariness of state affairs, or to subdue some painful impression. To regard him as an author, writing for the benefit or pleasure of his public, would be to mistake him utterly; his writings are entirely determined by the passing fancy—the individual impulse of the occasion and the moment.

No one was ever more imbued than Frederick with contempt for the inane life of courts and large cities. He was thoroughly content in his loneliness, for he found his only happiness in mental activity; in energetically perfecting the qualities nature had given him. He once confessed to his sister that he had a double philosophy: in peace and happiness he was an adherent of Epicurus, but in times of trouble he clung to the Stoic philosophy, which only means that he qualified or justified pleasure by reflection, and supported himself in trouble by leaning on his higher nature. In his letters and conversations, as in his poems, Frederick incessantly occupied himself with the gravest questions that men can set themselves—questions of freedom and necessity (which he declares to be the finest theme in "divine" metaphysics), of fate or providence, materiality or immortality of the soul; to which last he always returned.

Self-control, especially for one in his position, he considered one of the first duties of man; and he laboured unceasingly to perfect it. He admitted to his trusted friends that whenever he had an unpleasant, a disturbing experience, he endeavoured by reflection to master the first impulse, which was very strong; sometimes he succeeded, at other times he failed, and he would then be guilty of imprudent actions, for which he found it difficult to forgive himself.

He elaborated a system for personal happiness, which consisted in not taking life too seriously, being content with the present, without caring over much for the future. We must rejoice at misfortune escaped, enjoy the good that comes to us, and not permit sadness or hypochondria to embitter our pleasures. "I have rid myself of this passion of ambition, leaving cunning, misconception, vanity to those who wish to be their dupes, and only ask to enjoy the time heaven has granted me, to relish pleasure without debauch, and to do what good I can." *f*

FREDERICK AND HIS FLUTE

Incidental reference has been made to Frederick's musical taste. We are told that, in early life, he applied himself in earnest to his flute playing, and had in Quantz a teacher who would not allow his illustrious pupil to pass over anything. Before the Seven Years' War he practised daily four or five times; after rising, during the morning after the lectures, after the mid-day meal, and in the evening. In the morning he practised steadily scales and solfeggios as arranged for him by Quantz, that is to say dry but indispensable exercises. A written copy of these was in every music-room; in one the king has filled the blank pages with solfeggios of his own, which require a long breath and great facility of execution whilst they furnish the best proof of his cultivated taste.

His flute was, indeed, the means by which he eased the mental tension and gave himself spiritual freedom. Quantz declared he could tell even from the quicker passages whether the king was cheerful and peacefully disposed or not. In the morning, before the cabinet ministers came to him, Frederick

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used to walk up and down his room, considering many things, and at the same time playing, as the fancy took him, on his flute; and it was in these hours, so he wrote to D'Alembert, that his happiest inspirations came to him, even about matters of state. Even in camp and in winter quarters the flute played an important part in the king's life.

Flutes and an unpretending looking travelling piano followed Frederick the Great into Silesia, Saxony, Bohemia, and Moravia. But in the Seven Years' War it was different, even with music, from the first two Silesian wars. How humorously he jokes in a letter from Breslau (1742) over a "broken-down piano" on which he had played; how merrily the conqueror of Soor writes to Fredersdorf that he must send him a new flute because the Austrians had taken his old one with the whole equipage, and how cheerily he describes the operas and festivities in Dresden at Christmas time (1745). His mood could not be otherwise—for "the commando is off and will bring back flags, drums, and standards enough!"

After Kolin there was a difference. In Küstrin the flute is the confidant of his miseries and his comforter in misfortune. And in Sans Souci from earliest dawn the care-laden king is heard improvising on his flute till the horse is saddled or the carriage ready. And when, in his memory, Sans Souci, "of which he knew little more than that it was somewhere in the world," rose in his mind; when he in spirit heard the beeches in Rheinsberg and the old lindens in Charlottenburg rustling, and sighed "like the Jews when they thought on Zion, and by the waters of Babylon sat down and wept," then he would catch up his flute and try to forget all the dreariness of his present. No mortal can tell what music and his flute were to the hero king in those years.

In winter quarters Frederick made music as usual, if in a more constrained manner. He played the old beloved sonatas, seldom concerted pieces. He would often send to Berlin for a pianist to come to headquarters and accompany him, as in 1760-1761 he commanded Fasch to Leipsic. The good man's account is a sad one: he found "an old man, shrunk into himself—the five years of war, tumult, tear, grief, and hard work having given a character of melancholy and sad gravity to his face, which was remarkably striking contrasted with what he was formerly, and which seemed hardly in accordance with his age. It has become difficult for him to blow his flute."

In the last campaign the whole quartette was ordered to Breslau. Scarcely had the artists got out of the carriage, before they had to appear at a concert. The king played a piece and exclaimed enthusiastically, "That tastes like sugar!" But a great difference was noticeable in his playing. He had lost a tooth, and his fingers had become stiff. Once more, in 1778, the old hero took the field, and again his beloved flute accompanied him. It was on its last service, for gout crippled his fingers increasingly. In winter quarters he tried it for the last time—in vain! When he returned to Potsdam in the spring of 1779 he ordered all his flutes to be packed away forever, and said to Franz Benda, "My dear Benda, I have lost my best friend."

THE DEATH OF FREDERICK

Let us turn at once from this picture to the closing scene of the artist-monarch's life, as narrated by his master biographer, Carlyle.^a

Friedrich to the Duchess-Dowager of Brunswick.

SANS-SOUCI, 10th August, 1786.

MY ADORABLE SISTER:

The Hanover Doctor has wished to make himself important with you, my good Sister; but the truth is, he has been of no use to me (*m'a été inutile*). The old must give place to the

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young, that each generation may find room clear for it, and Life, if we examine strictly what its course is, consists in seeing one's fellow-creatures die and be born. In the meanwhile, I have felt myself a little easier for the last day or two. My heart remains inviolably attached to you, my good Sister. With the highest consideration, My adorable Sister,—Your faithful Brother and Servant,
FRIEDRICH

This [says Carlyle] is Friedrich's last Letter:—his last to a friend. There is one to his Queen, which Preuss's Index seems to regard as later, though without apparent likelihood; there being no date whatever, and only these words:

MADAM. I am much obliged by the wishes you deign to form: but a heavy fever I have taken (*grosse fièvre que j'ai prise*) hinders me from answering you

On common current matters of business, and even on uncommon, there continue yet for four days to be Letters expressly dictated by Friedrich; some about military matters (vacancies to be filled, new Free-Corps to be levied). Two or three of them are on so small a subject as the purchase of new books by his Librarians at Berlin. One, and it has been preceded by examining, is, Order to the Potsdam Magistrates to grant "the Baker Schroder, in terms of his petition, a Free-Pass out of Preussen hither, for 100 bushels of rye and 50 of wheat, though Schroder will not find the prices much cheaper there than here." His last, of August 14th, is to De Launay, Head of the Excise: "Your Account of Receipts and Expenditures came to hand yesterday, 13th; but is too much in small: I require one more detailed,"—and explains, with brief clearness, on what points and how. Neglects nothing, great or small, while life yet is.

Tuesday, August 15th, 1786. Contrary to all wont, the King did not awaken till 11 o'clock. On first looking up, he seemed in a confused state, but soon recovered himself; called in his Generals and Secretaries, who had been in waiting so long, and gave, with his own precision, the Orders wanted,—one to Rohdich, Commandant of Potsdam, about a Review of the troops there next day; Order minutely perfect, in knowledge of the ground, in foresight of what and how the evolutions were to be; which was accordingly performed on the morrow. The Cabinet work he went through with like possession of himself, giving, on every point, his Three Clerks, their directions, in a weak voice, yet with the old power of spirit,—dictated to one of them, among other things, an "Instruction" for some Ambassador just leaving; "four quarto pages, which," says Herzberg, "would have done honour to the most experienced Minister:" and, in the evening, he signed his Missives as usual. This evening still,—but—no evening more. We are now at the last scene of all, which ends this strange eventful History.

Wednesday morning, General-Adjutants, Secretaries, Commandant, were there at their old hours; but a word came out, "Secretaries are to wait:" King is in a kind of sleep, of stertorous ominous character, as if it were the death-sleep; seems not to recollect himself, when he does at intervals open his eyes. After hours of this, on a ray of consciousness, the King bethought him of Rohdich, the Commandant; tried to give Rohdich the Parole as usual; tried twice, perhaps three times; but found he could not speak:—and with a glance of sorrow, which seemed to say, "It is impossible, then" turned his head, and sank back into the corner of his chair. Rohdich burst into tears; the King again lay slumberous;—the rattle of death beginning soon after, which lasted at intervals all day. Selle, in Berlin, was sent for by express; he arrived about 3 of the afternoon: King seemed a little more conscious, knew those about him, "his face red rather than pale, in his eyes still something of their old fire." Towards evening the feverishness abated (to Selle, I suppose, a

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fatal symptom): the King fell into a soft sleep, with warm perspiration; but on awakening, complained of cold, repeatedly of cold, demanding wrappage after wrappage ("Kissen," soft quilt of the old fashion):—and on examining feet and legs, one of the Doctors made signs that they were in fact cold, up nearly to the knee. "What said he of the feet?" murmured the King some time afterwards, the Doctor having now stepped out of sight. "Much the same as before," answered some attendant. The King shook his head, incredulous.

He drank once, grasping the goblet with both hands, a draught of fennel-water, his customary drink; and seemed relieved by it;—his last refection in this world. Towards 9 in the evening, there had come on a continual short cough, and a rattling in the breast, breath more and more difficult. Why continue? Friedrich is making exit, on the common terms; you may hear the curtain rustling down. For most part he was unconscious, never more than half-conscious. As the wall-clock above his head struck 11, he asked: "What o'clock?" "Eleven," answered they. "At 4," murmured he, "I will rise." One of his dogs sat on its stool near him; about midnight he noticed it shivering for cold; "Throw a quilt over it," said or beckoned he; that, I think, was his last completely-conscious utterance. Afterwards, in a severe choking fit, getting at last rid of the phlegm, he said, "*La montagne est passée, nous irons mieux*, We are over the hill, we shall go better now."

Attendants, Herzberg, Selle and one or two others, were in the outer room; none in Friedrich's but Strutzki, his Kammerhussar, one of Three who are his sole valets and nurses; a faithful ingenious man, as they all seem to be, and excellently chosen for the object. Strutzki, to save the King from hustling down, as he always did, into the corner of his chair, where, with neck and chest bent forward, breathing was impossible,—at last took the King on his knee; kneeling on the ground with his other knee for the purpose,—King's right arm round Strutzki's neck, Strutzki's left arm round the King's back, and supporting his other shoulder, in which posture the faithful creature, for above two hours, sat motionless, till the end came. Within doors, all is silence, except this breathing; round it the dark earth silent, above it the silent stars. At 20 minutes past 2 the breathing paused,—wavered; ceased. Friedrich's Life-battle is fought out; instead of suffering and sore labour, here is now rest. Thursday morning 17th August, 1786, at the dark hour just named. On the 31st of May last, this King had reigned 46 years. "He has lived," counts Rodenbeck, "74 years, 6 months, and 24 days."

SOME BRIEF ESTIMATES OF FREDERICK

In view [says Curtius] of the unqualified superiority of Frederick's intellect and activity, which embraced the great as well as the small, he could say, with greater right than any other prince of the eighteenth century: "The state rests on me; I am the state." But it was just in this respect that he emancipated himself most decisively from the influence of Latin civilisation; not in the theory of the state, for in this he followed Rousseau, but in his activity, which was based on the opinion of the ancient philosophers that the state is an original and indivisible whole, to which the individual, as part and member thereof, must subordinate and adjust himself; and indeed he was, like that old king of Athens, prepared every moment to sacrifice his life for his country.^o

The terrible school of extremes through which his youth passed [says Wiegand], stamped his nature with ineradicable, contradictory features. His eye found pleasure in bright figures and gay colours, but the world appeared to

him gloomy, the fate of man cheerless and black. He believed in the conquering power of free thought, yet he despaired of the extension of the boundaries of human knowledge and of the enlightenment of the masses. He was an enthusiast of thought, but not less so, as Voltaire has remarked, an enthusiast of action. He delighted in pretty externals, in the elegant phrase, in the graceful play of French culture, yet he descended to the bottom of things with German thoroughness. In contrast with his friend D'Alembert, he answered with a remorseless Yes the bold question whether it can be useful to deceive the people. Foremost and beyond his human consciousness was his royal consciousness, even though he himself, following the spirit of his age, may have confessed to the opposite. All the abysmal ruggedness of his nature was firmly enclosed by the consciousness of his royalty and his royal duty. The pure metallic voice of this imperative sounds above all the disharmonies of his nature. This is the sovereign feature of his character: the boundless, passionate devotion to the state, with the tendencies and interests of which he entirely identifies himself, and to which he means to be only the foremost servant. He puts his great kingly capacities in the service of his state and breathes his spirit into it: his iron will, which masters a world of difficulties; his penetrating intellect, which sees through men and things and knows the governmental machine even to its tiniest wheels; his belief in fate, which he shares with all heroes of action and which gives him the courage to lead his country proudly against the most menacing dangers. And in addition to all this there is the ever-present consciousness of his royal responsibility, which urges him to pay as much attention to the least important of daily administrative tasks as to the great decisions of critical moments, and restrains the impetuous impulses of his fiery temperament. For the age of enlightenment Frederick was the royal representative; for enlightened absolutism he created the completed model and perfect type.^a

Gustav Freytag's Characterisation of Frederick

In the flower of life Frederick set forth spurred on by ambition. All the high and splendid wreaths of life he wrested from fate: the prince of poets and philosophers, the historian, the general. But no triumph sated him. All earthly fame he came to regard as accidental, unstable, vain; only the iron, ever-present sense of duty remained for him. His mind had grown up amidst the dangerous alternations of warm enthusiasm and cold analysis, and while he had poetically transfigured a few arbitrarily chosen individuals, he had despised the crowd. But in the struggles of his life he lost his egotism, lost almost everything that was dear to him, and finally he came to regard the individual as of no weight, while the need of living for the whole became ever stronger with him. With a most refined selfishness he had desired for himself the attainment of the highest, and he finally came to devote himself unselfishly to the common weal and the welfare of the weak. He had entered life as an idealist, and despite the most terrible experiences his ideals were not destroyed, but were refined, elevated, purified. He sacrificed many to the state, but none more than himself.

Great and extraordinary he was to his contemporaries, but he is even greater to us, who can follow the traces of his activity in the character of our people, our political life, our art and literature, even down to our own day.^r



CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH

[1786-1815 A.D.]

FREDERICK WILLIAM II

FREDERICK THE GREAT was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II. The new king (born 1744) was the son of Prince Augustus William, who during the Seven Years' war was treated harshly and perhaps unjustly by his royal brother, left the camp, and died at an early age in Oranienburg in June, 1758, during the most critical period of the war. This younger son of Frederick William I appears to have been of milder and more fragile spirit than the other scions of the strong and virile generations born to the house of Hohenzollern, from the time of the Great Elector to the time of the Great King. Perhaps the recollection of this dissension, perhaps the idea that the weak spirit of the father had descended to the son, was the reason why Frederick II was so long in treating his young nephew with kindness and partiality, why he scarcely admitted him to a share in the business of the state, and why it was only after the Bavarian War of Succession that he accorded him friendly recognition.

An unhappy marriage, the faults of which may be laid to both sides, had a devastating effect on the life of the young prince, whilst the unfortunate relation of the prince with a cunning woman of light character made the breach incurable. The daughter of the court musician Enke, who was first married to the chamberlain Ritz, then created countess of Lichtenau, ruled with all the arts at the command of an unscrupulous courtesan over the yielding disposition of the crown prince. The open connection with an acknowl-

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edged mistress, a scandal which had hitherto been unknown to the Prussian court, was now forced upon it by the prince with such publicity that in this severely ordered and hitherto modest state one was reminded of the example of the French court. Frederick II's youth had also been full of errors; but the unhappiness of his early life had disciplined him, the association with distinguished minds had given him an impetus towards a noble ambition which obliterated the sad remembrances of his earlier days.

The weak, malleable nature of Frederick William succumbed to the bad influences which association with frivolous women and effeminate men exercised over him; and these influences prevented his better qualities from developing. Frederick William had a noble disposition: in spite of his ebullitions of violent temper he was naturally mild and full of benevolence, he was accessible to noble impulses, and was chivalrous and brave like his ancestors; but with a strong body, nature had given him so powerful a bias towards sensual desires that in their gratification the nobler traits of his character easily suffered shipwreck. Accustomed during an erratic youth to waste his kindness on women and favourites, thrown back in his isolation on the society of self-seeking and mediocre persons, his good-nature endlessly abused, now pushed into sensual excesses, now exploited by the pious hypocrisy of speculative mystics—Frederick William especially lacked the manly severity, discipline, and resistance by which the rule of his predecessors had been distinguished. A rule exercised by such a personality must have had an enervating effect on any state, but for Prussia in the situation of 1786 it was a calamity.

The public mood, however, showed itself ready to hope for the best from the new ruler. From the gentleness of the kindly and good-natured king, it was expected that the strictness which Frederick II had adopted more from necessity than from choice would be replaced by leniency; people looked for a government whose cheerful and free-handed indulgence should successfully outshine the results of the Great King's strict and meagre methods. Seldom has a new ruler been received with such acclaim, seldom has praise and flattery been so lavished on any successor; the "much-beloved" was the surname by which the public voice hailed him. Even contemporaries lamented the flood of flattery that gushed forth in the first moments of the new reign; and we can well conceive that Frederick William did not escape the deadening effect which is too often the fruit of such arts.

The rapidity with which this mood of extreme praise and rejoicing changed into its complete opposite is significant; under the influence of disappointment there was born a literature of abuse which is scarcely to be surpassed in any country, so that it is difficult to say which gives a more painful impression—the tactless flatteries of 1786, or the filthy pamphlets which only two or three years later were circulated concerning the king, his mistresses, and his favourites.

In these rejoicings which greeted the new ruler there was usually mingled a very strong element of Prussian self-assertion. In this mood, the admonitions of Mirabeau sounded almost like a false note. Although expressing much admiration for Frederick II, he disclosed the shady side of his political system, and insisted, in order to avert a great catastrophe, upon a peaceable reform of the entire machinery of government. According to Mirabeau's advice, "military slavery" was to be abolished; the mercantile system, with the disadvantages it entailed, done away with; the feudal division of classes made less sharp; the exclusive privileges of the nobility in civil and military offices abrogated, privileges and monopolies abolished; the whole system of taxation altered; the burdens which interfered with the freedom of the people in production removed; government, the administration of justice, and the

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educational system to be reorganised; the censorship to be abolished; and, in general, a fresh impulse in political and intellectual life to be imparted to the old military-bureaucratic state. More forcible lessons had to be given before the import of such advice could be understood. It was full twenty years later that the pendulum of state reform swung in this direction; the reform laws of 1807–1808 concerning the abolition of serfdom, the “free use of landed property,” the abolition of feudal distinctions, the municipal regulations, the new army organisation, and so on, were in effect in harmony with Mirabeau’s suggestions, given at the commencement of Frederick William’s reign. At that time such counsels were not listened to; the feeling of security was still too great for such advice not to be considered annoying—given, as it was, unasked.

For a moment it might indeed have appeared as though the new government might be moulded on the lines indicated by the French publicist, but scarcely because of his advice. It was merely the inclination of every fresh government to gain public favour by doing away with irksome restrictions which had been laid down by the preceding one, and this inclination naturally found favour with the easy good-nature inherent in Frederick William. So, first of all, the hated French regulations, together with the tobacco and coffee monopolies, fell to the ground; the French officials were dismissed and a new board, chosen from Prussian officials, was set to supervise the excise and customs and other kindred matters. But the oppressive taxes were more easily abolished than replaced; it was necessary to have recourse to other fiscal devices, partly to the taxation of the necessities of life, in order to cover the deficit created (January, 1787). It is easily understood that the popularity of the first of these proceedings suffered through this later measure. Further alterations in this direction—for instance, the facilitating of traffic and the lightening of the transit duties—were confined to timid alterations, which naturally failed by their results to meet either the hopes or the needs of the people. If abuses were to be remedied, a complete readjustment of the economic conditions throughout Prussia was necessary; such isolated measures, springing from short-sighted although well-intentioned benevolence, did not do away with the defects of the system as a whole, but simply attenuated the results of Frederick’s ingeniously contrived system. The new devices employed to hide the shortcomings were at times felt to be more irksome than the old.

The other reforms initiated by the new government were of similar character; concessions were made to the transient eagerness to remove certain particular grievances, only to suffer matters soon to relapse into their former condition. In this way a judicious innovation was introduced in the shape of a military council, the direction of which was given into the hands of the duke of Brunswick and Mollendorf; this expedient being all the more necessary since until now everything had depended entirely on the personal supervision of the king, and Frederick, supported by a few inspectors and adjutants, had himself directed the whole conduct of military affairs. The method of recruiting in foreign countries was also better arranged, the forcible impressment of recruits was forbidden; many new rules were made for the division of districts; officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, were increased in number and their external equipment was improved. Moreover, the cruel and barbarous treatment of soldiers was to be checked, soldiers were to be treated like human beings, and the cunning self-seeking with which the superior officers took advantage of their control over the recruiting and enrolling of fresh men was put an end to. But none of these reforms, well intentioned as every one must admit them to have been, went to the root of the evil, which Frederick himself had perceived with misgiving; they touched it only on the

surface, and even within their own narrow scope demanded, if they were to be effective, more energy and watchfulness than pertained to the character of the new government.

The example which Frederick had left of observing attentively the public needs, of encouraging and supporting those whose business it was to meet them, seemed not to have been lost on his successor. The administration of law and order was supported by contributions from the state, industry was encouraged by subsidies, and the maintenance of the cavalry, that oppressive burden on the country, was paid for from the state coffers. The sum spent by the treasury during the first year of the new reign for these and similar purposes, such as building fortresses, laying out highways, erecting public buildings, provincial and local aids, amounted according to Hertzberg's estimate to 3,160,000 thalers. Public education was also more liberally endowed than under Frederick. The hope, indeed, that Frederick William would take an active interest in national culture and would foster German poetry with tokens of encouragement, such as were granted in many of the smaller courts, was disappointed. His efforts in this direction were limited to a few acts of royal liberality towards Prussian authors, among whom Ramler alone achieved a wider reputation. To offset this, greater system was introduced into the management of national education by the founding of a supreme school board, in February, 1787. Education in every grade, from the university down to the village school, was to be governed by this supreme school board, chosen for the most part from practical scholars; classical and practical education was to be more definitely marked, and education was to be given in accordance with the needs of scholars, citizens, and peasants. The minister Von Zedlitz, who, under Frederick, was indeed the minister of education, retained his position at the head of the collective system of instruction; this in itself seemed a guarantee that the direction taken by Frederick in these matters would still be followed in all essentials.

REACTION AGAINST FRENCH INFLUENCES

The dismissal of Zedlitz, and, more significant still, the nomination of his successor (July, 1788), taken in conjunction with all that it implied, proved the turning-point of this department of home policy. Even before Frederick's death the belief had been voiced that his successor was more inclined to strictness of dogma than to his uncle's point of view. The enlightenment or free thought (*Aufklärung*) of the day had, thanks to its latest exponents, taken a shape which easily explained a reaction in favour of orthodoxy; even a man like Lessing, who since the publication of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* had been hailed as the leader of the whole heterodox party, felt himself alienated and sickened by the repulsive mixture of platitude and triviality which, more especially in Berlin itself, claimed to be the true enlightened free thought. Hence a reaction to strict dogma was in the air, and if it had only found the way to combating the lax, "frenchified" tone of the capital, and to reawakening a spirit of earnestness and moral restraint, such a reaction would have been of great benefit to the whole life of Prussia. A homely generation, strong in simple faith, taking their religion in earnest and making a stand against the growing laxity of morals—was it not through this that Prussia, in contrast with the other German countries infected by foreign ways, had become great?

The life of Frederick William II and his surroundings led to quite another conclusion. The strict earnestness of old-time orthodoxy was not congenial to him, but he was rather attracted by that effeminate and affected piety which

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either goes hand in hand with weakness and sensuality, or follows closely upon them. In fact, the insistence on stricter orthodoxy chimed in just at the time when the king followed by a "left-handed" marriage with Fraulein von Voss his older connection with the Ritz woman, not to speak of the other little scandals by aiding in which the Ritz woman hoped to make herself indispensable. Such proceedings could give but a poor opinion of the sudden effort to revive the old simplicity of belief and sincere piety.

If we understand the mood of that time aright, the lively opposition which was aroused by the new tendency was aimed exactly at that contradiction between the morality and the religiousness enjoined from high quarters; it did not spring, as has been assumed, from a mere rooted distaste to all orthodoxy. People repudiated the new devotion, because in practice open scorn was habitually shown for it, because no one could credit the counsellors and friends of Frederick William with any true religious fervour. Among these advisers, contemporaries remarked in especial two men as supporters of the new movement—Major von Bischoffwerder and the privy councillor of finance, Von Wollner.

Hans Rudolf von Bischoffwerder, born in Thuringian Saxony about the year 1741 and having served in the armies and courts of several masters, had been admitted to intimacy by the prince of Prussia ever since the Bavarian War of Succession, and by degrees had grown to be his inseparable companion and adviser. Of an intriguing mind and an impenetrable reserve, gifted with the courtier's talent for appearing insignificant, and yet capable of impressing people by means of a secretive, mysteriously solemn exterior, full of ambition for rule but never allowing it to manifest itself, this man had completely imposed upon Frederick William's unsuspecting and open nature, and it was only the influence of the Ritz woman that had a chance of even temporarily thwarting his mastery over the king.

Johann Christoph von Wollner, born in 1732 at Doberitz near Spandau, theologian by education and, since 1755, rector at Behnitz, had resigned his calling in 1759 and become the companion of Itzenplitz, a nobleman of Brandenburg, formerly his pupil; soon the companion became joint farmer of the Behnitz property; later the brother-in-law of young Itzenplitz. Formerly known only as an author through some of his published sermons, Von Wollner now threw himself heart and soul into the management of land and political economy, his literary attempts in this field even causing him to become collaborator in Nicolai's *Universal German Library*. Since 1782 he had been instructing the successor to the throne in these matters, and in 1786 was one of the many on whom the king lavished titles of nobility, and besides receiving the office of chief privy councillor in finance, he was created intendant of the royal buildings, and was made overseer of the so-called "treasury of distribution." This man's varied career proved him equal to Bischoffwerder in the art of managing and exploiting men and circumstances; but in Von Wollner the character of an intriguer was further complicated by pious cant and a priestly desire to rule.

Bischoffwerder and Von Wollner had long been allies, each having to thank the other for certain advancements in his career, both entangled in the mystic societies, whose secret meetings, spirit séances, and what else of uncaniness present such a curious contrast to the enlightenment-fad of those days. It will always be difficult to discover to what extent these men and their companions tricked the gentle mind and impressionable fancy of the king with their Rosicrucian imposture; among contemporaries there was much talk of criminal juggleries of the sort, and they were said to have assured by these means their power over Frederick William's mind. A chief source of this talk was doubtless the Ritz woman, who strove with the mystic company for

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the monopoly of influence over the king. That these two men were capable of such practices is highly probable, and there is no doubt their contemporaries believed them to be so capable. But criticism of the measures taken for the restoration of the church, and the moral impression produced, must have depended chiefly upon the view taken of the moral worth of the originators of these measures.

THE EDICT AGAINST "ENLIGHTENMENT" (1788 A.D.)

On the 3rd of July, 1788, Von Wollner was appointed minister of justice, and the conduct of spiritual matters was intrusted to him; Zedlitz was the first of the ministers under Frederick the Great who had to give way. Some days later, on the 9th of July, an edict upon religious matters appeared, which might be taken as a manifesto of the new system of government. In this remarkable document, from which people derived but moderate opinions of the new statesmen, full freedom of conscience was indeed granted to individuals "so long as each one quietly fulfils his duties as a good citizen of the state, keeping any peculiar opinions he may hold to himself, and carefully avoiding any propagation of the same"; but this extraordinary promise was accompanied by invectives against "unrestricted freedom," against the tone of the teachings of the day, and the innovators were accused of reviving the miserable long-exploded errors of Socinians, deists, naturalists, and other sects, and spreading the same with much audaciousness and shamelessness under the ridiculous name of "enlightenment" among the people. "To spread such errors either secretly or openly will in the case of pastors and teachers be punished by certain loss of position and, according to discretion, by still severer punishment; for there must be one rule for all, and this till now has been the Christian religion in its three chief divisions, under which the Prussian monarchy has till now prospered so well. Even from political motives the king could not intend that through the untimely crotchets of the enlighteners alterations should be allowed." Individuals were then repeatedly assured of their continued freedom of conscience; indeed, thanks to the "partiality of the king in favour of freedom of conscience," those ministers whose inclination towards the new errors was matter of notoriety were still to continue in their office, provided that in the exercise of the same they adhered strictly to the old dogmas—that is to say, they were to preach doctrines with which their conscience was in complete contradiction. A strict supervision of teachers and preachers, together with the rejection of all candidates who were professors of other principles would, it was hoped, effectually check the new doctrines.

Few measures were ever taken which so completely failed of their purpose as this extraordinary edict. If it be always an unfortunate beginning to desire to support, by outward means and police regulations, a creed that has reached a period of decadence, still more hopeless was the moral influence here, owing to the example given by the zealous government. A court where a Ritz and a Bischoffwerder strove for pre-eminence was hardly fitted to introduce a new period of religious renaissance; its belated pietism bore only too great a resemblance to the fruit of a nervous state, induced by sensual excesses.

And what an exposure was the edict in itself! How it lay open to attack and to gibes! How obvious the retort—that with such means true piety could never be awakened, but the most that could be effected would be to add a new evil to the general corruption, namely, the hypocrisy of Pharisaic formulas! The originators of these measures themselves could not but feel their futility; and this only pushed them to further extremes. The arrogant security, the indifference to criticism and attack which Frederick II manifested throughout

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his reign, were wanting in the councillors of his successor; even in the very beginning, when discussion was raised in the press over the government, they exhibited a sensitiveness which boded ill for the continued freedom of discussion. Now the edict of censorship of December 19th, 1788, followed; this put an end to that freedom of the press which had actually sprung up in the later days of Frederick, more, it is true, in literary and religious than in political matters.

With the usual glib excuse of misuse, always advanced in explanation of the suppression of the liberty of the press, the enforcement of the censorship was now re-introduced; it paid equal attention to current light literature and to the more important scientific utterances, and in no way fulfilled the purpose it proposed to itself. Frivolous and useless literature everywhere found loopholes from which it escaped to permeate Prussia, and whilst bonds were laid on the free-spirited and beneficent discussion of public affairs, the years which followed the edict were far from poor in productions of the foulest kind; to say nothing of the criminal chicaneries which were everywhere perpetrated against the book and publishing trade.

NEW ABUSES ADDED TO THE OLD

Whilst debate was thus put an end to, the sources of discontent were, of course, not choked up; on the contrary, they flowed through many pamphlets to which the charm of the forbidden assured a wide circulation. In these, the carelessness and extravagance of the government were especially blamed; the hope of lighter taxes, so it was complained, remained unfulfilled, various financial operations had been attempted without the right solution being found. On the other hand, in the coronation year there had been a useless increase of the nobility. The warehouse still exercised the same oppressive monopoly as formerly. The increased tax on wheaten flour oppressed everyone; from one and the same piece of land was taken, quite shamelessly, a double tax. Similar complaints were entered against the evil effects of the fiscal system, the stamp tax, and particularly the depressed condition of agriculture. The most pressing demands in this direction were the abolition of the distribution of forage, and the provision of the cavalry from the public storehouses; the doing away with the compulsory furnishing of relays of horses, and the speedier payment of indemnification money. Protection against the arbitrary methods of officials; simplification of the agricultural and village police, so that the poor peasant should not fall from the hands of the officials of agriculture and justice into the hands of the merciless clerks of the board of works, dike inspectors, and gendarmes; the earnest continuation of the regulation of feudal tribute in order to stop wanton oppression; the lightening of the hunting restrictions—such and numerous similar demands surged towards publicity: the censor could scarcely check the forbidden discussion, to say nothing of the discontent itself.

We have already hinted how far even a strong and far-seeing rule like Frederick's fell short of the goal it set before itself; one may, therefore, imagine how it must have been with a weak rule such as this. For example, Frederick II laboured unceasingly to fix a limit to the oppression of the peasants; among other things he had already decreed in the seventies that the services to be required of those in a servile state should be decided by proper regulations of service and tribute books—a task which, when the great king died, was still unfinished. An ordinance of Frederick William II provided that the registry of tributes should be continued only where there were disputes and litigation, so that one of the most beneficent provisions for the control of manorial

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despotism was defeated. "If we had a village history," says an official of high position of that time, "we should see that compulsory labour had for years caused the greatest distress, that it was always rendered with the greatest repugnance by the peasants, and was the means of stifling all invention and desire for improvement."

Examined more closely, it will be found that the rendering of compulsory labour cost the villages immeasurably more than its equivalent in money; in many instances they were compelled to travel a mile or further, and should the weather be unfavourable to its performance they had to return from a fruitless journey without receiving compensation. Compulsory labour made the peasants' property of no value, and was of little use to those entitled to it, because it is inefficient by its very nature. Thus old abuses remained in force, whilst new material for discontent was added to them.

THE TRANSITION

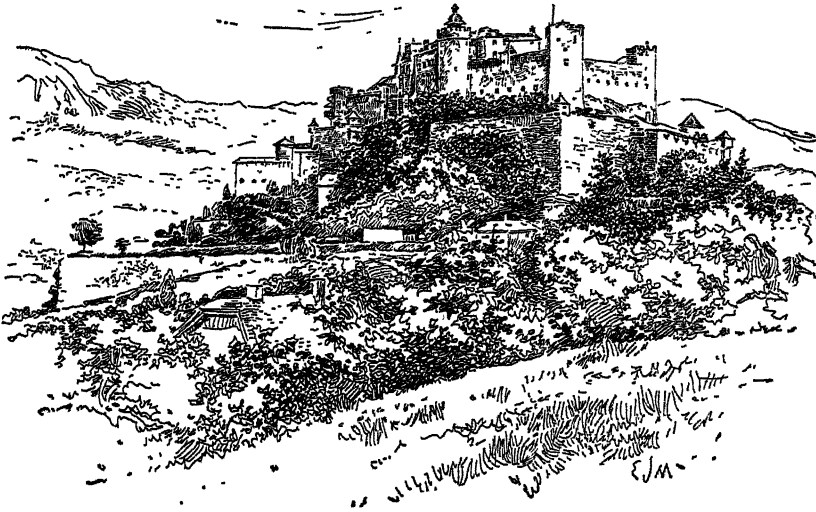
In foreign politics the period from 1786 to 1790 was a critical one. The old traditions of Prussian politics, particularly Frederick II's, were still by no means obliterated, but they were no longer adhered to with the firmness and steadfastness of the great king; many personal and dynastic motives, notably in regard to Holland, carried great weight, and dissipated the power of the state in fruitless undertakings. Ideas which Frederick II had started, but the complete realisation of which was a legacy to his successor—for example, the League of Princes (*Fürstenbund*)—were neglected and died a slow death. In the cabinet, so long at least as Hertzberg retained a guiding hand, the anti-Austrian policy of Frederick II's last years preponderated, and in fact seemed in the Eastern Question about to lead to a peculiarly bold course; but with the failure of this attempt a complete reaction set in. The traditional Prussian policy suddenly veered round towards an Austrian alliance, in which Austria and Russia had the main advantage; and so began the alternations of self-distrust which drove Prussia backwards and forwards between eastern and western alliances, between opposition to the Revolution and alliance with it, till they led to the final catastrophe—the destruction of the old Prussian monarchy. We will examine the details of the most important moments of this time of transition, from the death of Frederick II till the convention of Reichenbach (July, 1790).

The confusion in Holland, which first gave occasion for Frederick William II's government to make its début in foreign policy, dates from the time of Frederick II. The old quarrel between the two elements, republican and monarchical, which in the constitution of Holland existed, unreconciled, side by side, had, under the stadholdership of William V, who was married to Frederick William II's sister, revived with fresh force. This revival may be attributed partly to the wrong-headedness of the stadholder himself, but also to the influence of the events of that day, more particularly to the effect produced by the American War of Independence. So for years individual provinces, powers, and classes had stood in opposition to each other. The bourgeois magistrates derived their support from some of the towns and provinces, whilst the house of Orange depended upon the nobility, the military, and a portion of the lower classes. European politics in general entered largely into these complications, the Orange party being traditionally allied with England, whilst their adversaries sought and found support from France. Since the passionate action of Joseph II against the republic, the influence of France, who bore the expense of médiation and peace, had made a remarkable advance, and the states-general seemed permanently bound to the interests of

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France by a closer alliance, whilst at the same time and in a corresponding degree the feeble conduct of the war in the years 1780-1784 increased the hatred of England and the distrust of the Orange party.

Prussia, which by political interests as well as the circumstance of relationship was bound to follow closely Dutch developments, had taken up a position of observation under Frederick II; the old king was little likely to disturb, by fighting for the house of Orange, a peace which he had unceasingly striven to preserve by his policy since 1764. He admonished both sides, warning them against unconsidered action and striving to awaken a spirit of greater moderation; but his advice gained more weight from the moral power of his name than from any idea that he would interfere with material force. Meanwhile in Holland small disputes and unfriendly demonstrations gave rise to



THE FORTRESS OF HOHEN-SALZBURG

(Founded in the eleventh century and now used as barracks)

increasing enmity, and there were frays resulting in bloodshed, the precursors of the civil war. The republican party sought to encroach upon the so-called *règlements* of 1674, which William III had formerly wrested for the house of Orange under the influence of the bloody catastrophe of 1672; on the other hand the Orange party, where they had power, did not fail to resort to provocative and violent measures.

The hereditary stadholder himself, since the command over the troops at the Hague had been taken from him, had forsaken the province of Holland and withdrawn to a part of the country where the nobles had the upper hand and the favourable disposition of the inhabitants guaranteed him support, namely, Gelderland. But even in this province, on which the house of Orange had hitherto been able to count, opposition made itself felt, especially on the borders of the districts inclined to republicanism, as for example Overijssel. Two northern towns, Hatten and Elburg, declared themselves openly against the old order; Hatten would not recognise a member sent there by the stadholder, because he was in the service of the prince; and Elburg refused to admit the publication of an edict issued by the states-general. It seemed as though the struggles of the sixteenth century were about to be renewed; the two towns, when threatened with the employment of force, declared them-

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selves ready to defend themselves to a man—even, in case of necessity, to burn the town; and from Overijssel and Holland, the anti-Orange provinces, bands of volunteers came, ready to support the threatened towns. It is true the result proved that times were changed since the sixteenth century; in spite of boasts and threats both towns were occupied in September, 1786, almost without resistance, whilst a large number of the discontented inhabitants sought shelter in the provinces which favoured republicanism. Isolated cases of excess on the part of the soldiers, and still more the emigrants themselves, furnished a violent means of agitation against the Orange interest. Everything wore more and more the aspect of a civil war; the province of Holland deprived the stadholder of his post of captain-general, levied troops, and made preparations to defend the threatened cause of the republicans or “patriots” at the point of the sword.

FREDERICK WILLIAM AND HOLLAND

It was about this time that Frederick William ascended the throne. No doubt he was influenced, more strongly than Frederick II, by personal interest in the fate of his sister, a powerful, almost masculine personality, full of decision and ambition for rule, who did not fail to represent the situation to him in its darkest aspect; but in the main the king was determined to pursue the policy of his predecessor, and not to be drawn into a war which would divert Prussia's attention from its interests in the east. Even the important consideration that France, although herself on the eve of a revolution, secretly encouraged the revolutionists in the states of Holland and cherished an understanding with them could not alter the conviction in Berlin that an intercession without any menace of armed intervention would suffice. The mission of Count Görtz, a diplomatist who had formerly been employed in the Bavarian Succession affair, and later at the Petersburg court (in the autumn of 1786), had above all the intention to smooth the way for this peaceful result by mutual agreement. The plenipotentiary extraordinary arrived, indeed, at the critical moment, when the proceedings in Hatten and Elburg had raised the ferment to its height, when Holland armed herself and uttered the threat of separating from the union; he first visited the Orange court at Loo in Gelderland, and there was instructed in the latest news by the princess of Orange.

Despite this, the line of moderate policy and of mediation chosen by Frederick II was not yet abandoned in Berlin. A candid attempt was made to smooth over the difficulties by an understanding with France, and the proposals which were made all bear the marks of moderation. Rather, the endeavour was unmistakable on the part of France to regard the stadholder as bound to English interests and to push him entirely aside, and by favouring the anti-Orange movement to bind the republic still more closely to the French interest. Frederick William II was still so far from contemplating an armed intervention that on the 19th of September he wrote with his own hand to his ambassador: “The emperor would gladly see his rival enfeebled, if it cost him nothing, and awaits a favourable moment to attack him in a weak spot. I cannot commence a war merely in the interests of the family of the stadholder, and if I confined myself to mere demonstrations France and the opposition would know how to rate them at their real worth, and I should only injure myself if I first made demonstrations and then did nothing.” In the same way the king expressed himself two months later. “My interests,” he wrote on the 26th of December, “will not allow me in the present state of things to send arms to the support of the prince.” It certainly did not escape him that the stadholder was partly to blame, and the obstinacy with which the

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court at Loo also waived aside all reasonable means of adjustment visibly annoyed the king. At the end of December he commissioned his ambassador to persuade the prince and his wife to submit, and himself added to the despatches, "If the prince of Orange does not soon better his conduct, he will certainly break his neck."

The violent representations made by the princess would not have worked a change so easily in Frederick William's mind, but for two events which happened in the mean-time and materially changed the situation. First, in January, 1748, the Prussian attempt at mediation in concurrence with France came to nothing; Count Görtz left, and the party blazed hotter than ever. From preparations it had already come to violent measures on both sides and to a bloody affray between citizens and soldiers (May). Secondly, in this moment of violent excitement the princess undertook a possibly well-intentioned journey to the Hague (June), ostensibly for the purpose of personally interceding; she was stopped on the borders of Holland and compelled to return. That which all former representations of the stadholder and his wife and the counsels of Görtz and Hertzberg had failed to do, the court of Orange now succeeded in obtaining by the behaviour, clumsy rather than intentionally offensive, of the citizen militia towards the princess. With extraordinary skill, this incident, insignificant in itself, was exploited by the Orange party, and it was represented to the foreign courts as an injury and insult, though, in fact, such was neither intended nor given.

British diplomacy, represented by the astute Harris (Lord Malmesbury), found this chance incident of use for its own purpose, and Frederick William, till now immovable, however impatiently urged, allowed himself to be swayed by a feeling which, though in itself not blameworthy, was politically unfortunate. His kingly and knightly honour seemed to him to demand that he should not forsake his offended sister. He repeatedly demanded satisfaction, and when it was refused him, a body of Prussian troops, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, assembled on the borders of Holland. The "patriots" held to the fixed opinion that Prussia would not venture upon war, and they relied on the miserable and helpless policy of France; that support proved, in fact, just as worthless as their own military preparations were inefficient—their fortresses, troops, and generals unfit for any serious purpose.

THE INSURRECTION OF 1787

On the 9th of September, 1787, the Prussian ambassador presented to the states-general the ultimatum of the king: it received no satisfactory answer, and four days later the Prussian troops, some twenty thousand strong, crossed the border near Nimeguen and Arnhem. France played the shameful part of first inciting the "patriots" to resistance and then deserting them; this surprise, the long abstention from war, and the natural unfitness of citizens and volunteer troops to cope with trained soldiers procured for the Prussian force an astonishingly cheap success. Gorkum fell without resistance. Utrecht was abandoned; by the 20th of September the stadholder had returned to the Hague, and before the middle of October Amsterdam, too, was garrisoned by the Prussians, the whole insurrection being suppressed with incredible speed and correspondingly slight bloodshed.

The declaration of the king, that he had recourse to arms only on account of the offence to his sister, was faithfully adhered to throughout the war. With more generosity than is advantageous in politics, he renounced all claims to an indemnity for his war expenditures, and demanded neither political nor commercial advantages. Still, the advantage gained seemed commensurate

[1788-1791 A.D.]

with the sacrifice which Prussia had made in the war. The reputation of Prussia was increased, that of France lowered, and the way paved for a more friendly relation with England than that which had prevailed under Frederick. In Germany, Prussia had won precedence of Austria through the league of

Princes, and once more Prussia appeared as the arbiter of Europe, and the force of Prussian arms seemed invincible. The immediate result of the triumphal procession was a closer alliance with Holland and England, which was ratified by the treaties of April and August, 1788. The hope of these alliances had been Hertzberg's chief inducement for allowing himself to be drawn into the affairs of Holland, and we shall soon see what far-reaching combinations he built upon them.

The result certainly showed that these new alliances were of little use to Prussia. They did not even compensate her for the pecuniary outlay caused by the campaign, to say nothing of the moral prejudice to which the cheap advantage of 1787 led. In the republic of Holland no faithful ally was acquired; there the experiences of 1787 were the germ of an anti-Orange revolution. It was under the impressions left by an armed restoration, deeds of violence and revenge, that was fostered the spirit which seven years later won an easy victory for the Revolution. Prussia itself, through this bloodless victory over the Dutch "patriots," was lulled into too dangerous a sense of security. Instead of learning the faults of the existing military organisation, the triumphal procession in Holland soothed generals and army into that self-sufficiency which later proved so disastrous. For not only was the sense of their own invincibility increased by it, but the contempt for all civil and revolutionary move-



CHURCH OF THE FRANCISCAN CLOISTER
AT BONN

ments was also fed by it. The revolution of 1789 was later compared in men's minds with the Dutch "patriots" of 1787, and in 1792 they invaded France with the impressions which the easily victorious march from Arnheim to Amsterdam had left upon their minds.^b

PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA LEAGUED AGAINST FRANCE (1791 A.D.)

Prussia was, in her foreign policy, peculiarly inimical to Joseph II. Besides supporting the Dutch insurgents, she instigated the Hungarians to rebellion and even concluded an alliance with Turkey, which compelled Joseph's successor, the emperor Leopold, by the Peace of Szistowa (1791), to restore Belgrade to the Porte. The revolt of the people of Liège (1789) against their bishop, Constantine Francis, also gave Prussia an opportunity to throw a garrison into that city under pretext of aiding the really oppressed citizens, but

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in reality on account of the inclination of the bishop to favour Austria. When, not long after this, Prussia united with Austria against France, the restoration of the bishop was quietly tolerated.

A conference took place at Pillnitz in Saxony, in 1791, between the emperor Leopold and King Frederick William, at which the count d'Artois, the youngest brother of Louis XVI, was present and a league was formed against the Revolution. The old ministers strongly opposed it. In Prussia, Hertzberg drew upon himself the displeasure of his sovereign by zealously advising a union with France against Austria. In Austria, Kaunitz recommended peace, and said that were he allowed to act he would defeat the impetuous French by his "patience"; that, instead of attacking France, he would calmly watch the event and allow her, like a volcano, to bring destruction upon herself. Ferdinand of Brunswick, field-marshal of Prussia, was equally opposed to war. His fame as the greatest general of his time had been too easily gained, more by his manœuvres than by his victories, not to induce a fear on his side of being as easily deprived of it in a fresh war; but the proposal of the revolutionary party in France, within whose minds the memory of Rossbach was still fresh, mistrustful of French skill, to nominate him generalissimo of the troops of the republic, conspired with the incessant entreaties of the émigrés to reanimate his courage; and he finally declared that, followed by the famous troops of the great Frederick, he would put a speedy termination to the French Revolution.

Leopold II was, as brother to Marie Antoinette, greatly embittered against the French. The disinclination of the Austrians to the reforms of Joseph II appears to have chiefly confirmed him in the conviction of finding a sure support in the old system. He consequently strictly prohibited the slightest innovation and placed a power hitherto unknown in the hands of the police, more particularly in those of its secret functionaries, who listened to every word and consigned the suspected to the oblivion of a dungeon. This mute terrorism found many a victim. This system was, on the death of Leopold II in 1792, publicly abolished by his son and successor, Francis II, but was ere long again carried on in secret.

Catherine II, with the view of seizing the rest of Poland, employed every art in order to instigate Austria and Prussia to a war with France, and by these means fully to occupy them in the west. The Prussian king, although aware of her projects, deemed the French an easy conquest, and thought that in case of necessity his armies could without difficulty be thrown into Poland. He meanwhile secured the popular feeling in Poland in his favour by concluding (1790) an alliance with Stanislaus and giving his consent to the improved constitution established in Poland, 1791. Hertzberg had even counselled an alliance with France and Poland; the latter was to be bribed with a promise of the annexation of Galicia, against Austria and Russia; this plan was however merely whispered about for the purpose of blinding the Poles and of alarming Russia.

FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK INVADES FRANCE (1792 A.D.)

The bursting storm was anticipated on the part of the French by a declaration of war, 1792, and whilst Austria still remained behind for the purpose of watching Russia, Poland, and Turkey, and the unwieldy empire was engaged in raising troops, Ferdinand of Brunswick had already led the Prussians across the Rhine. He was joined by the émigrés under Condé, whose army consisted almost entirely of officers. The well-known manifesto, published by the duke of Brunswick on his entrance into France, in which he declared

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his intention to level Paris with the ground should the French refuse to submit to the authority of their sovereign, was composed by Renfner, the counsellor of the embassy at Berlin.¹ The emperor and Frederick William, persuaded that fear would reduce the French to obedience, had approved of this manifesto, which was, on the contrary, disapproved of by the duke of Brunswick, on account of its barbarity and its ill-accordance with the rules of war. He did not, however, withdraw his signature on its publication. The effect of this manifesto was that the French, instead of being struck with terror, were maddened with rage, deposed their king, proclaimed a republic, and flew to arms in order to defend their cities against the barbarians threatening them with destruction. The national pride of the troops hastily levied and sent against the invaders, effected wonders.

The delusion of the Prussians was so complete that Bischofswerder said to the officers, "Do not purchase too many horses, the affair will soon be over"; and the duke of Brunswick remarked, "Gentlemen, not too much baggage, this is merely a military trip." The Prussians, it is true, wondered that the inhabitants did not, as the émigrés had alleged they would, crowd to meet and greet them as their saviours and liberators, but at first they met with no opposition.

Ferdinand of Brunswick became the dupe of Dumouriez, as he had formerly been that of the émigrés. In the hope of a counter-revolution in Paris, he procrastinated his advance and lost his most valuable time in the siege of fortresses. [Longwy and Verdun were besieged and taken.] Ferdinand, notwithstanding this success, still delayed his advance in the hope of gaining over the wily French commander and of thus securing beforehand his triumph in a contest in which his ancient fame might otherwise be at stake. The impatient king, who had accompanied the army, spurred him on, but was, owing to his ignorance of military matters, again pacified by the reasons alleged by the cautious duke. Dumouriez, consequently, gained time to collect considerable reinforcements and to unite his forces with those under Kellermann of Alsace.

The two armies came within sight of each other at Valmy; the king gave orders for battle, and the Prussians were in the act of advancing against the heights occupied by Kellermann, when the duke suddenly gave orders to halt and drew off the troops under a loud *vivat* from the French, who beheld this movement with astonishment. The king was at first greatly enraged, but was afterwards persuaded by the duke of the prudence of this extraordinary step. Negotiations were now carried on with increased spirit. Dumouriez, who, like Kaunitz, said that the French, if left to themselves, would inevitably fall a prey to intestine dissensions, also contrived to accustom the king to the idea of a future alliance with France. The result of these intrigues was an armistice and the retreat of the Prussian army, a retreat which dysentery, bad weather, and bad roads rendered extremely destructive.

FRENCH IDEAS IN GERMAN SOIL

The people in Germany too little understood the real motives and object of the French Revolution, and were too soon provoked by the predatory incursions of the French troops, to be infected with revolutionary principles. These merely fermented among the literati; the utopian idea of universal fraternity was spread by freemasonry; numbers at first cherished a hope that the Revolution would preserve a pure moral character, and were not a little astonished on beholding the monstrous crimes to which it gave birth. Others

[¹ For other opinions as to the authorship of the manifesto, see volume xii, p. 278.]

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merely rejoiced at the fall of the old and insupportable system, and numerous anonymous pamphlets in this spirit appeared in the Rhenish provinces. Fichte, the philosopher, also published an anonymous work in favour of the Revolution. Others again, as, for instance, Reichard, Girtanner, Schirach, and Hoffmann, set themselves up as informers, and denounced every liberal-minded man to the princes as a dangerous Jacobin. A search was made for Crypto-Jacobins, and every honest man was exposed to the calumny of the servile newspaper editors. French republicanism was denounced as criminal, notwithstanding the favour in which the French language and French ideas were held at all the courts of Germany. Liberal opinions were denounced as criminal, notwithstanding the example first set by the courts in ridiculing religion, in mocking all that was venerable and sacred. Nor was this reaction by any means occasioned by a burst of German patriotism against the tyranny of France, for the Treaty of Bâle speedily reconciled the self-same newspaper editors with France. It was mere servility; and the hatred which, it may easily be conceived, was naturally excited against the French as a nation, was vented in this mode upon the patient Germans, who were, unfortunately, ever doomed, whenever their neighbours were visited with some political chronic convulsion, to taste the bitter remedy. But few of the writers of the day took an historical view of the Revolution, and weighed its irremediable results in regard to Germany, besides Gentz, Rehberg, and the baron von Gagern, who published an *Address to his Countrymen*, in which he started the painful question, "Why are we Germans disunited?" Most of the contending opinions of the learned were, however, equally erroneous. It was as little possible to preserve the Revolution from blood and immorality, and to extend the boon of liberty to the whole world, as it was to suppress it by force, and, as far as Germany was concerned, her affairs were too complicated and her interests too scattered for any attempt of the kind to succeed. A Doctor Faust, at Bückeburg, sent a learned treatise upon the origin of trousers to the national convention at Paris, by which *sans-culottism* had been introduced—an incident alone sufficient to show the state of feeling in Germany at that time.

The revolutionary principles of France merely infected the people in those parts of Germany where their sufferings had ever been the greatest: as, for instance, in Saxony, where the peasantry, oppressed by the game-laws and the rights of the nobility, rose, after a dry summer, by which their misery had been greatly increased, to the number of eighteen thousand, and sent one of their class to lay their complaints before the elector (1790). The unfortunate messenger was instantly consigned to a mad-house, where he remained until 1809, and the peasantry were dispersed by the military. A similar revolt of the peasantry against the tyrannical nuns of Wormelen, in Westphalia, merely deserves mention as being characteristic of the times. A revolt of the peasantry, of equal unimportance, also took place in Bückeburg, on account of the expulsion of three revolutionary priests, Froriep, Meyer, and Rauschenbusch. In Breslau, a great riot, which was put down by means of artillery, was occasioned by the expulsion of a tailor's apprentice (1793). It may be recorded as a matter of curiosity that, during the blood-stained year of 1793, the petty prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt held, as though in a time of peace, a magnificent tournament, and the fêtes customary on such an occasion.

POLAND AND THE POWERS

The object of the Prussian king was either to extend his conquests westwards or, at all events, to prevent the advance of Austria. The war with France claimed his utmost attention, and, in order to guard his rear, he again attempted to convert Poland into a bulwark against Russia.

His ambassador, Lucchesini, drove Stackelberg, the Russian envoy, out of Warsaw, and promised mountains of gold to the Poles, who dissolved the perpetual council associated by Russia with the sovereign; freed themselves from the Russian guarantee; aided by Prussia, compelled the Russian troops to evacuate the country; devised a constitution, which they laid before the cabinets of London and Berlin; concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia on the 29th of March, 1790, and, on the 3rd of May, 1791, carried into effect the new constitution ratified by England and Prussia, and approved of by the emperor Leopold. During the conference held at Pillnitz, the indivisibility of Poland was expressly mentioned. The constitution was monarchical. Poland was, for the future, to be a hereditary instead of an elective monarchy, and, on the death of Poniatowski, the crown was to fall to Saxony. The modification of the peasants' dues and the power conceded to the serf of making a private agreement with his lord also gave the monarchy a support against the aristocracy.

Catherine of Russia, however, no sooner beheld Prussia and Austria engaged in a war with France, than she commenced her operations against Poland, declared the new Polish constitution French and Jacobinical, notwithstanding its abolition of the *liberum veto* and its extension of the prerogatives of the crown, and, taking advantage of the king's absence from Prussia, speedily regained possession of the country. What was Frederick William's policy in this dilemma? He was strongly advised to make peace with France, to throw himself at the head of the whole of his forces into Poland, and to set a limit to the insolence of the autocrat; but he feared, should he abandon the Rhine, the extension of the power of Austria in that quarter; and, calculating that Catherine, in order to retain his friendship, would cede to him a portion of her booty, unhesitatingly broke the faith he had just plighted with the Poles, suddenly took up Catherine's tone, declared Jacobinical the constitution he had so lately ratified, and despatched a force under Mollendorf into Poland in order to secure possession of his stipulated prey. By the second partition of Poland, which took place as rapidly, as violently, and, on account of the assurances of the Prussian monarch, far more unexpectedly than the first, Russia received the whole of Lithuania, Podolia, and the Ukraine, and Prussia obtained Thorn and Dantzic, besides southern Prussia (Posen and Kalish). Austria, at that time fully occupied with France, had no participation in this robbery, which was, as it were, committed behind her back.

THE FIRST COALITION AGAINST FRANCE (1793 A.D.)

The sovereigns of Europe prepared for war, and (1793) formed the first great coalition, at whose head stood England, intent upon the destruction of the French navy. The English, aided by a large portion of the French population, devoted to the ancient monarchy, attacked France by sea, and made a simultaneous descent on the northern and southern coasts. The Spanish and Portuguese troops crossed the Pyrenees; the Italian princes invaded the Alpine boundary; Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the German Empire threatened the Rhenish frontier, whilst Sweden and Russia stood frowning in the background. The whole of Christian Europe took up arms against France, and enormous armies hovered, like vultures, around their prey.

Mainz was, during the first six months of this year, besieged by the main body of the Prussian army under the command of Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick. The Austrians, when on their way past Mainz to Valenciennes with a quantity of heavy artillery destined for the reduction of the latter place (which they afterwards compelled to do homage to the emperor), refusing the

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request of the king of Prussia for its use *en passant* for the reduction of Mainz, greatly displeased that monarch, who clearly perceived the common intention of England and Austria to conquer the north of France to the exclusion of Prussia, and consequently revenged himself by privately partitioning Poland with Russia, and refusing his assistance to General Wurmser in the Vosges country. The dissensions between the allies again rendered their successes null. The Prussians, after the capture of Mainz (1793), advanced and beat the fresh masses led against them by Moreau at Pirmasens; but Frederick William, disgusted with Austria and secretly far from disinclined to peace with France, quitted the army (which he maintained in the field, merely from motives of honour, but allowed to remain in a state of inactivity) in order to visit his newly acquired territory in Poland.

The duke of Brunswick, who had received no orders to retreat, was compelled, *bon gré mal gré*, to hazard another engagement with the French, who rushed to the attack. He was once more victorious, at Kaiserslautern, over Hoche, whose untrained masses were unable to withstand the superior discipline of the Prussian troops. Wurmser took advantage of the moment when success seemed to restore the good humour of the allies to coalesce with the Prussians, dragging the unwilling Bavarians in his train. This junction, however, had merely the effect of disclosing the jealousy rankling on every side. The greatest military blunders were committed, and each blamed the other. Landau ought to and might have been rescued from the French, but this step was procrastinated until the convention had charged generals Hoche and Pichegru, "Landau or death." These two generals brought a fresh and numerous army into the field, and, in the very first engagements, at Worth and Froschweiler, the Bavarians ran away and the Austrians and Prussians were signally defeated. The retreat of Wurmser, in high displeasure, across the Rhine afforded a welcome pretext to the duke of Brunswick to follow his example and even to resign the command of the army to Mollendorf. In this shameful manner was the left bank of the Rhine lost to Germany.

The disasters suffered by the Austrians seem at that time to have flattered the ambition of the Prussians, for Mollendorf suddenly recrossed the Rhine and gained an advantage at Kaiserslautern, but was, in July, 1794, again repulsed at Trippstadt, notwithstanding which he once more crossed the Rhine in September, and a battle was won by the prince von Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen at Fischbach, but, on the coalition of Jourdan with Hoche, who had until then singly opposed him, Mollendorf again, and for the last time, retreated across the Rhine. The whole of the left bank of the Rhine, Luxemburg and Mainz alone excepted, was now in the hands of the French. Resius, the Hessian general, abandoned the Rheinfels with the whole garrison, without striking a blow in its defence. He was, in reward, condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Jourdan converted the fortress into a ruined heap. All the fortifications on the Rhine were yielded for the sake of saving Mannheim from bombardment.

THE THIRD PARTITION OF POLAND (1795 A.D.)

Frederick William's advisers, who imagined the violation of every principle of justice and truth to be an indubitable proof of instinctive and consummate prudence, unwittingly played a high and hazardous game. Their diplomatic absurdity, which weighed the fate of nations against a dinner, found a confusion of all the solid principles on which states rest as stimulating as the piquant ragouts of the great Ude. Lucchesini, with his almost intolerable airs of sapience, as artfully veiled his incapacity in the cabinet as Ferdinand of Brunswick did his in the field, and to this may be ascribed the measures which

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but momentarily and seemingly aggrandised Prussia and prepared her deeper fall. Each petty advantage gained by Prussia but served to raise against her some powerful foe, and finally, when placed by her policy at enmity with every sovereign of Europe, she was induced to trust to the shallow friendship of the French Republic.

The Poles, taken unawares by the second partition of their country, speedily recovered from their surprise and collected all their strength for an energetic opposition. Kosciuszko, who had, together with La Fayette, fought in North America in the cause of liberty, armed his countrymen with scythes, put every Russian who fell into his hands to death, and attempted the restoration of ancient Poland. How easily might not Prussia, backed by the enthusiasm of the patriotic Poles, have repelled the Russian colossus, already threatening Europe! But the Berlin diplomatists had yet to learn the homely truth that "honesty is the best policy." They aided in the aggrandisement of Russia, and drew down a nation's curse upon their heads for the sake of an addition to the territory of Prussia, the maintenance of which cost more than its revenue.

The king led his troops in person into Poland, and in June, 1794, defeated Kosciuszko's scythemen at Szczekociny, but met with such strenuous opposition in his attack upon Warsaw as to be compelled to retire in September. On the retreat of the Prussian troops, the Russians, who had purposely awaited their departure in order to secure the triumph for themselves, invaded the country in great force under their bold general, Suvarov, who defeated Kosciuszko, took him prisoner, and besieged Warsaw, which he carried by storm. On this occasion, termed by Reichard "a peaceful and merciful entry of the clement victor," eighteen thousand of the inhabitants of every age and sex were cruelly put to the sword. The result of this success was the third partition or utter annihilation of Poland. Russia took possession of the whole of Lithuania and Volhynia, as far as the Riemien and the Bug; Prussia, of the whole country west of the Riemien, including Warsaw; Austria, of the whole country south of the Bug (1795). An army of German officials, who earned for themselves not the best of reputations, settled in the Prussian division. They were ignorant of the language of the country, and enriched themselves by tyranny and oppression. Von Treibenfeld, the counsellor to the forest-board, one of Bischofswerder's friends, bestowed a number of confiscated lands upon his adherents.^d

NEGOTIATIONS LEADING UP TO THE TREATY OF BÂLE

Both at Berlin and Vienna there had long been a desire to get rid of the burden of the French war. The Austrian Thugut refused to listen to any of Pitt's offers, Haugwitz and Lucchesini were out of humour with the British cabinet, and Mollendorf suggested negotiations with the French Republic; at first, indeed, Frederick William II would not hear of negotiations with the regicides, and rejected the idea of concluding a separate peace without reference to his allies as disloyal: but as early as July, 1794, Mollendorf, who commanded the Prussian army on the Rhine, had begun to treat for peace with Barthélemy, the French envoy in Switzerland.^e

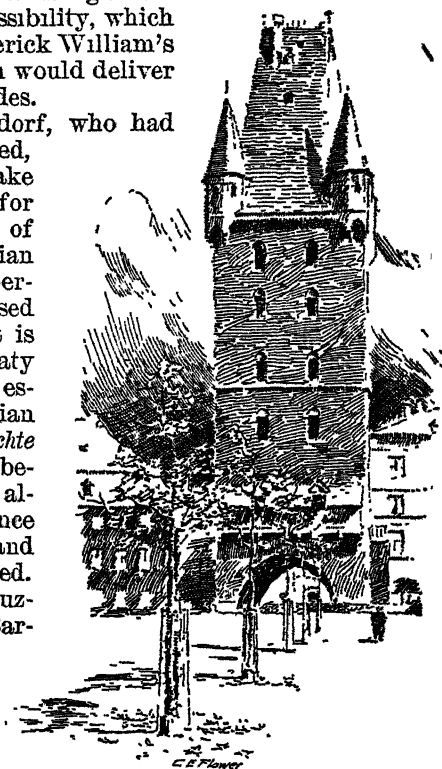
France had another agent in Switzerland, the Alsatian Bacher, who had been born in the year 1748 at Thann, had spent his youth in Berlin, and been through his training as an officer. Hence originated his enthusiasm for Frederick the Great, and his acquaintance with Prince Henry and many other eminent men who were destined later to be of such use to him. From 1777 until the arrival of Barthélemy, he had been an envoy in Switzerland, and in 1793 had

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been given the post of first secretary and interpreter of the republic in Bâle, with instructions to guard the neutrality of Switzerland, to watch the movements of hostile armies, to supply the French generals with news, and to maintain an active correspondence with the secret agents who served the republic in Germany. Through this Bacher the committee of public safety received the most unvarnished disclosures concerning the internal proceedings of the coalition, and the constant friction of its Polish with its French policy; also concerning the conflict between the peaceable attitude of the Prussian ministers in general and the warlike attitude of King Frederick William; and concerning the impossibility, which was growing clearer and clearer, of Frederick William's avoiding the conclusion of a peace which would deliver him from unbearable pressure on two sides.

It was to this Bacher that Mollendorf, who had been field-marshal for seven years, dared, with unexampled presumption, to make behind the back of his king proposals for peace. This will show, in an example of astounding significance, what a Prussian general at that time dared to consider permissible when relying on the undisguised opposition of the army to the war. It is known by what construction of the Treaty of the Hague Mollendorf succeeded in establishing the exemption of the Prussian army from those services as *Landsknechte* to the English, for which the English believed they had purchased them. He allowed the secret engagement with France to follow upon the breach with England herein involved, and consciously involved. At his order a wine merchant from Kreuznach, one Schmerz by name, visited Barthélemy at the end of July, 1794, in Baden, and Bacher at the end of August in Bâle, to let Barthélemy know by letter, and Bacher by word of mouth, that "the Prussians" were ready to enter upon peace negotiations with France as soon as they could reckon on France's complaisance. Ochs, the

burgomaster of Bâle, had taken part in the conference, and from that time he assumed the rôle of a go-between. As early as the 16th of September, 1794, Bacher was able to convey to Paris the news that "Field-Marshal Mollendorf has just sent me his confidential agent, who informs me that in a council of war the Austrians determined to throw themselves into Treves on the 1^e Vendémiaire (September 22nd) in order to reconquer this place by a vigorous onslaught. The Prussian generals were invited to co-operate in this undertaking. They were not able entirely to refuse the invitation: but their envoy was instructed to request me to inform General Michaud, commander-in-chief of the Rhine army, that the rôle of the Prussians would be confined to observation only. According to the view of the Prussians the attack on Treves would be a complete failure, while the French are strong enough to occupy the most important posts which they have to defend. So far as the Prussians are concerned they would not stir: this could be reckoned upon;



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but they hope that they will not be forced to take up arms—the Prussians will only fight in order to defend themselves if they are attacked.” The brilliant part taken by the Prussian corps of Prince Hohenlohe on the 20th of September in the victorious battle of Kaiserslautern was entirely opposed to the programme of Mollendorf.

The dissension hitherto reigning between the king and his whole *entourage* ceased in October. England and Austria vied with each other in justifying the predictions of the peace party at court. On behalf of England Lord Malmesbury declared, on the 11th of October, that the subsidies due would not be paid; on behalf of Austria Prince Reuss declared that the auxiliary corps of twenty thousand men, demanded by the king for the war in Poland, would not be formed. It was impossible to oppose with any self-delusion the language of facts like these. On the 16th of October Frederick William gave orders to Field-Marshal Mollendorf to lead the army back to Prussia, especially the twenty thousand men who, in virtue of the treaty of alliance in February, 1792, were stationed on the Rhine. At the same time the English were informed of the subsidy treaty; and with the departure of Mollendorf to the right bank of the Rhine was completed the withdrawal of Prussia from the war.^f

The Empire and the Peace Negotiations

Henceforward Prussia considered her task to be the preservation of her own individuality and her union with the estates of the empire, many of which had already turned their thoughts to peace with France. In the electoral college Charles Theodore of the Palatinate and Bavaria was especially in favour of peace, and the elector of Mainz, Frederick Charles Joseph von Erthal, in collusion with Mollendorf, was also working for it.^e

The smooth-tongued Karl von Dalberg, coadjutor of Mainz, who had always hitherto given expression to his faithful adherence to the supreme head of the empire in the most touching words—he being prince primate of the German Empire, a French duke, creature and tool of the French emperor—was one of the first to urge the elector of Mainz, the *ex-officio* arch-chancellor of the empire, to deal the most decisive of blows to German patriotism. The Prussian ministers, Hardenberg, Schulenburg, Albin, the chancellor of Mainz, and Mollendorf, supported him. The senile and characterless elector of Mainz succumbed to the influence of these five men.^g

In spite, therefore, of the opposition of Austria and of Hanover, the diet of Ratisbon agreed to the opening of peace negotiations, and the imperial decree to that effect was passed with unwonted promptitude on the 22nd of December. Already in January, 1794, Hesse-Cassel had made offers of peace to France, and Hesse-Darmstadt, Zweibrücken, Leiningen, and Treves hoped to obtain peace with France through Prussia. The conquest of Holland by Pichegru had opened to the French a door through which they might invade lower Germany, and strengthened the desire for peace in Berlin.^e

The Attitude of Prussia

On the 4th of December, 1794, Merlin (of Douai) made a speech in the convention, in which he said of Prussia that it was undoubtedly the only one of all the states that in its own interest must hail with delight the erection of a great republic on the ruins of a monarchy, which through “the shameful treaty” of 1756 had exercised such a powerful check on the perfidious house of Austria; doubtless Prussia would soon see that in order to counteract the voracious ambition of Russia it could find a sound balance only “in a lasting

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peace with France, and in a close alliance with the northern powers which are her neighbours." Concerning the attitude to be adopted towards the states which were inclined towards peace, he said: "While the French nation with triumphant and withal generous hand draws the boundaries within which it is her pleasure to be confined, she will reject no offers that are compatible with her interests and her dignity, with her tranquillity and with her security. Such is her policy, which rejoices in its nakedness. She will treat with her enemies, even as she has fought with them before the eyes of the world, which is witness of her just intentions as it has been made witness of her victories. To sum up all in a word: at the point where the French nation shall find war no longer necessary to avenge insults to her dignity, or to protect herself from fresh aggressions dictated by cunning, there alone will she impose bounds on her victorious career, there alone will she enjoin peace."

The language of this declaration was inflated, but it was unequivocal, and consistent with the power which France undeniably possessed. The invitation to Prussia was perfectly comprehensible. But so was the announcement that no sacrifice of possessions was to be expected from a power which no one could restrain—to put it roundly, that to secure peace there was no other way than to make a voluntary renunciation of claims to new victories and acquisitions.

And so if Prussia determined to make peace with this power, the main and essential question was simply—What was to be done if, instead of relinquishing the German territory on the left of the Rhine, which was now occupied by her troops, France decided to cling to it? But it was on this very question that the Prussian ministry was silent when on the 8th of December it drew up instructions with which Major-General Count Goltz, the former ambassador in Paris, was to proceed to the opening of peace negotiations. Only when these were settled did the cabinet minister Von Alvensleben introduce this question for debate (on the 9th of December), when he proposed to embrace two conditions as an offset to the unavoidable consent to this unavoidable demand of France: (1) a guarantee of the Polish territory in occupation, and (2) indemnity for the Prussian territory on the left side of the Rhine by removal of the spiritual bishoprics. The reply of the minister Count Finckenstein to this was, "Such a course would be certain to infuriate the king, possibly to such an extent that he would refuse to hear any more of the embassy of Count Goltz." And this objection had its effect, as it was bound to have. The whole document of the 8th of December was apparently intended less for Count Goltz than for the king himself, whose approbation of the whole thing, inasmuch as it conflicted immeasurably with his personal inclination, could be won only if at least at the beginning he rested in the belief that he could have peace not only without sacrifice but even with a great increase of honour and reputation.

Before Goltz arrived at Bâle, news had been received by the ministry through Harnier, secretary at the embassy, that the committee of public safety wished to have an immediate explanation of the king's intentions, and had determined that these should reach Paris through Harnier himself. The 18th of December, the day of his arrival in Berlin, had not passed when he was already provided with instructions for Paris; he reached Paris on the 6th of January, 1795, and at the very first conferences in the committee their majority confronted him with an unwavering demand; this was for the whole territory left of the Rhine together with Mainz.

Any excitement, however, that might have been raised in Berlin by this demand would have been suppressed by the overwhelming news of the conquest of Holland by General Pichegru. The reaction was at once illustrated.

On the 30th of January, the ambassador Boissy d'Anglas informed the as-

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sembly of the peaceable intentions of the committee of public safety, and gave still sharper expression to the programme developed by Merlin on the 4th of December, in these words: "Our previous dangers, the necessity for making it impossible for them to recur, the duty which we feel to compensate our fellow citizens for their sacrifice, our honest wish to make the peace solid and permanent—all this compels us to extend our frontiers, to compose them of great rivers, mountains, and the ocean, in order thus to protect ourselves from the beginning and for a long succession of centuries against every aggression and every attack."

Language of this kind could surprise nobody; as a matter of fact it contained nothing new, and the increased sharpness of emphasis with which what had long been known was here reiterated was easily explained in view of the triumph in Holland. Nevertheless the Prussian ministers were quite clear as to the sacrifice which must be made if they were not prepared to abandon peace, which Prussia was simply neither in a position to do without nor to impose. Only in their attitude towards the king was any change to be observed in them, inasmuch as the catastrophe in Holland justified them in exhibiting a frankness which had not been timely on the 8th of December. Determined at bottom to sacrifice the Rhine territory, they now sought only the most gentle means of winning the king to their side, and of saving as much of the honour of the state as yet remained to be saved. Before the end of January two points were agreed upon at Potsdam: first of all, the negotiations were not to be broken off on account of the Rhine territory; and secondly, there was to be no surrender before the general peace, and even then only at the price of indemnity.

THE TREATY OF BÂLE (1795 A.D.)

Bâle was selected as the place for the negotiations; here Goltz came on the 28th of December and Barthélemy on the 12th of January. The negotiations were first officially opened on the 22nd of January; they suffered unexpected interruption owing to the illness of Count Goltz, who died on the 6th of February: his place was taken by Harnier, who carried on the conference. On the 15th of February a despatch from the king was handed to Harnier, in which he was requested to demand of Barthélemy a proposal for a draft treaty, which he was to follow up at once with a counter draft in case the earlier one should be unacceptable. He did not conceal his astonishment over the contradiction which was involved by the committee of public safety's giving him assurances for the authority of the king under the solemn assertion of its good will, assurances which it could not fulfil without losing its own authority; but this is what would happen if, by assigning a portion of his provinces, he were to afford the precedent for mutilating the territory of the empire. The Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine could have no value for France unless France extended its frontiers altogether to the Rhine. But as this general question could be decided only at the general peace, so the decision concerning the special question of the Prussian territory must remain also undecided for the present. To this wish, which was emphasised very loudly on the side of the Prussians, the committee of public safety acceded, attempting to solve the difficulty in a draft treaty received by Barthélemy on the 11th of March, and constructed as follows: "Article 6. The French republic will continue to occupy the territories of Mors, Cleves, and Gelderland on the left bank of the Rhine, and these territories will ultimately share the lot of the other states of the empire on the left bank of the Rhine, at the conclusion of a general peace between the French Republic and the rest of Germany." In order to comply with the wish of the king that a mediator for

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peace should be duly honoured, it was further added in a ninth article: "The French Republic will accept the good services of the king of Prussia in favour of the princes and estates of the empire which should desire to enter immediately into negotiation with her."

The text and contents of these two articles now formed the main subject of the decisive negotiations with which Freiherr Karl August von Hardenberg was occupied from the 28th of February, but which in consequence of the lateness of his arrival in Bâle were not commenced before the 19th of March. The delay to the conclusion of negotiations now incurred, in spite of the fact that Hardenberg was instructed by the ministry to yield to the committee of public safety in all important points, was due to the fact that Hardenberg thought that by an ingenious dilatoriness on the one side and by firm conduct on the other he could give to the whole business a more favourable turn for Prussia. This method, certainly an arbitrary one, secured him some advantages, it is true, in points of inferior import; but in the main his whole experience confirmed for him the observation that Prussia was just the element that could not risk a breach, because she stood between two fires, and no diplomatic skill could withdraw her from the necessity for extinguishing one of them with all speed.

In the original draft treaty which was signed by both plenipotentiaries on the 5th of April, 1795, the main contention on the subject of the Rhine lands was solved by giving another construction to the clause mentioned above as the Article 5 of the public treaty, and adding to it an important sub-clause in a secret article contiguous with it.

In the first part of the sentence the words "the French Republic will," were replaced by "the troops of the French Republic will hold in occupation," and this change denoted that the occupation which before had been purely military should still continue to maintain its military character until the imperial peace was settled. In place of the second part of the sentence, another sentence was introduced which ran: "Every final decision regarding these provinces is postponed to the general determination of peace between France and the German Empire." Furthermore, in the second of six secret contiguous articles, came the following provision: "If at the general determination of peace with the empire France keeps the left bank of the Rhine, the king will agree with the republic over the indemnity which he shall receive, and will accept the guarantee which the republic shall offer to him for the indemnity."

Such were the provisions of the treaty with regard to the left bank of the Rhine; a public and a secret article dealt with the position of the king of Prussia in regard to the imperial states, which were everywhere solicitous for peace. This article (the 10th), after expressing readiness to accept the good services of the king in the above-mentioned form, went on to promise "a three



HEIDELBERG CASTLE COURT

months' armistice to those states on the right of the Rhine, for which the king of Prussia should use his interest." And the third of the contiguous secret articles expressed "the neutrality of north Germany under the guarantee of the king of Prussia, and under the provision that the states lying within the line of demarcation should withdraw their contingents, and should in no way incur the obligation of providing troops against France." Both states promised to maintain sufficient forces to protect this neutrality.

One question only remained open, of which the committee of public safety was reminded as soon as it received the draft treaty—What would happen if the king of England in his position as elector of Hanover refused to enter the agreement for neutrality arranged for north Germany? To this question Hardenberg subsequently replied by a note of the 15th of April, in which he declared that in this case "the king of Prussia would make it his duty to take the electorate into his safe keeping (*prendre en dépôt*) in order to effect execution of the afore-mentioned conditions." Already on the 14th of April the convention had received the public treaty with loud enthusiasm for the republic, on the 15th the committee accepted the secret articles; no less was the satisfaction on the Prussian side. Hardenberg in his despatch to the king particularly described the peace as "safe, honourable, and advantageous."

The peace with Prussia had been preceded on the 9th of February by that with Tuscany; and in this same Bâle there followed, on the 17th of May, a treaty concerning the neutrality of one portion of the German Empire under the guarantee of Prussia, and on the 22nd of July, a peace treaty with Spain. The committee of public safety and the convention thus met the general wishes of the French nation with this peace policy, but this was the only ground on which they had the country with them.^f

THE ARROGANCE OF FRANCE.

During the conferences of peace with Prussia, and even afterwards, in the summer of 1795, as Austria and the Germanic empire appeared equally desirous for a pacification, both parties agreed to a cessation of arms, and the two armies retained their position in front of each other on the opposite banks of the Rhine, separated only by the waters of that noble river. This short repose was of great benefit to France, for the general scarcity of provisions which prevailed throughout this year—producing almost a state of famine—would otherwise have completely prevented the army from accomplishing any extraordinary operations. But as the harvest was now safely gathered in, Jourdan, on the night of the 6th of September, crossed the Rhine between Duisburg and Düsseldorf, which latter town he forthwith invested, and pursuing his impetuous course of victory, drove the Austrians from the banks of the rivers Wupper—the commencement of the Prussian line of demarcation—the Sieg and the Lahn over the Main. Field-Marshal Clerfayt, however, had reassembled his troops behind the latter river, and he now attacked the French at Höchst, near Frankfort, completely routed them, and sent them back over the Rhine with the same expedition that they had used in advancing across it; thus Mainz was delivered from its state of siege, and Mannheim retaken. The summer armistice had reduced the strength and spirit of the republican armies, and their zeal had become considerably diminished. A war conducted on the opposite bank of the Rhine was no longer regarded as a war in the cause of liberty, and many volunteers of the higher classes had now returned to their homes.

When, in 1796, the new order of things had become gradually consolidated in France, the directory resolved to force Austria and the Germanic Empire to

[1796-1797 A.D.]

conclude a treaty of peace by one general overwhelming invasion. It was determined that the armies should, in the ensuing spring, cross to the other side of the Rhine and the Alps, and penetrate from every point into the heart of Germany. Moreau was to march through Swabia, Jourdan through Franconia, and a third army was to overrun Italy. In the latter country, the Austrian troops were commanded by the old general, Beaulieu; in the upper Rhine, the old veteran, Wurmser, held the chief command; and in the lower Rhine, the general-in-chief was the archduke Charles of Austria; to the two latter armies were united the troops of the imperial states. The war commenced in Italy. But there the old and experienced general found himself confronted with a young, daring leader, filled with the most gigantic projects, who now on this occasion first came forth to develop his marvellous powers and indomitable perseverance before the eyes of astonished Europe.^c

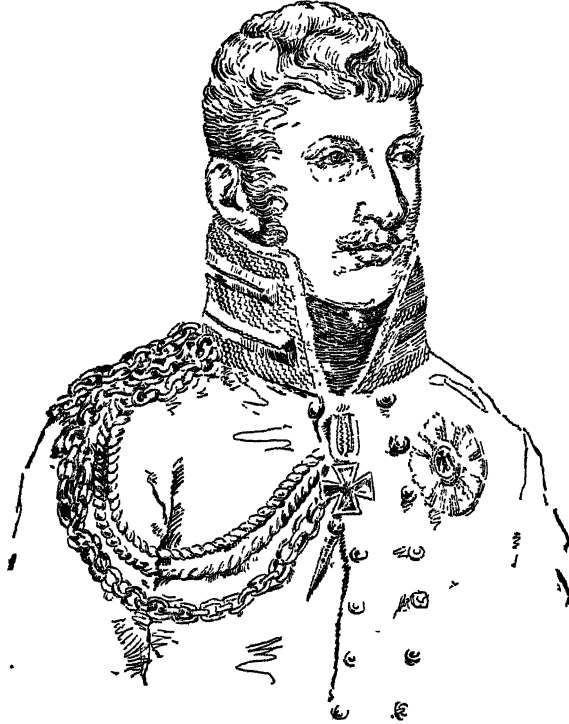
The principal object of the policy of Bonaparte and of the French Directory, at that period, was, by rousing the ancient feelings of enmity between Austria and Prussia, to eternalise the disunion between those two monarchies. Bonaparte, after effectuating the peace by means of terror, loaded Austria with flattery. He flattered her religious feelings by the moderation of his conduct in Italy towards the pope, notwithstanding the disapprobation manifested by the genuine French republicans; and her interests, by the offer of Venice in compensation for the loss of the Netherlands, and, making a slight side movement against that once powerful and still wealthy republic, reduced it at the first blow, nay, by mere threats, to submission, so deeply was the ancient aristocracy here also fallen. The cession of Venice to the emperor was displeasing to the French republicans. They were, however, pacified by the delivery of La Fayette, who had been still detained a prisoner in Austria after the Treaty of Bâle. Napoleon said in vindication of his policy, "I have merely lent Venice to the emperor; he will not keep her long." He moreover gratified Austria by the extension of her western frontier, so long the object of her ambition, by the possession of the archbishopric of Salzburg and of a part of Bavaria with the town of Wasserburg.

The sole object of these concessions was provisionally to dispose Austria in favour of France, and to render Prussia's ancient jealousy of Austria implacable. Hence the secret articles of peace by which France and Austria bound themselves not to grant any compensation to Prussia. Prussia was on her part, however, resolved not to be the loser, and in the summer of 1797 took forcible possession of the imperial free town of Nuremberg, notwithstanding her declaration made just three years previously through Count Soden to the Franconian circle, that the king had never harboured the design of seeking a compensation at the expense of the empire, whose constitution had ever been sacred in his eyes!—and to the empire, that he deemed it beneath his dignity to refute the reports concerning Prussia's schemes of aggrandisement, oppression, and secularisation. Prussia also extended her possessions in Franconia and Westphalia, and Hesse-Cassel imitated her example by the seizure of a part of Schaumburg-Lippe. The diet energetically remonstrated, but in vain. Pamphlets spoke of the Prussian reunion-chambers opened by Hardenberg in Franconia. An attempt was, however, made to console the circle of Franconia by depicting the far worse sufferings of that of Swabia under the imperial contributions. The petty estates of the empire stumbled, under these circumstances, upon the unfortunate idea that the intercession of the Russian court should be requested for the maintenance of the integrity of the German Empire and for that of her constitution—the intercession of the Russian court, which had so lately annihilated Poland!

Shortly after this (1797) Frederick William II, who had, on his accession to the throne, found £14,500,000 in the treasury, expired, leaving £5,500,000

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of debts. His son, Frederick William III, abolished the unpopular monopoly in tobacco, but retained his father's ministers and continued the alliance, so pregnant with mischief, with France. This monarch, well-meaning and destined to the severest trials, educated by a peevish valetudinarian and ignorant of



FREDERICK WILLIAM III
(1770-1840)

affairs, was first taught by bitter experience the utter incapacity of the men at that time at the head of the government, and after, as will be seen, completely reforming the court, the government, and the army, surrounded himself with men who gloriously delivered Prussia and Germany from all the miseries and avenged all the disgrace which it is the historian's sad office to record.

Austria, as Prussia had already done by the Treaty of Bâle, also sacrificed, by the Peace of Campo-Formio, the whole of the left bank of the Rhine and abandoned it to France, the loss thereby suffered by the estates of the empire being indemnified by the secularisation of the ecclesiastical property in the interior of Germany and by the prospect of the seizure of the imperial free towns. Mainz was ceded without a blow to France. Holland was forgotten. The English, under pretext of opposing France, destroyed (1797) the last Dutch fleet, in the Texel, though not without a heroic and determined resistance on the part of the admirals De Winter and Reintjes, both of whom were severely wounded, the latter dying in captivity in England. Holland was formed into a Batavian, Genoa into a Ligurian, Milan with the Veltlin (from which the Grisons was severed) into a Cisalpine Republic. Intrigues were, moreover, set on foot for the formation of a Roman and Neapolitan Republic

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in Italy and of a Rhenish and Swabian one in Germany, all of which were to be subordinate to the mother republic in France. The proclamation of a still-born Cisrhenish Republic (it not having as yet been constituted when it was swallowed up in the great French Republic), in the masterless Lower Rhenish provinces in the territory of Treves, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne, under the influence of the French Jacobins and soldiery, was, however, all that could at first be openly done.

At Rastadt, near Baden, where the compensation mentioned in the Treaty of Campo-Formio was to be taken into consideration, the terrified estates of the empire assembled for the purpose of suing the French ambassadors for the lenity they had not met with at the hands of Austria and Prussia. The events that took place at Rastadt are of a description little calculated to flatter the patriotic feelings of the German historian. The soul of the congress was Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Périgord, at one time a bishop, at the present period minister of the French Republic. His colloquy with the German ambassadors resembled that of the fox with the geese, and he attuned their discords with truly diabolical art. Whilst holding Austria and Prussia apart, instigating them one against the other, flattering both with the friendship of the republic and with the prospect of a rich booty by the secularisation of the ecclesiastical lands, he encouraged some of the petty states with the hope of aggrandisement by an alliance with France, and, with cruel contempt, allowed others a while to gasp for life before consigning them to destruction.

The petty princes, moreover, who had been deprived of their territory on the other side of the Rhine, demanded lands on this side in compensation; all the petty princes on this side consequently trembled lest they should be called upon to make compensation, and each endeavoured, by bribing the members of the congress, Talleyrand in particular, to render himself an exception. The French minister was bribed not by gold alone; a considerable number of ladies gained great notoriety by their liaison with the insolent republican, from whom they received nothing, the object for which they sued being sold by him sometimes even two or three times. *Momus*, a satirical production of this period, relates numerous instances of crime and folly that are perfectly incredible. The avarice manifested by the French throughout the whole of the negotiations was only surpassed by the brutality of their language and behaviour. Robert, Bonnier, and Jean de Bry, the dregs of the French nation, treated the whole of the German Empire on this occasion *en canaille*, and, whilst picking the pockets of the Germans, were studiously coarse and brutal; still, the trifling opposition they encountered and the total want of spirit in the representatives of the great German Empire, whom it must, in fact, have struck them as ridiculous to see thus humbled at their feet, forms an ample excuse for their demeanour.

The weakness displayed by the empire and the increasing disunion between Austria and Prussia encouraged the French to further insolence. Not satisfied with garrisoning every fortification on the left bank of the Rhine, they boldly attacked, starved to submission, and razed to the ground, during peace time, the once impregnable fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite Coblenz. Not content with completely laying waste the Netherlands and Holland, they compelled the Hanse towns to grant them a loan of 18,000,000 livres. Lubeck refused, but Hamburg and Bremen, more nearly threatened and hopeless of aid from Prussia, were constrained to satisfy the demands of the French brigands. In the Netherlands, the German faction once more rose in open insurrection; in 1798, the young men, infuriated by the conscription and by their enrolment into French regiments, flew to arms, and torrents of blood were shed in the struggle, in which they were unaided by their German brethren, before they were again reduced to submission.

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The English also landed at Ostend, but for the sole purpose of destroying the sluices of the canal at Brugge.

The French divided the beautiful Rhenish provinces, yielded to them almost without a blow by Germany, into four departments. Each individual was a citizen, free and equal. All ecclesiastical establishments were abandoned to plunder, the churches alone excepted, they being still granted as places of worship to believers, notwithstanding the contempt and ridicule into which the clergy had fallen. The monasteries were closed. The peasantry, more particularly in Treves, nevertheless still manifested great attachment to popery. Guilds and corporations were also abolished. The introduction of the ancient German oral law formerly in use throughout the empire, the institution of trial by jury, which, to the disgrace of Germany, the Rhenish princes, after the lapse of a thousand years, learned from their Gallic foe, were great and signal benefits.

Liberty, equality, and justice were, at that period, in all other respects, mere fictions. The most arbitrary rule in reality existed, and the new provinces were systematically drained by taxes of every description, as, for instance, register, stamp, patent, window, door, and land taxes: there was also a tax upon furniture and upon luxuries of every sort; a poll-tax, a percentage on the whole assessment, etc.; besides extortion, confiscation, and forced sales. And woe to the new citizen of the great French Republic if he failed in paying more servile homage to its officers, from the prefect down to the lowest underling, than had ever been exacted by the princes! Such was the liberty bestowed by republican France! Thus were her promises fulfilled! The German illuminati were fearfully undeceived, particularly on perceiving how completely their hopes of universally revolutionising Germany were frustrated by the Treaty of Bâle. The French, who had proclaimed liberty to all the nations of the earth, now offered it for sale. The French character was in every respect the same as during the reign of Louis XIV. The only principle to which they remained ever faithful was that of robbery. Switzerland was now in her turn attacked, and vengeance thus overtook every province that had severed itself from the empire, and every part of the once magnificent empire of Germany was miserably punished for its want of unity.^d

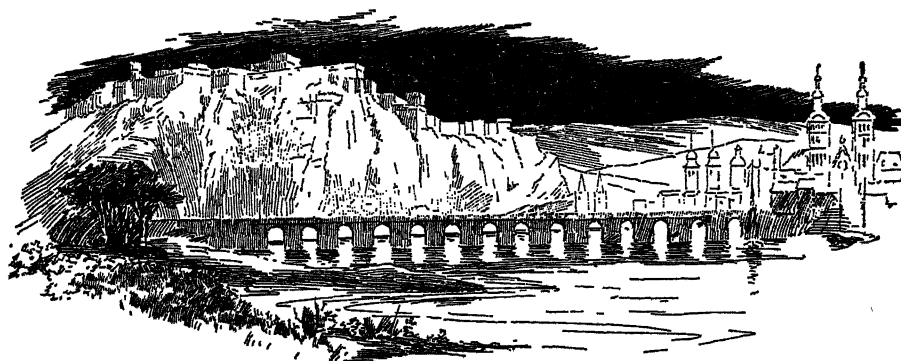
NEW PHASES OF PRUSSIAN NEUTRALITY

Let us now review the change produced in the general position of the Prussian state by the French occupation of Hanover. Prussia had some years before opposed the advance of the French both in the Netherlands and on the Rhine by the principle of neutrality and demarcation; and by preventing further invasions, notwithstanding her friendly relations with the French, had thus succeeded in gaining for herself a high reputation. Under the leadership of Prussia a new system was formed, by means of which the north of Germany was not only made secure, but also united internally more than ever before. An armed power, at the head of which stood the duke of Brunswick, was formed out of the contingents of the north German states, and standing as it did in the midst of the contending armies, this power possessed no small weight and maintained the authority of the Prussian crown. At the same time the continual strife of the other powers had a favourable effect on north German commerce and on the prosperity of the Prussian people. This system included Poland, the coasts of the Baltic Sea, and especially those of the North Sea, and contributed to the formation of a certain unity between foreign territories and the Prussian state. The temptation which had existed for a moment to take an active part in the conflicts of the second coalition was due to a desire to

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secure the position already gained through the liberation of Holland and a consequent affiliation with it; there was no thought, however, of interfering in the determination of the great European questions, and the danger of being entangled in hostilities, the issue of which could not be foreseen, acted as a restraint from even that very limited beginning. Prussia remained true to the system of peace and neutrality. This, however, was possible only so long as a certain equilibrium was maintained among the belligerent powers and the prospect of peace between them still remained.

But things were bound to take a different course after the peace negotiations at Amiens had proved unsuccessful and the war between England and France assumed a position so prominent as to put every other question into the shade, and after the friendly relations that had for some time existed between Alexander and Bonaparte had also ceased. Then came the occupation of Hanover by the French, which was an act of hostility directed against England, but



EHRENBREITSTEIN

(Frequently Assailed in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)

from which Germany, and especially Prussia, suffered most. Those old coalitions directed against France had lost their value in consequence of the Treaty of Lunéville, which had given promise of a universal peace; but at the same moment the French had, under another pretext, taken the most violent measure conceivable against Prussia—the military occupation of a considerable territory in north Germany. At the same time the naval war between the two powers reacted on the foreign commerce of Prussia; the whole system adopted for the last ten years was shaken in its foundations.

For some time it seemed that it would be possible to conclude with France an alliance, which would safeguard the interests of Prussia. Bonaparte himself had been the first to create this impression by offering Prussia his alliance. This was certainly no hypocritical pretence on his part. He has himself stated his reasons for it: England might possibly again form a coalition with Austria, and he therefore wished to be allied with Prussia against Austria and England. But the question whether Prussia could enter into such an alliance was one demanding the most serious consideration. The minister Lombard was sent to Brussels, where Bonaparte was at that time, with the view of ascertaining from the sovereign himself, and not from one of his ministers, how far he was serious in consenting to peace and friendship; and it was no intentional deception on the part of Bonaparte, when he tried his best to convince Lombard of his peaceful and friendly intentions towards Prussia. In this he succeeded only too well. His intentions towards Prussia were dictated by the

general political conditions, and were part of a general plan for the conduct of the war against England, which had caused Bonaparte to disregard all previous alliances.

The idea of an alliance with France had once more called forth the feeling of independence. The hope of a possible resistance of the empire had not been given up in Germany, however limited the chief of the empire might be. The opinion existed that federalism was not at all a bad constitution for internal peace and development; both aristocracy and anarchy might be thus resisted and the free cities might become happy republics. Publications were issued and conferences held where these ideas were more precisely defined.

It was precisely in the first consul that Hardenberg perceived the most dangerous opponent. While accepting the federalist system, Hardenberg had in view the possibility of giving to the German Empire a suitable constitution. Based upon a federative system, this constitution would leave every prince and every proprietor in possession of his property and outward splendour, while everything pertaining to the general defence and external relations would have to depend solely upon the initiative of the two chiefs of the federation, who would be invested with the necessary authority and provided with the means for its execution in accordance with the laws and aims of the federation. It was the greatest German question that had now come more to the surface: whether room should be made for the influence of France, who now, more than ever, had taken up the old idea of control over Germany, or whether it would still be possible to bring about the union of the states of the empire with the two chief German powers and thus uphold German independence. The question, however, was not considered in all its comprehensiveness.

Before anything else was done those negotiations between Prussia and France were continued, whose aim it was to prevent the Franco-English war from spreading over German territory. With regard to north German affairs an approximate understanding had been reached. Hanover was to remain, indeed, in the possession of France, but the first consul declared that he would keep it only with a view to exacting compensation at the conclusion of peace. He promised to evacuate Cuxhaven and Ritzbüttel, but no English vessel was to be allowed on the Weser and the Elbe. Prussia's insistence that France should not overstep the boundary fixed at Lunéville was for the present of very little moment, as she had accepted the occupation of Hanover by the French, though with limited power. Bonaparte, on the other hand, demanded that Prussia should recognise the state of Italy as it appeared at this moment, after the new French seizures of territory. Prussia had recognised the changes made by Bonaparte in Cisalpinia, Tuscany, and Genoa, because Russia had recognised them. The political position of King Frederick William III was conditioned upon an understanding between Russia and France. After some time, however, since the differences between England and France which preceded the breach of the Peace of Amiens, misunderstandings had also arisen between Russia and France.

In accordance with his plan of attacking England wherever he could, the first consul had taken possession of Hanover and of the Weser and the Elbe; it was also for the same reason that he extended his arbitrary rule over the Abruzzi Mountains and Calabria, for he thought that otherwise he would have to fear the influence of England by way of Malta. But this occupation stood in direct opposition to the last agreements with Russia, which took Naples under her protection. Russia refused to allow the further existence of the ambiguity concerning Sardinia contained in the article of the agreement, since Bonaparte had refused the English any consideration on that island. Not only did Russia now demand the integrity of Naples, but also the recon-

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stitution and independence of Sardinia. The chancellor Woronzoff declared, in contradiction even to an expression of the emperor, that the affairs of the republic of the Seven United Islands [the Ionian Islands] were properly an affair of Russia. Russian troops and ships were kept there. The first consul, on the other hand, laid claim to the dominion of the coasts of Naples and Sicily.

THE PORTE

An important element in the diplomacy of the times was formed by the relations to the Porte, which gradually began to side with France, although the latter had visited the Porte with such hostilities as might have caused her destruction. It is necessary for us to refer briefly to these relations, since they entered, in spite of their remoteness, within the purview of Prussian politics to a considerable extent. The first consul had succeeded in concluding a separate treaty with the Porte (June 25th, 1802), whilst the impression prevailed that the Turkish peace should form only a part of the general pacification. This caused ill-feeling in England and increased the strain in her relations with France. In the treaty the two powers, France and Turkey, guaranteed each other their respective possessions. The Porte consented, not because she was sure of France but because she distrusted the other powers more.

The king of Prussia, who had acted the part of conciliator between France and the Porte to the satisfaction of both parties, was now invited by Bonaparte to guarantee on his part the integrity of the Porte. The Prussian court perceived in this a demonstration against those powers by which Turkey could be threatened: England, Austria, and especially Russia. The Prussian court therefore refused to accede to this guarantee.

The home and foreign interests of the Ottoman Empire were now intertwined. The English took the part of the mamelukes in Egypt, whom the Porte wished to destroy. The Russians maintained active commercial relations with the Greeks of the Archipelago. Great sensation was caused when Sebastopol was declared a military port, and a military connection was established between the Crimea and the Ionian Islands, where the Russian fleet continually remained. The French ambassador at Constantinople called the attention of the Prussian ambassador to the fact that the growing influence of Russia might easily lead to territorial extension of its power. It was supposed that Alexander [who had succeeded the emperor Paul in 1801 and had clearly stated that he would follow in the footsteps of Catherine II] also meant to follow her policy with regard to Turkey and the establishment of Russian empire in the Orient. The position taken up by Russia was pointed out to the Prussian ambassador as threatening the integrity of the Turkish Empire.

When, therefore, Prussia was now invited to guarantee this integrity, it was not a question of mere formality; she was required to declare herself for France also in the decisive points of general policy. As matters stood, it would in fact have meant a demonstration against Russia, an action which was beyond the intentions of the Prussian cabinet. Far from being drawn upon such a course, Haugwitz gave his attention only to the regulation of affairs in north Germany, which the presence of the French in Hanover had brought to considerable tension. He wished, as he said, to prevent injury to the prosperity of Prussia and the security of her neighbours to result from this occupation. It was with the same intention that Lombard had asked in Brussels for the evacuation of Cuxhaven and for the re-establishment of free navigation at the mouths of the German rivers. The first consul had refused to grant this request: he demanded a closer alliance with Prussia for that pur

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pose, as he wished to have a free hand on the Continent in his enterprises against England. Count Haugwitz thought he could not accept this proposal without the participation of Russia.

What he wanted was an alliance with Russia on the one side and with France on the other. Then he would be in a position to put a stop to all future usurpations of Bonaparte. Russia, however, refused, and accordingly nothing remained for Prussia but to initiate separate negotiations with France. She then proposed to limit her guarantee to the maintenance of peace in the German Empire, provided that the French troops were withdrawn from Germany. The first consul would not hear of a guarantee limited to Germany, for that would only serve to guard Austria in case she attacked him. He discussed this point with Lucchesini for two hours; he wanted Prussia's general guarantee, no matter whether this were called alliance or not: France would be content to leave an army of only six thousand men in Hanover, the sole object of her occupation being to be able, in the event of peace, to offer that country as a compensation. In his conversation with Lucchesini he made some more intimations, in consequence of which Prussia proposed a convention, in which she would consent to a general guarantee, while France must promise not to overstep the boundaries fixed at Lunéville; should one of the two powers be attacked by a third they would assist each other. France would also have to limit her troops in Hanover to six thousand men and evacuate Cuxhaven and the river mouths.

Prussia thought she had made the last step towards an understanding by this proposition, and was the more sure of its acceptance as the conditions had all been previously proposed by Bonaparte himself. The answer soon showed how completely mistaken this view was. The first consul now accepted nothing more than the evacuation of Cuxhaven. He renewed however the proposition of an alliance, by which Austria would be immediately threatened. He next demanded the immediate execution of the territorial guarantees, which had not yet been acknowledged by Austria. Prussia replied that stipulations of this kind would involve her in a war which she was trying to avoid, especially since France herself had been silent a whole year in presence of the attitude assumed by Austria. To proceed against her, the participation of the other mediator was also necessary. The first consul would not yield a step. He demanded that the guarantees should also include the military occupations which had been executed in Italy since the breach with England. With regard to the north, the first consul stipulated that he should have in Hanover an army of twenty-five thousand men, which might be increased in case of necessity to fifty thousand.

It is hardly probable that he counted upon the acceptance of these conditions, by which Prussia would have yielded to his plans in every possible respect, as concerned both southern Europe and the Orient. Moreover, Prussia alone would have to participate in the execution of the German territorial changes, and would be at the same time threatened by an increased army in Hanover. The origin of the differences between France and Prussia must be sought in these demands, since all other causes had been overcome. It must not be supposed that the attitude adopted by Bonaparte was in compliance with the ideas of the French nation. The latter had supported the first consul with all its power and helped him to establish at the Channel such an army as had perhaps never before been seen. It is certainly a mistake to ascribe these exertions to the influence of the government, which thought only of defending a personal cause. The enthusiasm was, on the contrary, natural and well grounded; the bishops, just re-established, encouraged it; the revolutionary and the clerical parties were united in this great purpose. It was a rivalry of voluntary efforts and offers for the war against England. But when

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it had gone so far that Bonaparte saw round his banner half a million soldiers, among whom he had time to establish a military discipline according to his own ideas, he considered himself the master of Europe.

FREDERICK WILLIAM IS PUZZLED

Bonaparte had believed that he needed the assistance of others; now he thought he could dispense with it. His negotiations were of a threatening nature and he brooked no contradiction. It had been said that Prussia ought to have joined this superior power and shared with it the domination of the world. But then she would have arrayed herself not only against England but also against Russia and Austria. A daring adventurer could perhaps have entered upon such a scheme with the resolve to withdraw when a suitable occasion arose; but a king, and especially such a king as Frederick William III, could not have acted thus. He had identified himself with the system of neutrality and peace. He was far from aiming at a usurpation of power in Germany or from falling out with Austria, much less with Russia—to whose emperor he felt himself attached by the bonds of personal friendship. Although little authentic information has come down to us about his meeting with the Russian emperor at Memel in June, 1802, there is not the least doubt that a personal relation of mutual confidence, which assumed the character of a friendship, was established between them—an unusual thing with independent rulers.

At this moment everything depended upon the identity of the relations of Russia and Prussia towards France. The agreement arrived at between France and Prussia concerning Prussian compensation was at that time accepted by Alexander, who had himself participated in the system adopted in Germany. In Berlin the continued understanding of the three powers had been dreamed of. How different were the circumstances now! To the Prussian cabinet France made propositions which were directed against Russia as well as against Austria, and which at the same time were entirely opposed to the system of maintaining the balance of power adopted by the king. Yet Frederick William III did not feel himself strong enough to break off the negotiations; he considered it necessary to assure himself beforehand of the consent at least of the Russian emperor.

Alexander had once said to the king that he might always count upon him in case of necessity. The king wrote now that he wanted his good advice, adding that it was his wish that he should never have to ask more than that: he foresaw however the case when he would have to do it, as the words clearly indicate. To drive the French out of Hanover would now be an undertaking that would lead to still greater misfortunes. However, should Bonaparte, deceived in his hopes of tying the politics of Prussia to his own, try to revenge himself directly or indirectly on Prussia, how far could he, the king, count in such an emergency upon the assistance of Russia and her allies? He would have no misgivings as to the destinies of Prussia, if he knew they were united with those of Russia; he could rely more upon the word of the emperor than upon solemn treaties.

The emperor replied to this on the 16th of March. He made no concealment in his letter of the fact that he did not approve of the policy which Prussia had hitherto adopted. He avoided, however, giving proper advice. It was a case in which each could take counsel only with himself. He remarks, however, that the honour and the true interests of Prussia were on the one side, on the other was the reproach, which she would have to make against herself, of having furthered the universal monarchy of a man who was not at

[1804-1805 A.D.]

all worthy of it, and of having caused her own ruin—the ruin of the Prussian monarchy. He does not promise unconditional assistance; but he says that should the king take up the cause of Europe and her independence, he would immediately place himself on the side of Prussia. In such a noble struggle Russia could not leave Prussia alone.

NEGOTIATIONS ARE BROKEN OFF

It was thereupon definitely decided in Berlin to break off the negotiations hitherto conducted with France, and to be satisfied with a general friendly relation. This was notified by way of a formal declaration to the French ambassador, Laforest (April 3rd, 1804). Lucchesini was blamed for having ever accepted the French propositions. The king emphasised his expectations, which his consistent attitude and the former declarations of Bonaparte entitled him to entertain, that France would neither increase her troops in Hanover nor molest those princes who took no part in the present war. The king on his part pledged his word not to listen to proposals nor to form any plans by which France could be troubled.

Thus ended the negotiations about a Franco-Prussian alliance. Bonaparte's intentions became evident; for the purposes which he had in view he wished the alliance to be permanent and free from any limitation. If Prussia refused the alliance, it was not only out of consideration for Russia but also for the sake of Austria and Germany, and the interests of Prussia in particular. The king declared that if he accepted it he could not justify it before his own subjects. On the 8th of April this transaction with the French ambassador, which amounted to a complete rupture of all negotiations hitherto entertained, was made known to Russia.^b

THE THIRD COALITION, AND PRUSSIAN NEUTRALITY

On May 18th, 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte was elected emperor of the French, and thus, in the eleventh year of the republic, his imperial throne was erected upon the ruins of the royal and legitimate dynasty; nevertheless, his ambition was not yet satisfied. Immediately afterwards, he changed the Cisalpine Republic into a kingdom, and created himself king of Italy; and as a proof of his moderation, as he said, he appointed his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were now altogether united with France, as was the Ligurian Republic. All these changes were contrary to the treaty of peace concluded at Lunéville, and gave great offence to Austria, who found sympathy in the emperor Alexander of Russia, now so much exasperated by the execution of the duke d'Enghien—shortly before effected by the cruelty of Bonaparte—and feeling himself called upon to aid in the protection of Europe. Accordingly these two powers now came forward and made known to William Pitt, the prime minister, their wish—by him long desired—to renew their alliance with England against France. A coalition was immediately entered into by these three governments, to which Sweden was added; and, according to their plan of war, the French power was to be attacked at every point—in Italy, Switzerland, Holland, and in France itself. Napoleon, however, overthrew this design, in his usual way, and by the celerity of his movements was enabled to anticipate the allies in all their operations, and was already in advance of them when and where least expected. Since 1803 he had stationed nearly the whole of his army along the northern coasts of France, in order to operate as a check upon England, where, indeed,

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he contemplated making a landing. Now, however, the troops received marching orders; suddenly abandoning their present quarters, they proceeded by hasty marches to the Rhine, which they speedily crossed, and forced the princes of south Germany to form an alliance with France: whilst the Austrian army, now under the command of General Mack, remained completely inactive in its quarters near Ulm.

General Mack, otherwise an efficient leader, was on this occasion entirely deserted by his good fortune, and evinced a total want of resolution and judgment; for, imagining the enemy would advance upon him direct from the side of Swabia, he quietly awaited his coming. On his right flank he had at command the Franconian territories belonging to the king of Prussia, who took no share in the war; and he accordingly considered himself completely covered in that quarter. Such a bulwark, however, furnished but a poor means of defence in front of an army led on by Napoleon. Bernadotte, Marmont, and the Bavarians, disregarding the neutrality of Prussia, very soon advanced direct through Franconia towards the Danube, and attacking the Austrian general in the rear cut him off from all communication with Austria. Surprised and stupefied, he, after a sanguinary battle, threw himself into Ulm, where, instead of forcing for himself a passage with his sword through the very centre of his enemies, as any other brave and determined spirit would have done, he surrendered himself prisoner, together with the whole of his army, on the 17th of October, 1805. Napoleon, after this first part of the campaign, during which he had almost annihilated eighty thousand men, sent to the senate in Paris forty standards he had taken, saying that they were a present from the children to their fathers.

The French army marched on without any obstacle to the capital of Austria, and took possession of it on the 11th of November, 1805. The Russians and Austrians had retreated to Moravia, and on the 2nd of December the allied and the French armies stood front to front near Austerlitz, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement. The battle, called by Napoleon the "three emperors' battle," commenced on a beautifully sunbright, frosty morning. The allies, however, were not well supplied with leaders, and their movements, therefore, were not made in the best order; in addition to which they were unacquainted with the strength and position of the French army, whence the Russian line of battle was very soon broken through, and, in spite of all their bravery, the troops were put to rout. The left wing sought to save themselves by crossing a frozen lake, but Napoleon ordered the artillery to play upon the ice, which speedily dissolved and immersed all the fugitives within the deep waters of the lake, where they perished.

Nevertheless this victory was not so easily gained, nor would its results have been so decisive had not the emperor Francis, in his anxiety for his subjects, hastened to conclude a peace. He demanded, for this purpose, a rather premature conference with Napoleon in the mill of Saroschitz, for on the following day a body of twelve thousand Russians arrived to reinforce the army, which had now rallied. In addition to this the archduke Ferdinand had collected an army of twenty thousand men in Bohemia and completely routed the Bavarians, taking possession of the whole country; Hungary was arming everywhere; Archduke Charles was now marching from Italy with his victorious army to the aid of his country, and would arrive in a few days to deliver Vienna and harass the enemy's rear; whilst the Russians and English had now landed at Naples, and the Russian, Swedish, and English troops had already entered Hanover; finally, however, which was more important than all this, the Prussian troops were now assembling in order to revenge themselves for the violation of their territory of Ansbach. Nevertheless the emperor of Austria, in his anxiety for peace, signed a treaty for a suspension of

arms. The misfortunes of his country were a source of great pain to him, and he flattered himself with the hope that a peace, purchased as it must be from such an enemy at such heavy sacrifices, might still be rendered permanent; as if sacrifices, however great, could ever satiate Napoleon's inordinate love of conquest!

The Prussian ambassador, Count von Haugwitz, who had been deputed by his government to prescribe either the terms of peace or to declare war, found himself placed in a very embarrassing position after the resolution expressed by Austria, and, under the circumstances, he deemed it most prudent, instead of giving vent to menaces as instructed by his sovereign, to adopt a more moderate and pacific style of language. The French, when they discovered this, declared that they could not but praise the wisdom shown by the Prussian government, which had never possessed a more faithful and disinterested friend than France, although at the same time the French nation was wholly independent of every other, and that fifty thousand enemies more in the war would have tended only to prolong it a little longer.

The Prussian ambassador ought to have given the right interpretation to this language, and, feeling the dignity of his country wounded thereby, he was bound forthwith and on the spot to make known the resolution he conveyed from his government, especially as Austria had not yet signed the treaty—a resolution which, six months afterwards, his king was forced to carry into execution. Austria, had she seen that Prussia was really in earnest, would without doubt have preferred even a continuation of the war to a disgraceful peace. Instead of this, however, Haugwitz, without even possessing the necessary power, signed the Treaty of Vienna by which Prussia gave up the province of Ansbach to Bavaria, Cleves and Neuchâtel to France, receiving in exchange Hanover, to which England by no means renounced her claim. Thus Napoleon strewed the seeds of division between Prussia and England, well knowing that if united those two powers must be too formidable for him.

Five days after the drawing up of the treaty it was signed by Austria, at Pressburg, on the 25th of December, 1805; and by this peace, the terms of which were more severe than any hitherto made, Austria lost one thousand square miles of territory and three millions of subjects, constituting her most valuable possessions. The Tyrol,—ever faithful, and having especially shown its attachment to the house of Austria in the last war,—Burgau, Eichstadt, a portion of Passau, Vorarlberg, together with other lands in eastern Austria, were ceded to Bavaria; what Austria possessed in Swabia was given up to Wurtemberg and Baden, and the Venetian states were yielded to Italy. In compensation for all this Austria received but a trifling indemnification—Salzburg; the electoral prince of Salzburg being forced to leave that territory, which he had only recently received, and accept Wurzburg, which Bavaria renounced. All these countries with their inhabitants were treated like so much merchandise, passing from the hands of one into those of another, according to the state of the market. Such were the principles of the despotic conqueror, by which he sought to eradicate all love and attachment towards the ancient hereditary princes of the empire, and thus, by destroying all national patriotic feeling, to reduce the subject to a complete state of submission, alive only to the mortifying conviction of the service he had to render to whatever master he was placed under—whether native or foreign, of to-day or yesterday—whom he was born only to obey.

In order to complete the ruin of the Germanic Empire the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were created kings, and they as well as the elector of Baden were granted the uncontrolled government, or rather—to use the favourite expression of that period—the sovereignty of their lands. The emperor himself renounced all claim to the exercise of supreme power over their

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states, and thus the empire by this act paved the way for its eventual dissolution; and the storm gathered more and more fiercely, until it finally burst forth in all its fury, producing those sad effects which sealed the doom of Germany. The brother-in-law of the emperor, Joachim Murat, received the duchies of Cleves and Berg on the Rhine, the former having been ceded by Prussia, and the latter by Bavaria for Ansbach; and to Alexander Berthier, who was the emperor's confidential adviser, was allotted the principality of Westphalia.

THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE (1806 A D)

It was in the middle of this eventful year that the last blow was inflicted upon the constitution of the Germanic Empire; its dissolution, which already existed in fact, was now clearly and definitely confirmed. On the 12th of July a Rhenish league was formed, by which the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the arch-chancellor of the empire (the elector of Mainz), the elector of Baden, the landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the duke of Berg (the last four as grand dukes), together with the princes of Nassau and Hohenzollern and other petty princes and nobles, separated themselves from the imperial alliance and acknowledged the emperor of France as the protector of their confederation. He commanded the right of naming the prince primate of the league, who presided at the assembly; of deciding upon the question of war and peace, and fixing the contingent to be furnished, so that each war of France must become a war of the Confederation of the Rhine, its members thus being forced to take up arms in her cause, even against their compatriots of Germany. By such sacrifices, the princes obtained unlimited authority without being dependent upon any tribunal to which their subjects in case of necessity might appeal, and without being bound to adopt any ameliorated measures of government. On all these points, the resolutions of the confederation were clear and precise; but in all the rest, everything was obscure and equivocal, in order that the protector's will might operate with all the effect of a law.

The emperor of Germany, laying aside the degraded crown of the ancient empire, more than a thousand years after Charlemagne had placed it upon his own head, declared himself, on the 6th of August, 1806, hereditary emperor of Austria. What protection, however, Germany had to expect from her new self-made guardian, when compared with that afforded her by the house of Austria, was immediately shown. For, at the very moment when the French envoy, Bacher, renewed the assurance that France would never extend her frontiers beyond the Rhine, the fortress of Wesel was arbitrarily taken possession of by the French and chosen as the headquarters of the 75th division of their army.

PRUSSIA MAKES WAR ON NAPOLEON (1806 A D)

The hostile designs contemplated by the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine were directed against Prussia as well as Austria; for both powers beheld those who had remained their natural allies during the existence of the imperial government, now changed into enemies, ready to declare their hostility towards them at the first outbreak with France. Napoleon had up to this moment tantalised the king of Prussia with the prospect of being able to form, under his protection, a confederation in the north, embracing the whole of that portion of Germany, after the model of that of the Rhine; now, however, such a confederation was completely repudiated, and even the restoration of Hanover to England was not withheld by France. Everything, indeed, was

done to mortify Prussia and to make it evident that the French emperor was resolved not to endure the existence of any independent nation other than his own. At length the indignant king felt himself called upon to protect his country against further insult and humiliation from the hands of the insolent invader, and in this determination he was supported by the voice of his army and the nation throughout. Accordingly he demanded that France should withdraw her troops from Germany, that she should no longer oppose the formation of a northern confederation, and that Wesel should at once be evacuated by the French troops. Compliance with these demands having been refused, Prussia forthwith declared war.

When he received this declaration Napoleon said that his heart grieved to see that the genius of evil swayed continually, and ever frustrated his plans for the promotion of the peace of Europe and the happiness of his contemporaries. He now assembled his armies, which were all ready for action, in France and Swabia, and he advanced with rapid marches towards the Thuringian forest. On the north side of this forest was posted the grand Prussian army under the orders of the duke of Brunswick, an intrepid but old soldier of seventy-two years of age, whose principal officers were in a state of disunion. Only a very small portion of the Prussian army had taken any share in the war of the Revolution, and thus been enabled to make themselves acquainted with the lightning-like celerity of movement now practised by the French armies in all their operations; the majority had abandoned themselves to ease and indifference during the long peace of three and forty years, and the fact that the outward form of the institutions of Frederick the Great still existed made their continued reliance upon themselves the more dangerous. Not that either courage or capacity was wanting in many individuals, but they were altogether without that energetic genius so necessary to unite the whole. Thence they were forced to realise, what indeed the most pusillanimous among them could never have thought possible, that, as in the wars of the ancient world, one unlucky day may decide the fate of a kingdom.

On the 10th of October, Prince Ludwig of Prussia, the king's cousin, in his impetuous, warlike ardour imprudently engaged the enemy in an unequal contest near Saalfeld, and was mortally wounded on the spot. This unfortunate affair laid open for the French the entire route of the Saale, and advancing now with a superior force they surrounded the left flank of the Prussian army and cut off all communication with Saxony; hence, on the 13th of October, Davout was already in possession of Naumburg. The supplies of the Prussians were lost, reducing the whole army to a state of the greatest want and unavoidably producing depression and disorganisation; and in this condition the troops were called upon to fight, with the Saale and the Elbe in front of them: thus the army was vanquished even before the battle.

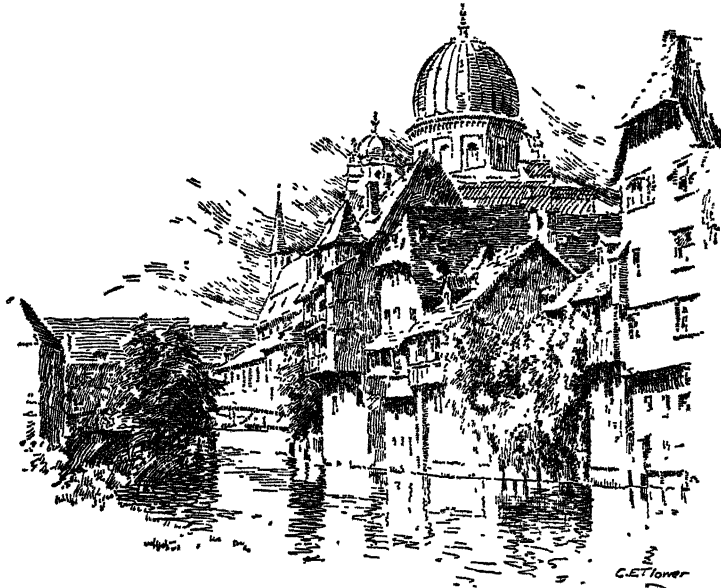
From Jena to Tilsit (1806-1807 A.D.)

A portion of the Prussian army was at Auerstadt, under the command of the duke of Brunswick; and the other, under the orders of the prince of Hohenlohe, was stationed at Jena and Vierzeñnheiligen; but they acted entirely independently of each other; and they were accordingly attacked and defeated on the same day. Marshal Davout fought at Auerstadt and Napoleon at Jena. The duke of Brunswick, at the very commencement of the battle, was killed by a cannon-ball; his death disarranged the plan of the battle and threw the army into confusion. The desperate courage of a few scattered regiments could neither compensate for the want of the co-operation of the army as a whole nor effect a general restoration of confidence. Being surrounded, the Prussians retreated in the direction of Weimar, where they hoped to find

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themselves reinforced by the corps under the command of the prince of Hohenlohe, not being aware that his army had met a similar fate at the same moment. They were, however, very soon undeceived; for the disorder was so general in both armies that in the course of the night, whilst the one army was retreating in all haste from Auerstädt to Weimar, it met a portion of the other which was in full flight from Weimar to Auerstädt.

Ten days after the battle of Jena Napoleon marched into Berlin itself; and in less than six weeks from the commencement of the war he had already advanced as far as the Vistula and made himself master of nearly the entire king-



ON THE PEGNITZ, NUREMBERG

dom, containing nearly nine millions of inhabitants and numerous fortified towns—the fruits of a single battle in which an army which had hitherto maintained its character as the most distinguished body of troops in Europe was completely annihilated.

This speedy conquest of the Prussian states—a conquest far beyond the expectations even of the emperor himself—had completely banished from the heart of the conqueror every feeling of moderation, and only served to excite within his ambitious soul a greater desire for unlimited dominion. Encouraged by his success, he declared in Berlin that he would never give up that city until he had compelled a general peace; and it was from the same city that he issued the decree of the 21st of November, 1806, against the English, by which the British Isles were declared in a state of blockade, British manufactures were excluded from all the continental ports, all British property on the Continent and vessels that had only even touched on the shores of Albion were to be seized. This unheard-of system [known as the continental system] might have crushed the commercial prosperity of England; but the results, as it turned out, were more injurious to the Continent. For England, now taking possession of all the colonies of Europe, cultivated their soil with great care and industry, and instead of importing the timber for the construction of her ships from the north of Europe, supplied herself therewith from Canada

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and Ireland; whilst Europe itself found its commerce languish and sink, and although its industry furnished many articles which it would otherwise have imported from England, it could not compensate for the loss of its commerce on the seas.

The remains of the Prussian army under Kalkreuth and Lestocq, rendered wiser by the bitter experience of the last few months and made into a more select and organised body of troops, formed a junction with the Russians, who now entered once more the field of battle. After several skirmishes in Poland, all without any important results, the two armies, amounting to nearly two hundred thousand men, again met in Prussia, and on the 7th and 8th of February, 1807, during the most severe frost and amidst a continuous fall of snow, they fought another sanguinary battle at Eylau, near Königsberg. The *élite* of the French guard were here completely annihilated and the battle still remained undecided. The Russians fought with the most determined and unshaken courage, and the Prussians under the orders of Lestocq, arriving just in time to the aid of the right wing which was hard pressed, bravely repulsed the final attack of the French with complete success. Both armies maintained the field, each claiming the victory; the advantage, however, was on the side of the allies, and it was generally believed that a fresh attack on the third day must force the French to make a retreat. But Bennigsen, the Russian general, did not hold himself bound to exact from his army, already so much fatigued, such superhuman efforts, and he therefore retired to Königsberg. The French likewise withdrew to their old position on the Passarge, and an uninterrupted cessation of hostilities was preserved for the space of four months, during which the two armies strengthened their forces as much as possible; whilst, meantime, this overwhelming burden of several hundred thousand foreign troops dispersed all over her kingdom inflicted upon ill-fated Prussia incalculable suffering and distress.

Napoleon, during this interval, hastened, with all possible activity, to lay siege to Dantzic; this strong fortification was commanded by General Kalkreuth, and was bravely defended by him, until, finding all communication with the sea cut off, by which he was deprived of all hopes of relief, he was forced to a surrender on the 24th of May, although upon honourable terms of capitulation. The Russians and Prussians, after having neglected to avail themselves of the former favourable and decisive moment, now advanced and attacked the French intrenchments on the Passarge. They fought with the greatest bravery, but the enemy having been reinforced by the thirty thousand men who had just returned from the siege of Dantzic, and being likewise well protected by their strong intrenchments, they repulsed the allies, and were now, in their turn, enabled to act upon the offensive. A succession of severe and obstinate fights took place from the 5th to the 14th of June, on which day the decisive battle of Friedland was fought. This hard-contested action lasted from the dawn of day to the middle of night. The Russians fought with great bravery, and the advantage was decidedly on their side; but in their elation they neglected to exercise that caution which should always be observed, even by a conqueror. Thus, towards the afternoon, the divisions under Ney and Victor, together with Bonaparte's guard, marched into the field, and the fate of this sanguinary day was at once decided; the Russians were overthrown on all sides, and retreating across the river Alle they fell back upon their own frontiers and gained the river Niemen. On the 19th of June Napoleon took and entered Tilsit, the last of the Prussian towns, and on the 16th of the same month his army took possession of Königsberg.

A conference now took place between the emperors of France and Russia, on a raft erected on the river Niemen, at which a peace was speedily agreed upon, the dismemberment of Prussia was decided, and a compact for mutual

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support in the relations of Europe was concluded for a fixed period. Napoleon, always so happy in the employment of cunning and specious language, of which he was a perfect master, succeeded this time, likewise, in persuading the emperor Alexander that his sole object was the pacification of the Continent; whilst all his plans were uniquely directed towards protecting the coasts against the insolent arrogance of the English nation and to secure eventually the free dominion of the seas. He then pretended that his chief desire was to form a bond of lasting friendship with Russia, in order that, both united, they might be enabled to establish the prosperity and happiness of Europe, inasmuch as then, without their concurrence, no war could arise.

Accordingly, in this peace, Cattaro, Ragusa, and the Seven Islands (of the Ionian seas) were given up to France by Russia, who received in return, as compensation, large tracts of land, together with four hundred thousand subjects belonging to Prussian Poland; whilst Frederick William, who was scarcely able to call any part of his kingdom his own, was forced to submit to the most degrading and painful sacrifices, and ceded eventually the moiety of his possessions with five million subjects, including, amongst the rest, the city of Dantzic, which was now declared a free city, and the Polish territory, which was changed into a grand duchy of Warsaw, of which the king of Saxony was chosen grand duke. Thus Frederick Augustus, who had declared himself a neutral power three days after the battle of Jena, and soon afterwards joined in alliance with France, was now king of Saxony and a member of the confederation of the Rhine.

In addition to all this, Prussia lost the whole of her territories between the Elbe and the Rhine, the greater part of which Bonaparte converted into a new kingdom, Westphalia, which he gave to his youngest brother, Jerome; to which he added a portion of Hanover, the duchy of Brunswick, because its duke had been leader of the Prussian army, and the principality of Hesse-Cassel. Thus the terrible ban was now at once pronounced and executed against the house of Hesse, namely, that it should cease to reign, for having, as he said, always shown itself inimical to France, and for having further, in this war with Prussia, maintained so equivocal a position. Such was termed the neutrality which Hesse had so strictly observed of her own accord through the war. The entire country was forthwith invaded and conquered, and the elector driven from his capital and made a fugitive; whilst the new king, a complete stranger, entered its gates in triumph followed by a train of French officials, and, to the shame of Germany, mounted the throne of this ancient princely family, the descendants of the Saxons and Chatti.

King Frederick William was now left with only a small portion of his states and his subjects, yet in the latter he found himself surrounded by a firm and devoted body of men; whilst he had the additional gratification of knowing that at least three of his fortified cities in Prussia, Kolberg, Graudenz, and Pillau, bravely refused to accept terms of surrender from the enemy, and that two others in Silesia, Kosel and Glatz, likewise maintained a successful defence. Graudenz was commanded by a veteran, General Courbière, who, when summoned to surrender by the French who represented to him that the king had now lost his kingdom and had crossed the Niemen, replied: "Well, then, I will be king in Graudenz."

The king had placed Kolberg under the command of Colonel Gneisenau, well assured beforehand that in him he sent a pillar of strength to that city. In addition to this, a free corps of light hussars had been formed in the neighbourhood, under the sanction of the king, by a heroic young officer, Lieutenant Schill, assisted by others of equally daring character, which continually harassed and fell upon the enemy's troops everywhere around.^c Slight balm this, however, for the wounds of humiliated, almost annihilated, Prussia.

QUEEN LUISE

In this dark hour of Prussian history no one showed greater steadfastness and devotion than the beautiful queen Luise who had taken a prominent part in the negotiations for peace, and had endeavoured, though in vain, to induce Napoleon to moderate his demands. Even now, almost a century after her death, the enthusiasm of the admiration she roused in her contemporaries still survives to an extraordinary degree, and with a freshness of which the hosts of spring flowers annually displayed around her statue in the Thiergarten of Berlin, on the anniversary of her birth, are alike the type and the witness.^a

The princess Luise of Mecklenburg was the daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who was governor for the king of England in Hanover; and in Hanover Luise was born in 1776. She was only in her sixth year (1782) when she lost her mother. Later on her father quitted the English service and went to Darmstadt, where Luise was handed over for further education and instruction to her grandmother, Marie Luise Albertine, widow of Prince George William of Darmstadt. In the spring of the year 1793 Luise and her sister Friederike on their way back to Darmstadt from Hildburghausen came to Frankfort, which King Frederick William II with the crown prince and Prince Ludwig had made their winter quarters during the French campaign. The sisters, in accordance with their own desire, were presented to the Prussian king and in the evening wished to continue their journey to Darmstadt, but remained because the king had invited them to dinner. At the moment of Luise's entrance Frederick William III, without suspecting that this was his first meeting with his future wife, was enchanted with her beauty. This impression was increased on a nearer acquaintance, and on the 24th of April, 1793, the betrothal of the two princesses to the two Prussian princes took place. The marriage ceremony was performed at Berlin on the following Christmas Eve.

Concerning the extraordinary beauty of Queen Luise there is but one opinion amongst her contemporaries. It was a beauty of expression, which is more enchanting than that of the features. She had speaking eyes, which betrayed the keenest feeling and the most susceptible imagination. This liveliness of feeling and fancy lent her her whole charm. She was one of those women by whom all other women as well as all men are irresistibly bewitched. Goethe, master in the description of female beauty and grace, saw the two princesses in the train of the grand duke of Weimar on the 29th of May, 1793, in the camp at the siege of Mainz, and records the following recollection: "Pinned in my tent, I could watch the ladies closely and unseen as they went up and down, passing close by, and truly these two young princesses must be regarded as heavenly appearances whose impression on me as well as on others will never fade."

In Queen Luise, the purely human was blended with the noble and the princely to an extent which is rare; she was not only a woman who won all hearts by the graciousness of her nature, but she was also complete mistress of the art of *représentation* [or of impressing others by a royal demeanour] and in this was most successful in aiding the king. The king cared little for effect—it was opposed to his natural inclination; he was sparing of words, generally expressing himself as shortly as possible, and employed a disjointed manner of speech, using only the most necessary syllables. The queen was consequently left to do the honours of the court, and she knew how to fulfil this duty in the most dignified fashion.

On a clear, fresh winter morning, Sunday the 22nd of December, 1793, the queen, then seventeen years old, made as crown princess her formal entry into

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Berlin with full display. The impression which Luise made, from the moment when she was drawn through the crowds of people surging through the gaily decorated streets of the capital, surpassed all expectations; it was increased at the nuptial ceremony where, in the spacious apartments near the Rittersaal, all classes of the people were admitted; and it was maintained in its full strength until her death in the year 1810. Queen Luise won for herself a popularity such as has been the portion of few queens. Everything was a source of happiness to her ingenuous and artless nature, and it won for her a sympathy and love which ever remained fresh in the hearts of all classes. It was her happy family life which especially brought her near to the people and its family life.

Queen Luise as a Political Influence

In the war of 1806 the most energetic person in the Prussian headquarters was Queen Luise. At Erfurt, Gentz had a conversation with her which lasted three quarters of an hour. She said to him: "God knows I have never been consulted on public affairs nor have ever striven to that end. If I had been asked I would—I confess it openly—have voted for war, for I believed that it was necessary. But I was firmly convinced that the great means of salvation lay only in the closest union of all those who can be found who boast of the German name. I always regarded the aid of Russia as a last resource." The queen spoke with a precision, independence, and energy which would have been marvellous in a man; and yet through all she showed herself so full of deep feeling that no one could forget for a moment that it was a woman's courage to which admiration was to be paid.

Until the day before the battle of Jena, Luise remained at the king's side both in the headquarters at Erfurt and during his stay in Weimar. She drove with him in a closed carriage followed by twenty others, amongst the troops, cannon, and gun-carriages. Not until the battle day did she quit the army. During the negotiations at Tilsit (June, 1807) Luise presented herself in that town that she might if possible ameliorate the fate of Prussia. Talleyrand had dreaded her arrival and had endeavoured to prevent it. Even Napoleon was affected by the queen's graciousness and hastened the conclusion of the peace in order that the regard with which Luise inspired him might not induce him, in spite of himself, to show a leniency which he judged to be impolitic.

Again at Erfurt (in 1808) Luise made an attempt to persuade Napoleon to restore at least Magdeburg. She appeared before Napoleon in Erfurt, petitioning him, so she said, not as queen but as the mother of her people. Napoleon sent her by way of an unfavourable answer the map of Silesia encircled by a golden chain to which was attached a golden heart.

The cruel misfortune which Prussia passed through was the bridge to a glorious revival; the royal family, crushed by the blows of fate, learned to see with their own eyes. By bitter experience they won the conviction that the foundations on which the Prussian state had supported itself were rotten to the core, and that a thorough renovation had become indispensable.

Queen Luise wrote from Königsberg to her father: "It becomes clearer and clearer to me that everything must have happened as it did. The divine foresight is unmistakably introducing new conditions into the world, and a new order of things is to be brought about, for the old has outlived its day. We have reposed on the laurels of Frederick the Great, who, the master of a new century, created a new epoch. We have not progressed with it, and it has consequently outstripped us. We can learn much from him. It were a crime to say, God is with the French emperor; but he is manifestly an instrument in the hand of the Almighty to bury out of sight the old order, which has no further purpose. I do not believe that the emperor Napoleon Bona-

parte is firm and secure on what at present is so dazzling a throne. Only truth and justice are steadfast and at rest; he is politic, that is cunning, and he guides himself, not according to the eternal laws but according to circumstances as they are just now. Consequently he stains his rule with much injustice. He is blinded by his good fortune and he thinks he can do anything. Thus he is wholly without moderation, and he who cannot observe self-restraint loses his balance and falls. I believe steadfastly in God and therefore also in a moral ordering of the world. This I do not see in the reign of violence, and so I entertain the hope that better days will succeed the present evil ones."

Queen Luise died without having seen the morning of freedom. On a visit to her father at Strelitz she was suddenly seized with an illness, and died at the castle of Hohenzieritz on the 19th of July, 1810, at the early age of thirty-five years. The corpse was taken for burial to the cathedral of Berlin and then to Charlottenburg, on the 23rd of December, the sixteenth anniversary of her entry into Berlin. But this melancholy death was also to contribute to the restoration of Prussia. The hatred against Napoleon, "the evil principle" as the queen had called him, and against the French domination was augmented by this event to an incredible degree. The people firmly believed that grief over that domination had broken the queen's heart, and pilgrimages were made to her grave at Charlottenburg as to the grave of a saint."

SCHARNHORST AND HIS COLLABORATORS

Scharnhorst had long been recognised as the first writer on military topics and the best scholar among German officers, and in addition to this he had acquired, during a lifetime of vicissitudes, a vast fund of practical experience. He had been through every branch of the service; he had held appointments on the staff and in institutions for military training. At the outset of his professional studies, in the military academy at Wilhelmstein, he had made the acquaintance of the famous little model corps which that able old commander, Count Wilhelm of Buckeburg, had formed of all the young men capable of bearing arms in his little dominions. Afterwards, as a Hanoverian officer on the Netherlands theatre of war, he had become intimately acquainted with the English army, which retained more of the old mercenary character than any other European force.

He had taken the field against the raw levies of the republic and against the well-drilled conscript army of Napoleon, and in the war of 1806 he had been near enough to the chief command to perceive clearly the defects of the army Frederick had created and the ultimate causes of its overthrow. The stiff, soldierly bearing which the king liked to see in his officers was foreign to the temperament of the simple low-Saxon. He used to go about plainly, almost carelessly dressed, his head bent, his dreamy vision turned inwards upon his own thoughts. His hair fell in disorder over his forehead, his speech was soft and slow. In Hanover he might often be seen tapping in person at the bakers' doors, and then contentedly sitting down with his wife and children to an out-door supper under the trees of the Ellenriede. Such he was all his life, simple and unostentatious in all things. The simple directness of thought and expression in his private correspondence recall the men of antiquity; in his writings the substance is everything, the form nothing to him. And yet the superiority of a powerful, creative, and absolutely independent intellect, and the nobility of a moral character free from any taint of selfishness, invested this homely man with a charm of natural majesty, which repelled base souls and slowly and surely attracted the noble. His daughter,



QUEEN LUISE AND HER SONS

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Countess Julie Dohna, owed everything to her early-widowed father, and she was styled a queen among women and received into the highest society as into her rightful sphere.

The general's calm temper made him more acceptable to the king than Stein with his exciting and excitable spirit; he admitted no other counsellor to so close an intimacy. And Scharnhorst repaid the confidence of his royal friend with an unbounded devotion; he would have felt it base to remember past errors at such a time; he admired the unhappy monarch's fortitude, nor did his loyalty ever falter, even when the impatient patriotism of many of his friends made them distrustful of so discreet a prince. A genuine low-German in spirit, nature had made him modest, silent, and reserved, so much so that praise seemed to him almost an affront, and an endearing epithet a desecration of friendship. Then experience had brought him by a rough road, ever through hostile ranks: in Hanover the plebeian had to combat the jealousy of the nobles; in Prussia the progressive leader had to wrestle with the opinionativeness of the generals of the old school. And now, when the confidence of the king and the unanimous voice of the army had placed him at the head of military affairs, for five long years he had to ply the plotter's darkling trade, and arm for the struggle for liberty under the eyes of the foe. Thus he learned to command every word and look, and the simple-minded man who disdained to resort to artifice for his own advantage became for his country's sake a master of the arts of dissimulation, skilled in the ways of men, subtle, inscrutable. His rapid searching glance read the new-comer's thoughts in his eyes, and if it were a question of keeping the king's counsel he would lure friend and foe by shadowy hints on a false scent. Among the officers the saying went that his mind was as full of wrinkles as his face; he put them in mind of that William of Orange, who, in like case, had warily and silently made ready for war with the empire of Spain. Like the prince of Orange, too, Scharnhorst carried deep in his inmost soul the hero's strong passion and delight in battle, and by these qualities he had won in the late war the friendship of Blücher, himself a man of deeds. He did not know what fear was; he would not know how madly panic may work after a defeat; in courts-martial his sentence was ever the sternest; he was merciless to cowardice and treachery. Probably no one tasted the bitterness of the times with such fiery keenness as did this silent man; day and night he was tortured by the thought of his country's shame. All men approached him with deference, for they instinctively felt that he carried the future of the army in his brain.

Of the men who seconded him in the work of army reorganisation, four became, as it were, his spiritual heirs, each receiving a portion of the great endowments of their chief—the heaven-born commanders, Gneisenau and Grolman, Boyen the organiser, and Clausewitz the scholar; four men of one spirit with Scharnhorst, poor, simple, hardy, serving the cause without a thought of self; for all their outspokenness genuinely modest at heart, as is natural to able soldiers. For the solitary labours of the artist or scholar may easily lead a man away into vanity, while the soldier acts only as a member of a vast whole, and has no power to show what is in him unless inscrutable destiny lead him at the right hour to the right spot. Gneisenau, over-modest, speaks of himself as a pygmy in comparison with the giant Scharnhorst. He lacked the solid erudition of his chief, and, like many men of action, he felt the gaps in his knowledge as defects in his intelligence. On the other hand, he possessed a far greater measure of the inspiring confidence of heroic natures, the joyous fatalism which makes a great general. How proudly and confidently did he spread his sails when, after the vagaries of a passionate youth and the protracted dreary calm of subaltern employment, he reached the high seas of life. He set about any task that fortune designed him, with a

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happy levity; as an infantry officer he unhesitatingly undertook the command of engineers and the superintendence of fortifications. While Scharnhorst was deliberately weighing the perils of the coming day, Gneisenau's soul was on fire with eager anticipation of the hour of revolt, and he made even fools gladly welcome if only they would lend a hand in the great conspiracy.

Grolman was a kindred spirit, high-souled, clear-headed, and joyous; made to delight in the din of battle and boldly to seize the advantage of the fleeting moment, but destined to undergo the hardship of a soldier's lot and never to take the foremost place.

The one who in manner bore most resemblance to his chief was Boyen, a grave, reserved man from east Prussia, who had sat at the feet of Kant and Krause, and as a poet had participated eagerly in the literary activity of the new age. Fiery eyes under bushy brows alone betrayed the impetuous daring that slumbered in the breast of the simple, taciturn man. In his quiet fashion he worked out and perfected Scharnhorst's ideas of organisation, and after the wars it was he who gave the new national army its permanent constitution.

Lastly, Carl von Clausewitz, the youngest of this group of friends, was beyond the rest Scharnhorst's intimate and disciple, profoundly versed in the modern scientific theories of warfare with which the latter occupied himself. These Von Clausewitz subsequently elaborated on his own account, and insured for the art of war a place among political sciences by a series of works which in literary style far surpass Scharnhorst's own writings. A man of powerful scientific mind, a master of historical analysis, he was perhaps too critical and reflective to grasp the flying chance of battle as boldly as Gneisenau; yet he was by no means a mere bookworm, but a capable and valiant soldier, marking the turmoil of life with intelligent observation. He had been a prisoner of war, and at this time had just returned from sharing the captivity of Prince Augustus. In France his love for the youthful sincerity and vigour of the German race had risen to the pitch of enthusiasm, and he had brought home the firm conviction that at bottom the French were as unwarlike a people as in the old times of the Huguenot wars, when they had trembled before the German *Landsquenets* and *Reîtres*. How should the ingrained character of a people change in ten years—or how should the vanquished of a hundred fights rule permanently over an armed Germany?

THE REORGANISATION OF THE ARMY

Such were the resources with which the king undertook the work of restoration. The whole army was reconstructed. Of the old army of Frederick there remained only six brigades—two from Silesia, two from east Prussia, one apiece from Pomerania and Brandenburg. And this was the sheet-anchor of the hopes of Germany. The cue was dropped; the troops were supplied with more suitable weapons and clothing; evolutions on parade gave place to the strenuous labour of service in the field. Fresh stores of all sorts had to be laid in, for Napoleon's marshals had carried out the work of plunder so thoroughly that at one time the gunnery practice of the Silesian artillery had to be postponed for months for lack of ammunition. A commission was appointed to inquire into the conduct of each individual officer, and the guilty and the suspect were ruthlessly dismissed.

The fundamental idea of all the reforms was that henceforth the army should be the nation in arms, a national force to which every man capable of bearing arms should belong. Recruiting was abolished, the enlistment of foreigners forbidden, and only a few volunteers of German blood were admitted.

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The new articles of war and the order that regulated military punishments began with the statement that in future all German subjects, even young men of the upper classes, were to serve as private soldiers, and based on this declaration the necessity for milder treatment of the rank and file. All thinking officers were at one on the undesirability of the old exemptions from military service. The principle of a universal obligation to act on the defensive had been advocated, even before the war, by Boyen, Lossau, and other officers, and maturely considered by the king; during the ill-starred campaign it had silently gained ground, and by this time it was plain to all intelligent soldiers that if the unequal struggle were to be resumed it could be done only by calling the whole strength of the nation to arms.

Immediately after the conclusion of peace Blücher had begged his friend Scharnhorst to "take thought for a national army; no one must be exempted—it must be a disgrace to a man not to have served." From his captivity Prince Augustus sent a project for the reconstruction of the army, in which the universal duty of acting on the defensive stood forth conspicuously as the guiding principle. But Scharnhorst knew what most of his contemporaries had quite forgotten, namely, that this would be a mere revival of the ancient Prussian principle. He reminded the king that his ancestor, Frederick William I, had been the first European ruler to introduce universal conscription, that in old times this principle had made Prussia great, and that it had been merely borrowed by France and Austria. Now it seemed desirable to return to the old Prussian system and make short work of the abuse of exemption; by this means alone was it possible to create a standing army and to maintain it permanently at the same level. Scharnhorst began his draft scheme for the formation of an army reserve in almost the exact words of the old soldier-king: "All dwellers in the state are born defenders of the same."ⁱ

THE ADMINISTRATION OF STEIN; THE EMANCIPATING EDICT.

But the reforms did not stop with the efforts of Scharnhorst. About the king gathered other valiant, loyal, and great-souled men, Humboldt, Niebuhr, Stagemann, Boyen, Morgenbesser, Schön—who can tell all their names? Well may we say of them what was said of the soldiers of the Prussian army of liberation by a gallant contemporary: "It was a grand time, when a handful of noble men joined in noble fellowship by God's good providence and the inspiration of their own hearts, for the purpose of saving and liberating their country."

By these virtues of lofty self-denial and patriotism the new Prussia was built up. They first gave room for the active exercise of that knowledge, which, but for them, would have served only to nourish disaffection and acrimonious strife; they employed the progressive impulses of the young men, so long kept in check by the dead weight of circumstances and the mechanical traditions of public life, in behalf of that devotion to duty which had been aroused by the teaching of Kant, and stirred that moral indignation against abuses taught by Fichte. A saviour was found in Freiherr vom Stein; those who gathered about him found in him their leader, their centre of agreement. His fearless hand at the helm set the drifting ship of Prussia on a new course; his aim was, through Prussia to save Germany. He first taught Prussia, then at the lowest point of humiliation, to look far beyond the old dynastic and cabinet policy, to one that should be national and German. Annihilated as a power, she began to lay afresh her foundations as a state. He first taught the people of Prussia to feel that they were a nation—that they were German. With him began that great metamorphosis of all the internal affairs of the state which we may style the first attempt to combine civil liberty, such lib-

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erty as England had preserved, with the political energy generated by the French Revolution, or, to speak more exactly, to supplement the sovereign authority of the throne by the political enfranchisement of the people; to conceive and outwardly realise the state in the truth of its moral function, and upon this foundation to base its historic significance.'



F VOM STEIN
(1757-1831)

The name of Stein will forever be most closely linked in the public mind with the publication on October 9th, 1807—five days after he had been intrusted by Frederick William with the post of chief minister—of the edict of emancipation, of which Seeley,^o Stein's great biographer, truly says that it was "the most comprehensive measure ever passed in Prussia, affecting every class and the whole framework of society." As a matter of fact, as Seeley points out, the edict was not the work of Stein, nor was he even the originator of the reforms therein enacted. "The popular mind," says Seeley, "attributes to the unassisted intelligence and will of a single author what was necessarily the joint work of many. Stein has obtained a popular fame to which he has little

right, but which partly compensates for much unjust neglect. While his real life and actions have been little known, he has gained a sort of legendary reputation, and has been credited with all the judgment, technical skill, and wisdom implied in the framing of a law which has revolutionised a country. His admirers need not hesitate for a moment to disown for him all such ungrounded pretensions. Before the emancipation edict reached his hands it was almost complete, and we may distinguish two agents by which it had been made so." These two agents were first, the *Zeitgeist* (The Spirit of the Age), by which Seeley designates the sum of influence of the humanitarian and economic writers of the eighteenth century; and secondly, and more directly, the Immediate Commission of state councillors appointed in the preceding April, and including such eminent statesmen and jurists as Schön, Stagemann, and Niebuhr. But although the edict as published was largely the result of their deliberations, Stein's part in the actual achievement of the reforms was certainly not less than theirs. In addition to an important alteration in the phraseology of the edict, which extended its provisions to all the provinces of Prussia, Stein more than any other man was responsible for its actual promulgation. Seeley compares his share in the passage of the edict to that of Lord Grey in England in the passage of the Reform Bill, for just as Lord Grey had to convince a parliament and a people, so Stein had to inspire with courage a king and his councillors.^a When Hardenberg and Altenstein and the commission recommended these reforms, they did so with the knowledge that Stein was at hand to carry them out. Hardenberg's recommendation proceeded avowedly upon the assumption that Stein was to be minister, and we cannot even be sure that he would himself have had the courage to attempt what he felt sure Stein would not shrink from. Much more may we doubt whether the king would have borne the weight of such responsibility unsupported, or supported by a common minister.^o In a word, says Seeley, this is peculiarly an instance where we must not confound the reforming legislator with the jurist and parliamentary draftsman. In this

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transition of Prussia the inventiveness, or originality, or technical skill of Schön and his colleagues is not so much to be honoured as the "massive courage" of a man like Stein, "that moves freely under responsibility and lightens the burden of responsibility for all around."

But the edict of October 9th, 1807, was far more than an emancipating edict. Its aim was indeed threefold. Not only did it abolish personal serfdom in the Prussian monarchy, but it removed the principal restrictions that interfered with the free traffic in land, "the abolition of caste in land," as Seeley calls it, and furthermore, and not by any means of least importance, it granted to every noble, citizen, and peasant, the right of free choice of occupation. These last two provisions, Seeley says without exaggeration, were a sort of Magna Charta to the Prussians.

Stein's ministry lasted little more than a year. In this period, he co-operated zealously with Scharnhorst in the reconstruction of the army, instituted extensive financial and administrative reforms, and prepared the way for a complete reorganisation of the political framework of the Prussian states on a largely representative basis.^a

In August, 1808, an article on the text of an intercepted letter written by Stein to Prince von Wittgenstein—in which he spoke of the disaffection that grew from day to day in Germany, of combinations in Hesse and Westphalia, and of the plans of 1807, which might now be revived—appeared in the *Moniteur* and concluded with the words: "The king of Prussia is to be pitted for having ministers distinguished equally for clumsiness and perversity." By the end of November, and before Napoleon's notorious proscription appeared with the phrase, "*Le nommé Stein voulant exciter des troubles en Allemagne*," Stein had sent in his resignation, after publishing a statement of the main principles of his political administration in the *Sendschreibung an die oberste Verwaltungsbehörde Preussens vom 24. November, 1808* [Letter addressed to the supreme administrative body of Prussia on November 24th, 1808], which became famous under the title of his "political testament." An interval of a year and a half elapsed before Napoleon, after once more conquering Austria, assented to the appointment of Hardenberg to the office of chancellor, and on the 6th of June, 1810, the latter undertook the direction of the state.

HARDENBERG AS CHANCELLOR (1810 A.D.)

Men may say that he continued to guide it in the spirit of Stein, but how should he, a skilful diplomatist of the old school, a master of finance and administration, a cultivated and fastidious man of the world, walk in the same ways as the harsh, energetic, intellectual giant, filled with the pride and wrath of patriotism? Both of these men, if we may trust those who knew them well, exercised a singular fascination over those about them—Stein by the force of a strong character of moral grandeur and beauty together with the inspiring power of great ideas; Hardenberg by the charm of real kindness, the tranquillity and gentleness of his cheerful glance, his confidence in the best possible management, the greatest possible advancement. No doubt many of their measures presented a certain analogy, but they arose from completely different views of human affairs, of principles, and of purposes. Hardenberg, we may freely confess, was in all things inclined to the purely rationalistic and administrative conception of the state, which was the source of so many contemporary experiments both in Germany and beyond it; only, being of a less imperious temper than Montgelas for instance, and by nature cautious and forbearing, he gave way to anything that did not run directly counter to him and respected everything which could be made to serve his own schemes, or more correctly speaking to meet the demands of circumstances as they arose.

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He never set himself in sharp opposition to the spirit which Stein had awakened in Prussia, and of which he was the representative; on the contrary he kept on good terms with it and made use of it. And on the other hand it might be argued that all the divergencies from Stein's policy introduced by Hardenberg were concessions to the needs of the moment, sacrifices for the sake of speedier attainment of the great end all men had in view; that the salvation of the Prussian name was due to Hardenberg's superior prudence, while Stein's inconsiderate violence might possibly have hurried it to irretrievable ruin; that Hardenberg rather supplemented than superseded Stein, by resolutely enlarging on the forms of civil liberty and administrative organisation for which Stein had prepared the way. But what he accomplished in this respect, though of great and vital importance, was merely an imitation of what had already been accomplished elsewhere; while something quite different, new, and prophetic was involved in the very elements of Stein's policy—nothing less indeed than the first lucid glimpse of the great vocation in which Prussia was to find scope for her energies and aims for her future; a lesson she will never unlearn nor need to learn again.

The thing to be done was to bring the civil liberty of England and the political energy to which the Revolution had given birth into positive combination. Of the peoples of the British Empire, how few had a share in the government, how many "in pitiable dissonance" were the subjects of joint-stock companies, oppressed on account of their religious opinions—mere slaves! Again, the Revolution had pronounced sentence of death on class differences, had fused the people into a homogeneous mass, and proclaimed its sovereignty; but while the French imagined that the character of the state and the guarantee of its political soundness were to be sought for mechanically by the division of power, France had merely shaken off the autocracy of the legislative authority to fall under that of the executive, and under the one as under the other remained destitute of civil liberty and of any moral existence apart from the state.

How should it be with Prussia? "The thing to be done," says the Letter, "is to put an end to the discord which prevails amongst the people, to abolish the internecine strife of class against class which is the source of our unhappiness, and to secure by law the possibility that every man may freely develop his powers in a moral direction, and in this fashion compel the people to love their king and country with a love which will gladly sacrifice life and living for their sake."

THE EFFORTS OF SCHILL AND BRUNSWICK (1809 A.D.)

Although Prussia had left Austria unsuccoured during the war of 1809, many of her subjects were animated by a desire to aid their Austrian brethren. Schill, unable to restrain his impetuosity, quitted Berlin on the 28th of April for that purpose, with his regiment of hussars. His conduct, although condemned by a sentence of the court-martial, was universally applauded. Dornberg, an officer of the guard of Jerome, king of Westphalia, revolted simultaneously in Hesse, but was betrayed by a false friend at the moment in which Jerome's person was to have been seized, and was compelled to fly for his life. Schill merely advanced as far as Wittenberg and Halberstadt, was again driven northwards to Wismar, and finally to Stralsund, by the superior forces of Westphalia and Holland. In a bloody street fight at Stralsund he split the head of General Carteret, the Dutch commander, and was himself killed by a cannon-ball. Thus fell this young hero, true to his motto, "Better a terrible end than endless terror." The Dutch cut off his head, preserved it

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in spirits of wine, and placed it publicly in the Leyden library, where it remained until 1837, when it was buried at Brunswick in the grave of his faithful followers. Five hundred of his men, under Lieutenant Brunow, escaped by forcing their way through the enemy.

Of the prisoners taken on this occasion, eleven officers were, by Napoleon's command, shot at Wesel, fourteen subalterns and soldiers at Brunswick; the rest, about six hundred in number, were sent in chains to Toulon and condemned to the galleys. Dornberg fled to England. Katt, another patriot, assembled a number of veterans at Stendal and advanced as far as Magdeburg, but was compelled to flee to the Brunswickers in Bohemia.

Frederick William, duke of Brunswick, the son of the hapless duke Ferdinand, had quitted Öls, his sole possession, for Bohemia, where he had collected a force two thousand strong—known as the black Brunswickers on account of the colour of their uniform and the death's head on their helmets—with which he resolved to revenge his father's death. Victorious in petty engagements over the Saxons at Zittau and over the French under Junot at Berneck, he refused to recognise the armistice between Austria and France, and, fighting his way through the enemy, surprised Leipsic by night and there provided himself with ammunition and stores. He was awaited at Halberstadt by the Westphalians under Wellingerode, whom, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, he completely defeated during the night of the 30th of July. Two days later he was attacked in Brunswick by an enemy three times his superior, the Westphalians under Reubel, who advanced from Celle whilst the Saxons and Dutch pursued him from Erfurt. Aided by his brave citizens, many of whom followed his fortunes, he was again victorious and was enabled by a speedy retreat, in which he broke down all the bridges in his rear, to escape to Elsfleth, whence he sailed to England.

In 1810 Napoleon annexed Holland and East Friesland "as alluvial lands" to France. His brother Louis, who had vainly laboured for the welfare of Holland, selected a foreign residence and scornfully refused to accept the pension settled upon him by Napoleon. Lower Saxony, as far as the Baltic, the principalities of Oldenburg, Salm, and Arenberg, the Hanse towns, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, were, together with a portion of the kingdom of Westphalia, also incorporated by Napoleon with France, under pretext of putting a stop to the contraband trade carried on along those coasts, more particularly from the island of Helgoland. He openly aimed at converting the Germans—and they certainly discovered little disinclination to the metamorphosis—into Frenchmen.

GERMAN TROOPS AID IN NAPOLEON'S RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN (1812 A.D.)

In the spring of 1812 Napoleon, after leaving a sufficient force to prosecute the war with activity in Spain and to guard France, Italy, and Germany; led half a million men to the Russian frontiers. Before taking the field he convoked all the princes of Germany at Dresden, where he treated them with such extreme insolence as even to revolt his most favoured and warmest partisans. Tears were seen to start in ladies' eyes, whilst men bit their lips with rage at the petty humiliations and affronts heaped on them by their powerful but momentary lord. The empress of Austria and the king of Prussia appear, on this occasion, to have felt these affronts the most acutely. Ségur relates that the king was received politely, but with distant coolness by Napoleon. There is said to have been question between them concerning the marriage of the crown prince of Prussia with one of Napoleon's nieces, and of an incorporation of the still unconquered Russian provinces on the Baltic, Livonia, Cour-

land, and Esthonia, with Prussia. All was, however, empty show. Napoleon hoped by the rapidity of his successes to constrain the emperor of Russia to conclude not only peace but a still closer alliance with France, in which case it was as far from his intention to concede the above-mentioned provinces to Prussia as to emancipate the Poles.

For the first time the whole of Germany was reduced to submission—an event unknown before in the history of the world. Napoleon, greater than conquering Attila, who took the field at the head of one half of Germany against the other, dragged the whole of Germany in his train. The army led by him to the steppes of Russia was principally composed of German troops, who were so skilfully mixed up with the French as not to be themselves aware of their numerical superiority. The right wing, composed of thirty thousand Austrians under Schwarzenberg, was destined for the invasion of Volhynia; whilst the left wing, consisting of twenty thousand Prussians under York and several thousand French under the command of Marshal Macdonald, was ordered to advance upon the coasts of the Baltic and without loss of time to besiege Riga. The centre or main body consisted of the troops of the confederation of the Rhine, more or less mixed up with French; of thirty-eight thousand Bavarians under Wrede and commanded by Saint Cyr; of sixteen thousand Wurtembergers under Scheeler, over which Marshal Ney was allotted the chief command—single regiments, principally cavalry, were drawn off in order more thoroughly to intermix the Germans with the French; of seventeen thousand Saxons under Reynier; of eighteen thousand Westphalians under Vandamme; also of Hessians, Badeners, Frankforters, Wurzburgers, Nassauers: in short, of contingents furnished by each of the confederated states. The Swiss were mostly concentrated under Oudinot. The Dutch, Hanseatic, Flemish, in fine, all the Germans on the left bank of the Rhine, were at that time crammed amongst the French troops. Upwards of two hundred thousand Germans, at the lowest computation, marched against Russia, a number far superior to that of the French in the army, the remainder of which was made up by several thousand Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards, who had been pressed into the service.

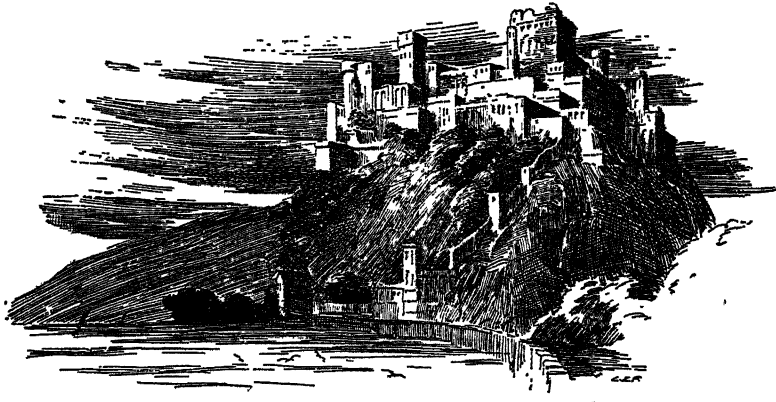
The Prussians found themselves in the most degraded position. Their army, weak as it was in numbers, was placed under the command of a French general. The Prussian fortresses, with the exception of Kolberg, Graudenz, Schweidnitz, Neisse, and Glatz, were already garrisoned with French troops or, like Pillau near Königsberg, newly occupied by them. In Berlin the French had unlimited sway. Marshal Angereau was stationed with sixty thousand men in northern Germany for the purpose of keeping that part of the country, and more particularly Prussia, in check to Napoleon's rear; the Danish forces also stood in readiness to support him in case of necessity. Napoleon's entire army moreover marched through Prussia and completely drained that country of its last resources.

The deep conviction harboured by Napoleon of his irresistible power led him to repay every service and to regard every antagonist with contempt. Confident of victory, he deviated from the strict military discipline he had at one time enforced and of which he had given an example in his own person; dragged in his train a multitude of useless attendants firted but for pomp and luxury, permitted his marshals and generals to do the same, and allowed an incredible number of private carriages, servants, women, etc., to follow in the rear of the army, to hamper its movements, to create confusion, and to aid in consuming the army stores, which being, moreover, merely provided for a short campaign, speedily became insufficient for the maintenance of the enormous mass. Even in East Prussia numbers of the soldiery were constrained by want to plunder the villages. On the 24th of June, 1812, Napoleon crossed

[1812 A D]

the Niemen, the Russian frontier, not far from Kovno.^d The details of the disastrous campaign which followed and gave so fatal a blow to Napoleon's prestige and empire belong to the history of Russia and of France.^a

On the 5th of December, Napoleon, placing himself in a sledge, hurried in advance of his army, nay, preceded the news of his disaster, in order at all events to insure his personal safety and to pass through Germany before meas-



RUINS OF RHEINFELS

(Built 1245)

ures could be taken for his capture. His fugitive army shortly afterwards reached Vilna, but was too exhausted to maintain that position. Enormous magazines, several prisoners, and the rest of the booty, besides 6,000,000 francs in silver money, fell here into the hands of the Russians. Part of the fugitives escaped to Dantzic, but few crossed the Oder; the Saxons under Reymer were routed and dispersed in a last engagement at Kalish; Pomiatowski and the Poles retired to Cracow on the Austrian frontier, as it were, protected by Schwarzenberg, who remained unassailed by the Russians, and whose neutrality was, not long afterwards, formally recognised.

The Prussians—who had been, meanwhile, occupied with the unsuccessful siege of Riga, and who, like the Austrians, had comparatively husbanded their strength—were now the only hope of the fugitive French. The troops under Macdonald, accordingly, received orders to cover the retreat of the grand army, but York, instead of obeying, concluded a neutral treaty with the Russians commanded by Diebitsch of Silesia and remained stationary in East Prussia. The king of Prussia, at that time still at Berlin and in the power of the French, publicly disapproved of the step taken by his general, who was, on the evacuation of Berlin by the French, as publicly rewarded. The immense army of the conqueror of the world was totally annihilated. Nearly half a million of men had crossed the Russian frontier; of these, scarcely twenty thousand returned.^d

THE WAR OF LIBERATION (1813-1815 A D)

By the war of Liberation the Germans mean those three memorable years in which, for the first time after the lapse of centuries, the whole German people fought and conquered in a common cause, animated by the lofty inspiration of a common sentiment of unity. It is too true that the country did not at once rise up restored from its ruins as the united German nation intended and expected it to do; nevertheless, thwarted, repudiated, and contemned as

the people were, bound and repressed by fresh ordinances—the great impulses which had led them to victory did not die; they still lived and grew, silent but mighty, irresistibly expanding in all directions.]

Already in 1812 Napoleon felt that the foundations of his empire were losing solidity. The seat of war was transferred to the mark; in January of 1813 headquarters were at Berlin; General Scharnhorst, who had withdrawn to Silesia, now again stepped into prominence and appeared as the first councillor of the king in matters of war. This was the time at which was drafted that organisation which forms the basis of the present army. It was not solely the work of Scharnhorst; the king had sent him an anonymous essay in another's hand, and it is this which served Scharnhorst and Gneisenau as a basis for the new organisation. Reserve battalions were formed which were now to be provided with arms. The king was in Berlin between Magdeburg and Kustrin; in Berlin were the headquarters of Marshal Augereau. The king boldly determined to declare himself openly; he informed the French ambassador of his decision to move with his court to Breslau January 25th, as it was not in accordance with his dignity to remain in Berlin. The French were so impressed with the audacity of this announcement that they offered no opposition. Armaments were now made with that activity and determination indispensable to their execution; the French were so astounded that they dared not interpose.

The general appeal to the volunteers (*Freiwillige*) followed February 3rd, 1813; in Berlin seven thousand men of ages varying from youth to more than middle age took up arms under the eyes of the French. This was the state of public enthusiasm when on the 20th of February the Cossacks appeared before Berlin and made a marauding expedition into the town; they received numerous challenges from the town to penetrate into it; no one was afraid of the shooting that took place in the street. Confidence ran so high that it ignored the most threatening danger; the general sense of security made everything go well. Troops were formed in Silesia; the reserve battalions marched through Berlin. York's corps approached Berlin. In the beginning of March the French evacuated the town and crossed the Elbe.

Throughout all Germany, now, men of sound understanding worked to bring about a general rising. In Saxony especially generals Thielmann and Aster endeavoured to move the king to break with France. Dazed by his good luck, however, and blinded by conscientious scruples, the king left Dresden, went to Prague, and met all proposals with the sternest reprobation. The chief blame attaches to his miserable councillor, Herr von Senfft-Pilsach, for whom a favourable word from Napoleon was everything; he now looked forward to a French ducal title. But the king also lacked character. Many arguments were tried to convince him, but they met with his determined opposition. Had Saxony moved a step, it would have involved negotiations with Bavaria.

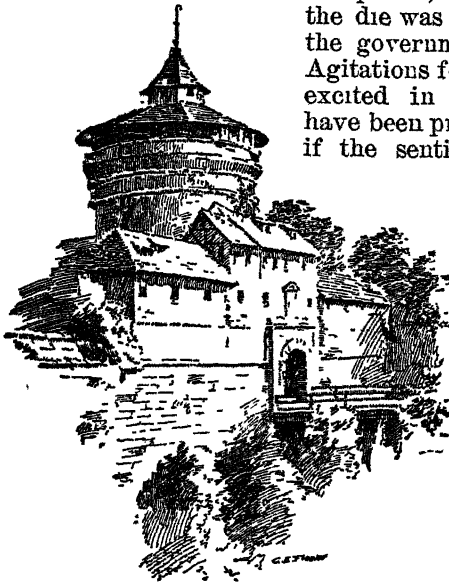
PRUSSIA ARMS HERSELF

In Prussia a general arming was set in motion, which exceeds anything that has been witnessed in recent history; in the process most provinces were plunged into confusion and ruined. After the Peace of Tilsit the country numbered only four and a half million men and was in a condition of abysmal poverty; the year 1812 had reduced East Prussia to complete beggary. The interest of the national debt could not be paid. The state had no money and no credit; but every single person who had anything to bring, brought it in order to equip himself or others: every man became a hero. A shepherd in the neighbourhood of Anclam sold his flock, bought a kit with the money, and

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went soldiering himself. Men set forward in the name of God. This sentiment extended through the whole of north Germany; in Hanover, Brunswick—everywhere the same readiness was manifest; but the same provision could not be made, because there was no government to lead the movement.

But as the best cause has unworthy champions, Herr von Tettenborn now set out on an unholy raid against Hamburg. He was earnestly entreated not to make the expedition: not to plunge a well-intentioned but unwarlike and unprotected town into destruction by rousing a rebellion with his few troops which would compromise the town. Tettenborn laughed: such an expedition, said he, might be a source of income. He brought about a sudden and general rising; it was resolved to proceed to extreme measures, but Tettenborn played



NEUTHORGRABEN, NUREMBERG

the pasha; no preparations had been made when the die was cast; there was no centre of stability; the government refused to endanger its existence. Agitations for the saving of a fatherland are easiest excited in monarchical states. Hamburg might have been provided with another source of salvation, if the sentiment of Denmark, which was at the time favourable, had been utilised. Denmark was not only very shabbily treated by England; a treaty had also been sealed in August, 1812, between Russia and Sweden, at a meeting of Alexander with the king of Sweden, whereby Norway was promised to the king of Sweden if he would declare himself against France. England had not taken part in this treaty immediately, and Denmark might have averted her catastrophe if she had made a decisive resolution in the winter of 1812. But the advice of those who recommended such wholesome policy was not listened to. The Danes offered Hamburg help, if the peace were so concluded as to preserve

Norway to them. But this conflicted with the designs of the crown prince of Sweden, Marshal Bernadotte, and a little while before England had confirmed the treaty with Sweden by her entry into it. The Swedish troops were in the neighbourhood, but did not enter the town; and so Hamburg again fell a victim to French supremacy and to the terrors of tyranny (May 30th).

The movement extended to the Dutch frontiers. On the Oldenburg border a popular movement introduced a provisional government; the people demanded their beloved duke. Two very respectable men, Von Falke and Von Berger, led the movement and inspired an uncommon degree of confidence in the inhabitants. Vandamme soon marched upon the place and had both of them shot.

The Russian army had made a very slow advance. Already in April, 1813, the Prussian troops had fought several successful engagements in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg; the army crossed the Elbe at Dessau and moved slowly forward through Thuringia. The feebleness of the Russian army was now regarded with terror. True, this did not diminish the confidence of Prussia; but things wore a very grave aspect. Thielmann and his friends strained every nerve to induce the king of Saxony to side with Prussia, but they received express commands to do nothing.

THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN OR GROSSGÖRSCHEN (MAY 2ND, 1813)

Meanwhile Napoleon had considerably advanced his armaments. All the old troops in France, all that could be spared in Spain, were collected, and Napoleon again crossed the Rhine with a very large army; it pursued its way partly through Cassel and Fulda, partly through Würzburg. York's corps was already reinforced by new recruits and united with a Russian detachment, but the French were incomparably stronger; the Russians were not so numerous as had been supposed. On the 1st of May heavy cannonading took place at Weissenfels; it was really a reconnaissance. On the 2nd of May opponents of the French determined to attack, but the necessary preparations were not completed. The smallness of numbers and the narrowness of the bridges had not been calculated, and so it happened that ground which the Germans expected to reach at eight o'clock in the morning was not reached until twelve. This decided the day. Napoleon had detached the viceroy of Italy with a strong corps and sent him to Halle; apparently he expected no attack that day. If the allies had not arrived too late, it might have been possible to dislodge the French from the whole position before the viceroy came up. This is what Scharnhorst wanted; the blame belongs neither to the troops nor to anyone else; the only mistake was in underrating the difficulties. The allied troops attacked the French, who were greatly superior in numbers, with indescribable courage and heroism; but the French had withdrawn into four rather massively built villages, which they defended with uncommon skill. The villages were twice taken and lost by the Prussians, and finally retaken. The superiority of the Russian cavalry could not turn the scale.

The battle, however, appeared to be won at two o'clock; great confusion had fallen upon the retreating French troops; at Kosen they had lost their way with their baggage in the pass; fugitives appeared here and there, so that the news was circulated that the French army was dispersed. At midday the viceroy returned from Halle. The allies could no longer think of victory; towards evening, however, they undertook an attack without any likelihood of success: many brave men were sacrificed without any result. The cavalry showed the courage of lions. In the matter of bravery they occupy a unique place in the battles of late years. Young men who had never been in action before fought like old soldiers; not less than three hundred and seventy volunteers from the schools of Berlin fought in the Prussian ranks. The Prussians did not lose a single trophy—not a flag, not an ammunition wagon, not one unwounded prisoner. The battle was lost, but not a battalion left the field in disorder; the withdrawal took place in compact masses. The army retired upon Meissen.

The French followed; but no engagement worth mentioning took place before the Elbe was reached. It is singular how little the French dared to harass the allied army in this retreat. Even the wounded were brought away, chiefly with the help of Saxon peasants and land-owners; this was in sharp contrast with the behaviour of the government. Thus the army reached Dresden and Meissen and crossed the Elbe (May 8th). It would have been possible and it should have been attempted to make some sort of defense at the passage of this river; that this was not done was due to a Russian commander who left his post at Meissen. In the battle the Russians had fought bravely, but had had the smallest share: many regiments were not engaged at all. Napoleon was in Dresden; the king of Saxony returned; and Thielmann received instructions to hand over Torgau and Wittenberg to the French. Thielmann, Aster, Carlowitz, and a few other brave souls now left the Saxon service and came over to the Prussians. In the meanwhile Russian reinforcements came up,

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and constantly formed reserves were added to the allied army; a position was taken up behind Bautzen. General Bulow moved constantly up and down the Berlin route. The French army was still on the increase.

THE BATTLE OF BAUTZEN (MAY 20TH-21ST, 1813)

The battle of Bautzen, on the 20th and 21st of May, demands description in detail. The French described a semicircle; the line of the allies covered a much narrower segment, and their formation was very weak; it looked as if they were a mere handful against the enormous mass of French troops. On the 20th of May, thanks to their superiority, the French took several posts, but there was determined fighting; the Prussian army was full of dash and spirit, and the Russians, too, fought admirably, with far more decision than at Grossgorschen, for here they were on the defensive. On the 21st, the battle was decided by the French repulsion of the left Russian wing, which was so pushed out of place that it formed an angle with the Prussian army. The line of retreat on the great route over Reichenbach and Gorkitz was now open to the French. This was at three o'clock in the afternoon; nothing now remained but to retreat, and the situation was very grave. The main road was fortunately won and a quiet retreat commenced under a heavy cannonade. It was a hot day; at noon, when Barclay de Tolly withdrew and Ney pressed forward, a short but sharp storm burst overhead. General Ney halted; it was as if he felt that he was fighting against a higher power. This halt was the salvation of the allied army, which otherwise must have been annihilated. On this day also not a gun-carriage was lost; a few prisoners were taken; the losses were about equal on both sides.

At Löwenberg was the Austrian, Count Stadion, who now appeared as mediator and brought about the discussion of an armistice. His personal inclinations lay in favour of the allies, and by his influence an armistice was now settled which was to be succeeded by peace. Austria wished to have peace; this was no cunning pretence: she wished to improve her situation in peace and to be withdrawn from the necessity of a war. So neutral was her attitude that she allowed Polish troops under Prince Poniatowski, who had separated from the French and moved from Warsaw upon Cracow, a free passage to Saxony, they were disarmed on entering and reinvested with their arms on leaving the country. Thorn and Spandau had surrendered to Prussia. As a consequence of the suspension of hostilities Lusatia and a part of lower Silesia were evacuated to the French for cantonment. The plight of the allied army was thereby rendered very serious; but they had gained time, and that was everything.

An immense loss at the battle of Lützen was sustained in the death of Scharnhorst. He had been wounded in the battle; no one thought there was any danger, though it was believed that his knee would become stiff: he betook himself to Prague and there died June 28th. He had performed the journey too rapidly. Before he left for Prague he placidly expressed his view upon the issue of the battle: "The battle is lost, but I have seen that it is no flash in the pan. From the way our people have fought we are certain to win."

THE ARMISTICE

During the armistice negotiations were commenced in Prague through the connivance of Austria. It had been thought desirable that England should also take part in them, but it was idle to think of this. Austria had imposed

a limit within which the peace must be settled, declaring that if Napoleon did not by that time comply with the conditions offered, she would join the allies. Napoleon did not in the least take this seriously. The nature of the peace was such that Prussia would not have acquired much, and Napoleon would have lost very little. Magdeburg and the old mark were to be restored to Prussia; the fortresses on the Oder and Dantzic were to be evacuated; Dantzic and Thorn were to become Prussian. France was to renounce her supremacy over Poland; what was to become of Poland was not clearly defined.

This was the price of peace with Napoleon. So few points were touched upon that for the Prussians the peace would have been a miserable one; it was apparent how little the Germans promised themselves success. But Napoleon refused this peace which involved no actual loss for him. The duke of Bassano (Maret), who guided negotiations in Prague, a man of very good qualities but horribly timid when face to face with his master, told the story after the battle of Waterloo of how he and many others, who in every other circumstance were the living echoes of Napoleon's will, implored him to accept the terms. The time limit had been fixed at midnight; if by that time the French had not accepted terms the Austrian plenipotentiary was to close negotiations and declare his secession to the allies. Napoleon asked Maret: "Do you believe that the Austrians have the courage? If they do not carry out their threats they make themselves ridiculous." Maret assured him they would do it. Finally Napoleon signed the peace warrant; but the courier was detained by him so that he arrived at five o'clock in the morning. Napoleon thought he knew with whom he had to deal; his reflections were: "If they have not broken off negotiations they have given themselves away; if they have broken them off, they will be only too delighted that I have set my hand to the warrant, and will revoke all that they have done." In this way he wanted to procure for himself a triumph before the eyes of the world from the weak compliance of his opponent. But at midnight Austria had actually declared her secession, and Napoleon received an answer of refusal: it may possibly have been given reluctantly. The armistice was prolonged another twelve days.

The army was set in motion. From the beginning of June to August it was materially increased by reinforcements. At first there had not been enough powder for one battle with Napoleon; sufficient stores had now been obtained. A number of English muskets had arrived; fresh strength from Russia, the Austrian army—everything came together. But Napoleon had not slumbered: some hundred thousand conscripts had been raised; everywhere the French armies were very numerous. The campaign was commenced with very varying expectations; great hope sustained the allies; the French were in low spirits, which were still further depressed by events in Spain.

During the armistice news of the great battle of Vitoria (June 21st), in which the French were completely defeated, reached Germany, in this engagement Joseph Bonaparte had commanded. The French artillery to the very last piece was taken. After this glorious battle Wellington undertook the siege of Pamplona and San Sebastian. Before this, however, the campaign in Germany had begun.

THE BATTLE OF DRESDEN

A Prussian army was situated in the mark under Bülow; a considerable corps under Blücher, made up of Prussians under York and of Russians, was in Silesia; the great allied army was in Bohemia; here were the Austrian army, the main army of the Russians, and the Prussian Kleist corps. General

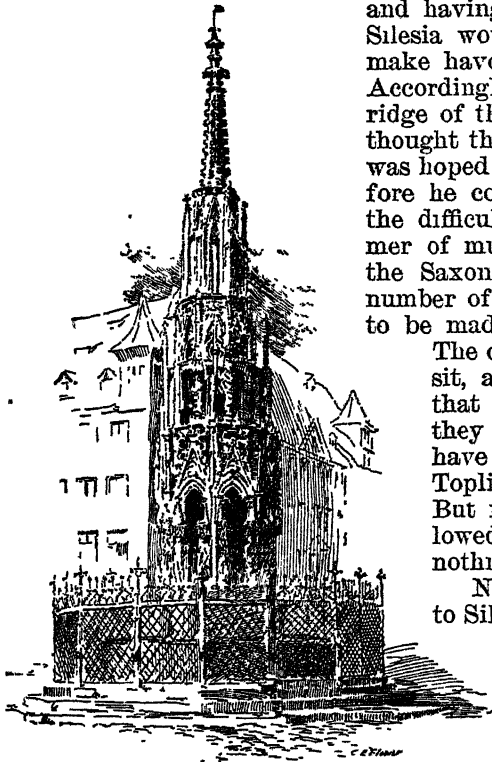
[1813 A.D.]

Moreau had been imported from America as a sort of talisman to the allies. All this did, however, was to excite some rancour in them and to make no impression upon the French. Their attitude of mind was misunderstood; they had to regard him as an enemy. Besides, there were generals of sufficient distinction in the German army, and not much wisdom was to be expected from Moreau: he was an indolent man, and had been quite inactive since 1800; moreover, he had lost, through want of practice, all aptitude for leading an army. The great blunder, however, consisted in changing the plan of campaign at the beginning. The right way would have been to march forward through Bohemia in order to move upon Leipsic. It was however feared that

Napoleon would allow the allies to advance, and having himself made a diversion through Silesia would cut off their communications, make havoc of everything, and then return. Accordingly it was determined to go over the ridge of the Erzgebirge to Dresden, for it was thought that he had been duly deceived and it was hoped that Dresden might be reached before he could come back from Silesia. But the difficulties were very great: it was a summer of much rain; the roads were very bad; the Saxon Erzgebirge are intersected by a number of small rivers, and the advance had to be made over hills and through valleys.

The convoys suffered much in this transit, and the advance was very slow, so that the allies arrived too late. Had they arrived a day earlier they might have taken Dresden; had they gone by Toplitz they would have gained one day. But in all these things Moreau was allowed to be the guide, and Moreau knew nothing of the ground.

Napoleon now turned from the road to Silesia, performing rapid marches with his guard, and crossed the bridge at Dresden August 26th, at the moment when the allies opened a cannonade on Dresden, instead of attacking the town with a bayonet charge. Nothing was accomplished. The following day the weather was much worse; an attack was decided



FOUNTAIN IN NUREMBERG

upon, which could not have been more madly conceived. General Mesko's division was cut off in the valley known as the Plauenscher Grund; the firearms refused to go off on account of the weather; the whole left wing of the Austrians was taken prisoner; the battle was entirely lost. The French had every reason to triumph. The losses were incredible; the whole army withdrew again to Bohemia in the most pitiable condition. Had the French pursued with all their forces they would doubtless have reached Prague, and the whole allied army would have been annihilated. Luckily for them, on the 23rd of August, Napoleon obtained news of the losses sustained at the engagement of Grossbeeren. This made him very pensive; he learned that a violent engagement was taking place at the Katzbach in Silesia, and just as he was about to set out news was conveyed to him of the defeat (26th of August).

He now foolishly halted and made a demonstration against Silesia in order to pick up the conquered troops. Here the elements had been of use to the allies in flooding the mountain streams; the French were defeated, it is true, by the bravery of their enemies' troops; but the extraordinary material losses sustained by them were due to the elements. General Vandamme now came to Bohemia and encountered the Russians, who formed the rear guard (August 29th). The confusion was very great; the Russians were about to carry off the cannon, when the Prussian king appeared: his arrival had a great effect upon the Russians; he commanded the artillery to withdraw. It returned, and he suspended the battle on the heights of Kulm until the Kleist corps came up. The French were now totally defeated and Vandamme was taken prisoner. This again robbed the French of the whole triumph of Dresden. The fate of the allies was decided by this victory.

THE BATTLE OF JÜTERBOG

The month of September was passed on the Bohemian frontier and in Lusatia without events of any importance; numerous movements and counter movements were made. Napoleon wished now to attempt a great onslaught on Berlin. The supreme command here was in the hands of Bernadotte, who was regarded as an ally. On the 6th of September the battle of Dennewitz or Jüterbog took place, in which Ney was defeated by the Prussians, for the Swedes did nothing. It was on this occasion that an officer turned to Bernadotte with the words:

He counts his loved ones head by head,
And lo! no head is missing

This omen foreshadowed the issue of the war. Ney was clumsy and unlucky above all other marshals; Napoleon's patience with him is inexplicable. Ney was a sort of evil demon for him; he had already brought him ill-luck in the Spanish campaign and in East Prussia, and continued to bring him ill-luck until the last moment. Napoleon was well aware of it, but Ney clung to him like a fate from which he could not detach himself.

The battle of Jüterbog was a source of extreme glory for the allies, and particularly again for the young volunteers. At Mockern (April 5th) the Prussian *Landwehr* (militia) bore itself with excellent fortitude. Men who had never carried arms killed veteran soldiers on the church walls with clubbed muskets. After the battle of Jüterbog the Prussian troops dispersed in all directions. The Cossacks and other light troops made marauding expeditions as far as Cassel. In Mecklenburg Davout's troops were pursued as far as Lauenburg; the Elbe was crossed and Hanover penetrated. The heartiest good will prevailed everywhere; but only too often there was a lack of power to impose laws and to establish a point of concentration with its accruing advantages. The prevailing sentiment was such that, from the neighbourhoods occupied by the French during the armistice, many volunteers secretly came over to the allies.

General York, attended with much glory, crossed the Elbe at Wartenburg and moved upon Leipsic. An advance was now also made upon Leipsic from the other side by Marienberg, on the same road which should have been already utilised for an advance at the end of August. The Swedes followed General York; Bulow also crossed the Elbe and joined York: so the heart of the allied army, with an excellent Russian corps, stood in a northerly position before Leipsic. Napoleon poured from twenty to thirty thousand men under

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Gouvion Saint-Cyr into Dresden, and moved with the rest of the army by a concentric movement against Leipsic. The allies were unquestionably at this moment superior in numbers to him. In the French ranks were many who had been recruited when little more than children, and the rate of mortality amongst them was incredible, provisions being very inadequate; the Saxons gave nothing of their own free will; they concealed everything in order to be able to give it to the allies. Dysentery reigned in the French army, typhus already began to break out; a terrible loss of courage accompanied these signs. The fate of the armies was soon to be decided.

Worthy of admiration is the manner in which Napoleon had resuscitated his cavalry; he had considerable numbers under Murat, who was noted as an excellent cavalry officer. On the 14th of October the great cavalry engagement at Liebertwolkwitz took place, in which the French cavalry maintained the advantage under the superior guidance of Murat. This, however, did not interfere with a further advance, nor did it stop the French from becoming more and more narrowly shut in.

BATTLE OF THE NATIONS (OCTOBER 16TH-19TH, 1813)

On the 16th began the great battle which really falls into three battles: one at Mockern in the north, one at Wachau on the right wing of the great allied army, and one along the banks of the Pleisse. The position of the great allied army was singularly faulty. The left Austrian wing was separated by the river and low ground through which the wetness of the weather made it almost impossible to make way; the effect upon this wing, from which no very grave opposition was maintained against the French, was decidedly unfavourable. At Wachau, on the right wing of the great allied army, the Prussian troops (the Kleist corps) scored distinct success, took guns and prisoners, but as a whole did not maintain their position. The Swedish troops did absolutely nothing and part of the Russians were held in reserve; the troops engaged were too weak to press forward, for Napoleon directed his whole force to Wachau. At Mockern the corps of Marmont was beaten as badly as it is possible for anything to be beaten. But the ground on the banks of the Pleisse afforded a check, and at Wachau Napoleon maintained the victory.

The allies were coming nearer and nearer. Napoleon was now obliged to direct a corps against Blucher, who was within an ace of laying hands upon Leipsic. On the Prussian side the reserves moved into line. Peace reigned on the 17th. On the 18th, early in the morning, the great battle began. The main blunder consisted in Napoleon's accepting battle; for he could not have been doubtful that he must lose the day. The troops pressed forward, and in a few hours some leagues of territory were won. Then the German troops on Napoleon's side went over. One might have said to them what the Duke de Berry said to Bourmont when he went over: "*Monsieur, c'est trop tard ou trop tôt.*" They ought to have gone over on the 16th or to have accepted their humiliation with the others. The allies would have gained a complete victory whatever they did; the order to retreat had been given earlier in the proceedings. The Bavarian troops had been ordered to withdraw. On the 8th of October had been sealed the Treaty of Ried between Bavaria and Austria; otherwise the Bavarians would have advanced as far as Vienna. It was impossible at that time to consider what the consequences might be.

On the 18th of October everything was determined at Leipsic. The first troops of the French retreated, still in good order; but disorder soon ensued. The artillery had to remain where they were. Had Napoleon not accepted battle on the 18th, he would have been able to take up a position farther in

the rear, and the artillery would have been saved. From day to day the French army dispersed more and more; the retreat was covered, but only by the most disorganised hordes; thus they arrived at Hanau. Here the Bavarians under Wrede opposed the French to prevent them from reaching the Rhine. But Napoleon broke through and reached Mainz (October 30th); many of the Bavarians fell. But, as the bridge of Mainz was in the rear, the whole army was dispersed; even the old troops, which had hitherto remained together with irresistible solidity, scattered like guerrilla hordes. While they were resting a fearful pestilence broke loose.

NEGOTIATIONS ARE DELAYED

The crown prince of Sweden soon turned in a northerly direction. The main army followed the French with no considerable rapidity: a halt was made at the Rhine. One party was distinctly in favour of making peace here; Napoleon immediately sent ambassadors to enter upon negotiations. In Frankfort was published (December 1st) that unlucky proclamation in which a just peace was announced to the French and a readiness to guarantee France to Napoleon "*dans un sens plus étendu que jamais sous vos rois*"—which meant the Rhine frontier with Belgium. Had Napoleon been willing to make peace then, he would have been able to conclude a very satisfactory agreement, for England would have been perfectly prepared to take her part in the negotiations as well; Spain would have been restored, and England's honour saved. But Napoleon would not hear of renouncing Holland.

He had left only five thousand men of mixed nationalities, troops and douaniers. Against these the Dutch were in revolt, without making any considerable efforts. The prince of Orange was summoned to be sovereign prince and he came from England. This disturbed the plans of several cabinets. Some had wished to indemnify Denmark with Holland, others to unite Holland with all Westphalia and Hanover into one great kingdom. All this was now made impossible. The French withdrew to two fortresses in Holland, Naarden and Gorkum; they had small garrisons at several points. General Bulow, the victor of Dennewitz, suddenly appeared and took the fortresses by a series of bold *coups de main*, and battered in the gates. Gorkum was very bravely defended, but was compelled to surrender; only in Naarden, a harbour of Amsterdam, did the French succeed in maintaining themselves.

Meanwhile much time was wasted on the Rhine without entering upon negotiations; notes were exchanged, until at last the patience of the parties fortunately gave out. Many trembled at the idea of trusting themselves behind the Rhine fortresses: but the counsel of the daring prevailed. The Rhine was crossed, Switzerland entered, Alsace and France were approached (December 30th and 31st). Napoleon's armaments were still considerably in arrears. The allies advanced through Lorraine—the right wing upon the route of Châlons, the left wing through Langres. At Brienne the French were encountered, and here the Bavarians distinguished themselves: the main glory of the victory is to be attributed to them. The French withdrew much disheartened.

Two corps now moved along the Aube and the Marne upon Paris; all went well until there followed a series of engagements in which Napoleon proved himself to be a greater general than ever. He drew all his forces together, but his power was small; he first overwhelmed one corps, then surprised a second, then wheeled round and encountered the corps of York and Sacken: through Sacken's blunders he inflicted a severe loss on them. In the midst of the engagement General Kleist drew up with his corps on the great

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route to Châlons. Napoleon threw himself upon this corps on the following day; Kleist had hardly had time to learn that a retreat had taken place in both wings. But the corps of Kleist maintained itself on this day, the 14th of February, 1814, against an overwhelming superiority in numbers and artillery, and withdrew to Quarrees; in brilliance of achievements this engagement is on a par with the battle of Lutzen. But as soon as the allies united their forces Napoleon experienced the disadvantage of his weakness. He followed the allies as far as Chaumont. Here everything was in confusion; once more it was the personality of the Prussian king which saved everything. Many of the commanders thought only of retreat; it was he who brought discipline into the army, made the Austrians and Russians veer round, and directed a severe blow at the French. Confidence on the Prussian side was again to some extent restored.

The six weeks from the middle of February to the end of March are the most brilliant in the military history of Napoleon. Even in those defeats which he suffered his initiative was right. But the last blow miscarried; it was the ruin of everything.

Meanwhile Blücher had joined the corps of Kleist and proceeded through Châlons to Méry in order to reinforce Schwarzenberg; he scored a brilliant success at Méry; but the want of spirit in his troops was considerable—it amounted to despair at Austrian headquarters. The king was the first to turn the scale of depression at Bar-sur

Aube; he used his personality in order to impress them. All of the troops were much the worse for sickness and fatigue; the army of Schwarzenberg was quite broken up. Blücher had again retired over the Marne in order to cover the loss, while Schwarzenberg was thoroughly in favour of their retiring over the Rhine. Blücher succeeded in forcing the Prussian corps under Bulow, and the Russian under Wintzingerode, to abandon the crown prince of Sweden who, with treasonous designs, held them fast in the Netherlands. They broke away and joined Blücher in Picardy. A fine game of tactics was now played: Napoleon continued to be kept from pressing Schwarzenberg. The corps of Kleist held the communications. Once Blücher was close upon Paris; he fought a number of engagements with varying success. At Laon (March 9th) he was attacked and maintained his ground superbly; York replied to the attack in the night and took artillery. The French fell back on Rheims, but they did not despair. The headquarters of the great allied army were now again in Troyes.

Already, at the beginning of February, general negotiations for peace had been begun at Châtillon. Even England offered no obstacles to the recognition of Napoleon as emperor. But Napoleon's proposals were a monstrous joke: he demanded the Rhine frontier for France, indemnities for his brothers Joseph and Jerome, and a principality for Eugène Beauharnais. On a basis like this there ought to have been no negotiation at all; but there was. There was very little agreement amongst the allies. Determination was to be found only in the council of the king; but Prussia was entirely without support, and



BLÜCHER
(1742-1819)

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Napoleon would have obtained a very favourable peace if he had not been too obstinate. England was very lukewarm in her attitude towards Germany; what did the Rhine frontier matter to her? Alexander had difficulties with his people because, with the Russians, war in such remote territory was unpopular. Had the peace been concluded Napoleon would have reopened war a year later. But he was obdurate, to his own ruin; the negotiations fell to the ground (March 15th).

THE MARCH ON PARIS (1814 A.D.)

Operations were accordingly continued. Napoleon was now misled through information concerning a movement that had never been made; he believed that the whole allied army was marching upon Paris, and so he made one last misdirected march in which everything was lost. The courier had arrived with despatches announcing that the crown prince of Wurtemberg, afterwards King William I, with the advance guard of the grand army, was marching upon Paris—which was a complete falsehood. To outflank Prince Schwarzenberg Napoleon now held to be impossible, for he calculated that even by forced marches he could no longer reach Paris, so he wished to make a demonstration in order to compel his enemy to turn back. His position was such that he could touch the army of Schwarzenberg on its lines of communication, and, as he believed that it would not fail to answer his diversion by a retrogressive movement, he directed his march in order to set this in motion. The French peasants in his rear were everywhere in a state of rebellion and had already done the army great harm. The mistake of the allies was a different one; they believed that he intended to cross the Rhine and invade Germany. At first there was a desire on the part of the invaders to break up their camps and return. It was represented, however, that this would lead to nothing; Napoleon would have been everywhere before them, everything would be for him and against them. So it was determined to march on Paris.

This decision was really taken, as we may see, because it was not known what else to do. Wintzingerode was despatched on its execution; the great army moved forward. Meanwhile Blucher had remained north of the Marne; on receiving the news of the advance he went to Meaux. Napoleon had issued instructions to two army corps between Aube and Marne to follow him and to accompany him to Lorraine. But these corps were for the most part newly formed troops; they encountered the Russian corps of Wintzingerode at La Fère Champenoise (March 25th) and were totally defeated; Marmont's corps alone escaped for the most part and plunged towards Paris. There was no doubt now that a march must be made on Paris.

The national guard in Paris was armed; a few outworks were raised and Montmartre was easy to hold. The French adopted the proper and worthy decision of defending their capital. Public sentiment was already much inflamed against Napoleon. As his luck turned, all abandoned him; his own creatures had but one thought—to extricate themselves and to secure peace. Already, at Erfurt, Talleyrand had caused secret revelations to be made to the emperor Alexander, in which was apparent a desire that Napoleon's ambition should be pacified. The discontent that prevailed was extraordinary. In the year 1811 there had been a famine in France, and prices rose in 1812. Taxes were very high; the public treasury, hitherto a model of punctual payment, was in debt; there was a rush on the bank, which could not continue payment. The feeling of bitterness against Napoleon ran particularly high in Paris. A general ill will was felt towards him; he was constantly alluded to as "*cet homme*." This had already been the state of affairs in 1812; in the beginning

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of 1813 there had been a slight rally, but even before the battle of Leipsic the discontent had returned. Before, there had been parties for and against; now, all were against him. Yet the French, a brave nation, would not abandon their capital without a struggle, and to defend Paris could be no such difficult matter. Of course it might be destroyed; but no one would have wished to do this.

Unhappily Joseph, who had the command in Paris, was an incapable man, and there was treason on more sides than one: Monsieur de Vitrolles had already appeared at Talleyrand's suggestion in the headquarters of the allies. Napoleon's operations were certainly admirably conducted; he informed himself concerning the forces of the allies, but he neglected all opportunity of influencing the temper of the French. Certainly his words would have been all-powerful; had he roused in the Parisians their feeling of honour, they would have defended themselves as fiercely as the men of Saragossa. But he treated everything as a subject for command; resembling in this the earlier "legitimate" princes, as they were called. He had sacrificed all the weight of moral influence, or else was afraid to exercise it.

So it came to pass that on the 30th of March the heights of Paris were taken, after some loss had been sustained; Montmartre was stormed to the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets. The national guard drew back, and the town would have been immediately entered (for it had erected no regular defences), had it not been deemed preferable to conclude a treaty, which in the case of a town of seven hundred thousand inhabitants was a wise proceeding. This was the work of the army of the north; the southern army had no share in it. The allies were now masters of Paris, but what to do was a problem involved in a growing obscurity.

Napoleon again showed to what a pitiful extent he had lost his sanity. He had to turn southward towards Lyons; here he was able to attach to himself the corps of Augereau, and then he had again to cross the Alps. In Italy the army of the viceroy was intact, and all Lombardy declared in his favour. He was more popular in Italy than in France; the Italians were quite transformed; their constant cry was, "*Non è Francese, è nostro.*" In Carinthia and Carniola the Austrians had certainly performed admirable movements under Hiller, they had driven the viceroy across the Mincio; but here he maintained his ground. Had Napoleon made for Italy he would have pursued a wild game, but he could not have cut a worse figure than he did; he had nothing to lose and everything to win. Had he known how to work upon the sentiment of the people he would still have got through the spring. But it was as if his genius had absolutely forsaken him; he had become a dreamer.

He had reckoned that Paris would resist until he appeared, and so he proceeded to Paris. His soldiers were terribly harassed by these forced marches; they lay strewn on the roads by the hundreds, and this time he allowed himself to be driven, instead of riding on horseback at their head—an omission which cost him incredible loss of prestige with his soldiers, who did everything only for his sake. He returned too late; at Fontainebleau he learned that Paris was in the power of the allies; and he remained with his shattered army in Fontainebleau with that incredible folly which characterised his conduct in adversity: because good advice was hard to buy, he did nothing. The moment had not yet passed when the army might be stirred by an irresistible rhetorical appeal to their imagination and withdrawn to Lyons. Certainly Wellington was already advancing hard upon Toulouse in forced marches; but the battle had not yet been fought there, and he would have had to strain every nerve. In Italy Murat had shamelessly broken loose from him; he was offended, but he was offended because he wanted to be: he looked towards the throne on which he desired to remain, like Bernadotte on the

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throne of Sweden. At Versailles Marmont agreed upon a convention with the allies, and stationed himself behind the allied army. It may be a hard thing to say of the adherents of Napoleon, but it is the right thing: he was despised by those who surrounded him in Fontainebleau—a natural fate for the man who abandons himself. In this way it became possible for the most devoted marshals whom he had promoted to honour, to end by themselves turning away from him and forcing him to resign. That he should have been given such favourable conditions defies explanation: he was allowed to retire to Elba with a large pension and promises concerning his family. People might well have supposed that this was a snare, that the result had been foreseen and intentionally provided for, were it not that such a supposition is incompatible with the incredible ruin in which everything was plunged on his reappearance.

The Count d'Artois now came to Paris; he became head of a provisional government committee (4th of May), acting as lieutenant of the kingdom. On the 4th of May, twenty-four years after the opening of the states-general, Louis XVIII came to Paris. But how changed was everything! The limit was fixed within which the charter had to be submitted; but it had already been perfected, and Louis did not submit it to discussion and offer it for acceptance, but presented it from the fulness of his supreme majesty.^k

THE FIRST PEACE OF PARIS (1814 A.D.)

On the 30th of May, 1814, peace was concluded at Paris. France was reduced to her limits of 1792, and consequently retained the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, of which she had, at an earlier period, deprived Germany. Not a farthing was paid by way of compensation for the ravages suffered by Germany, nay, the French prisoners of war were, on their release, maintained on their way home at the expense of the German population. None of the *chefs-d'œuvres* of which Europe had been plundered were restored, with the sole exception of the group of horses taken by Napoleon from the Brandenburg gate at Berlin. The allied troops instantly evacuated the country. France was allowed to regulate her internal affairs without the interference of any of the foreign powers, whilst paragraphs concerning the internal economy of Germany were not only admitted into the Treaty of Paris, and France was on that account not only called upon to guarantee and to participate in the internal affairs of Germany, but also afterwards sent to the great Congress of Vienna an ambassador destined to play an important part in the definitive settlement of the affairs of Europe, and more particularly, of those of Germany.

The patriots, of whom the governments had made use both before and after the war, unable to comprehend that the result of such immense exertions and of such a complete triumph should be to bring greater profit and glory to France than to Germany, and that their patriotism was, on the conclusion of the war, to be renounced, were loud in their complaints. But the revival of the German Empire, with which the individual interests of so many princely houses were plainly incompatible, was far from entering into the plans of the allied powers. An attempt made by any one among the princes to place himself at the head of the whole of Germany would have been frustrated by the rest. The policy of the foreign allies was moreover antipathetic to such a scheme. England opposed and sought to hinder unity in Germany, not only for the sake of retaining possession of Hanover and of exercising an influence over the disunited German princes similar to that exercised by her over the princes of India, but more particularly for that of ruling the commerce of Germany. Russia reverted to her Erfurt policy. Her interests, like those of France, led

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her to promote disunion among the German powers, whose weakness, the result of want of combination, placed them at the mercy of France, and left Poland, Sweden, and the East open to her ambition. A close alliance was in consequence instantly formed between the emperor Alexander and Louis XVIII, the former negotiating as the first condition of peace the continuance of Lorraine and Alsace beneath the sovereignty of France.

Austria assented on condition of Italy being placed exclusively beneath her control. Austria united too many and too diverse nations beneath her sceptre to be able to pursue a policy pre-eminently German, and found it more convenient to round off her territory by the annexation of upper Italy than by that of distant Lorraine, at all times a possession difficult to maintain. Prussia was too closely connected with Russia, and Hardenberg, unlike Blücher at the head of the Prussian army, was powerless at the head of Prussian diplomacy. The lesser states also exercised no influence upon Germany as a whole, and were merely intent upon preserving their individual integrity or upon gaining some petty advantage. The Germans, some few discontented patriots alone excepted, were more than ever devoted to their ancient princes, both to those who had retained their station and to those who returned to their respective territories on the fall of Napoleon; and the victorious soldiery, adorned with ribbons, medals, and orders (the Prussians, for instance, with the iron cross), evinced the same unreserved attachment to their prince and zeal for his individual interest. This complication of circumstances can alone explain the fact of Germany, although triumphant, having made greater concessions to France by the Treaty of Paris than, when humbled, by that of Westphalia.

From Paris the sovereigns of Prussia and Russia and the victorious field-marshal proceeded, in June, to London, where they, Blücher most particularly, were received with every demonstration of delight and respect by the English, their oldest and most faithful allies. From London, Frederick William went to Switzerland and took possession of his ancient hereditary territory, Walsch-Neuenburg or Neuchâtel, visited the beautiful Bernese Oberland, and then returned to Berlin, where, on the 7th of August, he passed in triumph through the Brandenburg gate, which was again adorned with the car of victory and the fine group of horses, and rode through the lime trees to an altar, around which the clergy belonging to every religious sect were assembled. Here public thanks were given and the whole of the citizens present fell upon their knees. On the 17th of September, the preparation of a new liturgy was announced in a ministerial proclamation by which the solemnity of the church service was to be increased, the present one being too little calculated to excite or strike the imagination.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Towards autumn a great European congress, to which the settlement of every point in dispute and the restoration of order throughout Europe were to be committed, was convoked at Vienna. At this congress, which, in November of 1814 was opened at Vienna, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the greater part of the petty princes of Germany were present in person; the other powers were represented by ambassadors extraordinary. The greatest statesmen of that period were here assembled; amongst others, Metternich, the Austrian minister, Hardenberg and Humboldt, the Prussian ministers, Castlereagh, the English plenipotentiary, Nesselrode, the Russian envoy, Talleyrand and Dalberg, Gagern, Bernstorff, and Wrede, the ambassadors of France, Holland, Den-

mark, and Bavaria. The negotiations were of the utmost importance, for, although one of the most difficult points, the new regulation of affairs in France, was already settled, many extremely difficult questions still remained to be solved.^d

The congress was probably the most brilliant assembly that had ever gathered within the walls of Vienna; emperors, kings, and princes were so plentiful that Talleyrand was of opinion that the nimbus of monarchy would be dissipated. The mediatised princes also came, in the hope of restoration. In spite of his financial embarrassment, the emperor Francis was the most delightful of hosts; the congress cost him sixteen million gulden, and there were so many entertainments that the prince de Ligne said that the congress danced, but made no way. The order of business was settled on the 16th of September, 1814. Talleyrand dissolved the alliance between Russia, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia without difficulty and secured a brilliant part for France to play. The czar favoured Prussia's desire for Saxony, that he might get Poland for himself; Talleyrand frustrated the plans of both and did all he could to create a feeble federal Germany. On March 7th, 1815, the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba fell upon the congress like a bomb; the allied princes stopped the withdrawal of their troops from France at once and armed for a fresh struggle; on the 13th of the same month Talleyrand drew up the blunt proscription launched by the eight powers against "Napoleon Bonaparte"; on the 25th the alliance of Chaumont, concluded between Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia on March 9th, 1814, was again renewed, and diplomacy grew more intent than ever on concluding the work of the congress.

Metternich sought to secure the vital interests of Austria by the dismemberment of Germany and by checking German particularism, but he would never involve himself so deeply in German affairs as to oblige Austria to undertake hazardous duties or to expose her to German influence. Although he had talked to Munster about the imperial idea in December, 1814, he was equally averse to the notion of a German empire and of a Germany under the hegemony of Prussia; he held that the German states ought rather to coexist in complete autonomy, but nevertheless gave his assent to the views of his sovereign, which differed from his own, and favoured the formation of a confederation of independent and coequal German sovereigns under the presidency of Austria. Russia and Great Britain, like Austria, were ill-disposed to a strong Prussia, the minor German states were her natural enemies, and cared for nothing but their selfish interests. Nevertheless the prospect of a European war induced them to urge the long-delayed establishment of a German constitution, as Humboldt, Hardenberg, and Munster had ever done. Thereupon the remodelling of Europe was accomplished, and the final clauses of the Treaty of Vienna, preceded by the Act of Confederation, summed up the substance of all the other treaties.

FINAL CLAUSES OF THE TREATY OF VIENNA OF JUNE 9TH, 1815

These were signed by Metternich and Wessenberg, Labrador, Talleyrand, Dalberg, Labour-du-Pin and Noailles, Castlereagh, Wellington, Cathcart and Stewart, Palmella, Saldanha and Silveira, Hardenberg and Humboldt, Razumowsky, Stackelberg and Nesselrode, and Lowenhielm. The greater part of Warsaw fell to Russia, and the czar assumed the title of king of Poland; but the grand duchy of Posen passed to Prussia and Wieliczka to Austria; the Poles in all three were promised a representative system of government and national institutions. Cracow became a republic under the protection of the

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three powers. Russia restored to Austria the portions of eastern Galicia she had conquered in 1809. Saxony made the sacrifices mentioned already. Prussia got back nearly all her old possessions between the Rhine and Elbe, with the addition of the duchy of Westphalia, the major part of the electorate of Cologne, the Nassau principalities of Diez, Siegen, Hadamar and Dillenburg, Wetzlar and the department of Fulda, and some departments on the Moselle and Maas; she received Swedish Pomerania from Denmark in exchange for Lauenburg; but ceded the see of Hildesheim, Goslar, East Friesland, inclusive of Harlingerland, the countship of lower Lingen and part of the see of Munster to Hanover, receiving in return part of the duchy of Lauenburg and a few administrative districts; and gave a district containing five thousand souls to Oldenburg. Oldenburg, the two Mecklenburgs, and Weimar assumed the style of grand duchies, Hanover became a kingdom. Prussia promised several districts to Weimar. Bavaria obtained the grand duchy of Wurzburg and the principality of Aschaffenburg. Frankfort-on-the-Main became a free city with the same territory that it had held in 1803, and a member of the German Confederation; Hesse-Darmstadt gained one hundred and forty thousand subjects on the left bank of the Rhine; Hesse-Homburg regained everything that had been taken from it by the Act of the Rhenish Confederation; Coburg, Oldenburg, Strelitz, and Homburg each obtained ten thousand subjects in what had formerly been the department of the Saar; Isenburg came under the sovereignty of Austria, who ceded it to Darmstadt. In virtue of articles 53-57 the princes and free cities of Germany, inclusive of Austria and Prussia as far as the dominions which had formerly been part of the German Empire were concerned, Denmark as far as Holstein, and the Netherlands as far as Luxemburg were concerned, established the "German Confederation" in perpetuity, under the presidency of Austria, "for the purpose of maintaining the external and internal security of Germany and the independence and inviolability of the confederate states," which were all to enjoy equal rights within the confederation. The affairs of the confederation were to be directed by a Confederation Diet in which the plenipotentiaries were to vote singly touching the fundamental laws, the Act of Confederation (*Bundesacte*), etc., the diet was to meet in full session, and there Austria and the five German kingdoms were to have four votes apiece: Baden, the electorate of Hesse, Darmstadt, Holstein, and Luxemburg three; Brunswick, Mecklenburg-Schwernin, and Nassau two; and every other state of the confederation one; making sixty-nine in all (articles 4, 5, 6, 7 of the Final Act). This distribution of votes was afterwards taken as the standard for the present federal council (*Bundesrath*). The diet of the confederation was thus a permanent congress of ambassadors like the old diet of the empire. It was to sit at Frankfort from the 1st of September, 1815, onwards. By Article 63 the states pledged themselves to defend Germany against all attacks, guaranteed mutual assistance, and promised to enter into no negotiations with the enemy when once war had been declared. They also pledged themselves not to make war upon one another, but to refer their disputes to the diet of the confederation. Holland and Belgium were handed over to the house of Orange, as being the reigning dynasty of the Netherlands, and Luxemburg and Limburg were likewise added to its dominions; the integrity of Switzerland was guaranteed, the new cantons of Valais, Geneva, and Neuchâtel were added to it; the see of Bâle and the town of Biel fell to the canton of Bern; Sardinia obtained Genoa, Capraja, and the so-called imperial fiefs. Austria reassumed possession of Istria, Dalmatia, the islands of the Adriatic which had formerly belonged to Venice, the Gulf of Cattaro, Venice, the lagoons, the *terra firma* of the ancient republic of Venice, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Trent, the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Friuli, Montefalcone, Trieste, Car-

niola, upper Carinthia, Croatia on the right bank of the Save, Fiume, the Hungarian littoral, and Castua, and added the Valtelline, Bormio, Chiavenna, and the former republic of Ragusa to her dominions between the Ticino, the Po, and the Adriatic. The emperor Francis established the kingdoms of Illyria and Lombardy and Venice. The Austrian house of Este obtained Modena, Reggio, Mirandola, Massa, Carrara, and the imperial fiefs in Lunigiana; Tuscany fell to the archduke Ferdinand; Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to Napoleon's consort; Lucca to the Bourbons of "Etruria"; the pope and the king of the Two Sicilies regained their former possessions. Navigation was to be free along the various rivers which intersected all these countries and the slave-trade was to be abolished.

All other schemes for the remodelling of Germany were thrown overboard; Austria had conquered and riveted the fetters of the German Confederation on the German people. It was a league, an international union of sovereign states, an alliance of governments independent of the participation of the people, an instrument of Austria for repressing Prussia; and it mediated the German nation. The secondary states which Napoleon had created would have preferred at first not to enter into it, but to remain in the position of independent European powers; they flatly repudiated any limitation of their sovereign prerogatives, and resolved rather to bestow constitutions on their subjects out of pure magnanimity than to be compelled to do so by the confederation. The people regarded the result of the protracted negotiations with chill indifference or outspoken indignation; most of the German governments were ill content. A few "special dispositions" were added to those mentioned in the Final Act of Vienna, the most important of them being paragraph 13: "There shall be assemblies of estates in all countries belonging to the confederation." The circumstance that the first eleven articles of the Act of Confederation (*Bundesacte*) were guaranteed by the Final Act (*Schlussacte*) of Vienna subsequently gave rise to unjustifiable pretensions on the part of foreign powers to a European right of wardship over the confederation.¹

THE HOLY ALLIANCE (1815 A.D.)

Besides the territorial regulations, the general interests of the peoples were assigned but a modest sphere. The rulers themselves seem to have felt that these bald dispositions concerning restored thrones and exchanged provinces were out of proportion to the sacrifices made, and that too sharp a contrast existed between the enthusiastic spirit with which the struggle had opened and the disillusionment which all must feel at the results of the Vienna Congress. It was as though something must be done to give to the idealistic impulse of the period just past—and which was still affecting men's minds—if not good deeds, at least good words, and to nourish the first hopes with new ones. This spirit gave birth to that wonderful politico-religious alliance or programme, which, on the 26th of September, 1815, as the treaty of the Holy Alliance, was signed by the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, without consultation with any minister.

The preamble to this document says that the three monarchs would scrupulously practise, both in the government of their states and in their foreign policy, the Christian principles of justice, clemency, and peace; the tenor of the three following articles was that the three monarchs would accordingly act towards and support one another as brothers, and would also rule their peoples—their peoples and armies is the extraordinary expression used—paternally in the same spirit of brotherhood; that accordingly they exhorted their peoples likewise to confirm themselves daily in the exercise of the Christian duties, in

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harmony with the one Christian religion, which they, the monarchs, representatives of its three chief forms, expressly recognised as the one true religion. At the same time they summoned to join this Holy Alliance all sovereigns who were of the same mind as themselves, with the exception of the sultan, who it could not be supposed would profess the Christian religion, and of the pope, who could not well join with schismatic and heretic princes in an alliance whose theological basis was of doubtful orthodoxy and would not entirely agree with the teaching of the one infallible church, of which he believed himself to be the head. Most of the princes joined: the English government acquiesced in the principles enunciated, in which, indeed, if they were adhered to, there was not much to object; but a formal accession to a treaty which was no treaty it refused.

In the times of dejection and disappointment which now followed, this Holy Alliance was treated as a secret, absolutist conspiracy against the securing to the people of constitutional rights, and it has been affirmed that it was meant from the very first in this spirit; similarly malicious voices have referred to the good intentions with which, according to the proverb, the road to hell is said to be paved. This condemnation on the part of an embittered age is just neither to the emperor Alexander, from whom the idea proceeded, and who was a high-minded, tender-hearted man, very accessible to religious sentiments; nor towards the king of Prussia, in whom misfortune and the heavy sacrifices entailed by the war had increased the religiosity which had always lain in his nature; nor to the emperor Francis, to whom it cost little to make a confession of so general a character, which after all accommodated itself to any policy quite as well as the revolutionary doctrine of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The same hard and condemnatory judgment as was passed on this, its coping stone, was meted out to the whole work of the Vienna Congress. It may be that here and there serious business suffered from the festivities; it may be that ill will, a petty spirit, frivolity, and every kind of trifling were active enough to spoil the work; but even the best will and the most earnest spirit, which were not lacking, would have found it difficult, in face of the enormity of the task, to effect more than the congress, such as it was, effected: namely, a new external form and arrangement of the European system. This the congress accomplished, no more; but if, on the one hand, it could get no more out of the great epoch, yet, on the other hand, neither could it prevent the effects on the future existence of Europe, which followed of themselves from the events of that great period.^m

THE RETURN AND DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON (1815 A.D.)

Meantime in France and Belgium the final struggle with Napoleon had been carried on to his ruin.^a The disputes in the congress had raised Napoleon's hopes. In France his party was still powerful, almost the whole of the population being blindly devoted to him, and an extensive conspiracy for his restoration to the imperial throne was secretly set on foot. Several thousands of his veteran soldiery had been released from foreign durance; the whole of the military stores, the spoil of Europe, still remained in the possession of France; the fortresses were garrisoned solely with French troops; Elba was close at hand, and the emperor was guarded with criminal negligence.

It was on the 1st of March, 1815, that Napoleon again set foot on the coast of France. He was accompanied by merely fifteen hundred men, but the whole of the troops sent against him by Louis XVIII ranged themselves beneath his eagle. He passed, as if in triumph, through his former empire. The whole nation received him with acclamations of delight. Not a single

Frenchman shed a drop of blood for the Bourbon, who fled hastily to Ghent; and on the 20th of March Napoleon entered Paris unopposed. His brother-in-law, Murat, at the same time revolted at Naples and advanced into upper Italy against the Austrians. But all the rest of Napoleon's ancient allies, persuaded that he must again fall, either remained tranquil or formed a close alliance with the combined powers. The Swiss, in particular, showed excessive zéol on this occasion, and took up arms against France in the hope of rendering the allied sovereigns favourable to their new constitution. The Swiss regiments, which had passed from Napoleon's service to that of Louis XVIII, also remained unmoved by Napoleon's blandishments, were deprived of their arms, and returned separately to Switzerland.

The allied sovereigns who were assembled at Vienna at once allowed every dispute to drop in order to form a fresh and closer coalition. They declared Napoleon an outlaw, a robber, proscribed by all Europe, and bound themselves to bring a force more than a million strong into the field against him. All Napoleon's cunning attempts to bribe and set them at variance were treated with scorn, and the combined powers speedily came to an understanding on the points hitherto so strongly contested. Saxony was partitioned between her ancient sovereign and Prussia, and a revolt that broke out in Liège among the Saxon troops, who were by command of Prussia to be divided before they had been released from their oath of allegiance to their king, is easily explained by the hurry and pressure of the times, which caused all minor considerations to be forgotten. Napoleon exclusively occupied the mind of every diplomatist, and all agreed upon the necessity, at all hazards, of his utter annihilation. The lion, thus driven at bay, turned upon his pursuers for a last and desperate struggle. The French were still faithful to Napoleon, who, with a view of reinspiring them with the enthusiastic spirit that had rendered them invincible in the first days of the republic, again called forth the old republicans, nominated them to the highest appointments, re-established several republican institutions, and, on the 1st of June, presented to his dazzled subjects the magnificent spectacle of a field of May, as in the times of Charlemagne and in the commencement of the Revolution, and then led a numerous and spirited army to the Dutch frontiers against the enemy.

Here stood a Prussian army under Blücher, and an Anglo-German one under Wellington, comprehending the Dutch under the prince of Orange, the Brunswickers under their duke, the recruited Hanoverian legion under Walmoden. These *corps d'armée* most imminently threatened Paris. The main body of the allied army under Schwarzenberg, then advancing from the south, was still distant. Napoleon consequently directed his first attack against the former two. His army had gained immensely in strength and spirit by the return of his veteran troops from foreign imprisonment. Wellington, ignorant at what point Napoleon might cross the frontier, had followed the old and ill-judged plan of dividing his forces; an incredible error, the allies having simply to unite their forces and to take up a firm position in order to draw Napoleon to any given spot. Napoleon afterwards observed in his memoirs that he had attacked Blücher first because he well knew that Blücher would not be supported by the over-prudent and egotistical English commander, but that Wellington, had he been first attacked, would have received every aid from his high-spirited and faithful ally. The duke of Brunswick, with impatience equalling that of Blücher, was the only one who had quitted the ball during the night and had hurried forward against the enemy. Napoleon gained time to throw himself between Wellington and Blücher and to prevent their junction; for he knew the spirit of his opponents. He consequently opposed merely a small division of his army under Ney to the English and turned with the whole of his main body against the Prussians. The veteran

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Blücher perceived his intentions and in consequence urgently demanded aid from the duke of Wellington, who promised to send him a reinforcement of twenty thousand men by four o'clock on the 16th. But this aid did not arrive. Wellington retired with superior forces before Ney at Quatre Bras.

THE BATTLES OF LIGNY AND WATERLOO

Blücher meanwhile yielded to the overwhelming force brought against him by Napoleon at Ligny, also on the 16th of June. Vainly did the Prussians rush to the attack beneath the murderous fire of the French, vainly did Blücher in person head the assault and for five hours continue the combat hand to hand in the village of Ligny. Numbers prevailed, and, the infantry being at length driven back, Blücher led the cavalry once more to the charge, but was repulsed and fell senseless beneath his horse, which was shot dead. His adjutant, Count Nostitz, alone remained at his side. The French cavalry passed close by without perceiving them, twilight and a misty rain having begun to fall. The Prussians fortunately missed their leader, repulsed the French cavalry, which again galloped past him as he lay on the ground, and he was at length drawn from beneath his horse. He still lived, but only to behold the complete defeat of his army.

Blücher, although a veteran of seventy-three and wounded and shattered by his fall, was not for a moment discouraged. Ever vigilant, he assembled his scattered troops with wonderful rapidity, inspirited them by his cheerful words, and had the generosity to promise aid, by the afternoon of the 18th of June, to Wellington, who was now in his turn attacked by the main body of the French under Napoleon. Blücher consequently fell back upon Wavre in order to remain as close as possible in Wellington's vicinity, and also sent orders to Bulow's corps, that was then on the advance, to join the English army, whilst Napoleon, in the idea that Blücher was falling back upon the Maas, sent Grouchy in pursuit with a body of thirty-five thousand men.

Napoleon, far from imagining that the Prussians, after having been, as he supposed, completely annihilated or panic-stricken by Grouchy, could aid the British, wasted the precious moments, instead of hastily attacking Wellington.

At length, about mid-day, Napoleon gave orders for the attack, and, furiously charging the British left wing, drove it from the village of Hougomont. He then sent orders to Ney to charge the British centre. At that moment a dark spot was seen in the direction of St. Lambert. Was it Grouchy? A reconnoitring party was despatched and returned with the news of its being the Prussians under Bulow. The attack upon the British centre was consequently remanded, and Ney was despatched with a considerable portion of his troops against Bulow. Wellington now ventured to charge the enemy with his right wing, but was repulsed and lost the farm of La Haye Sainte, which commanded his position on this side as Hougomont did on his right. His centre, however, remained unattacked, the French exerting their utmost strength to keep Bulow's gallant troops back at the village of Planchenoit, where the battle raged with the greatest fury, and a dreadful conflict of some hours' duration ensued hand to hand. But, about five o'clock, the left wing of the British being completely thrown into confusion by a fresh attack on the enemy's side, the whole of the French cavalry, twelve thousand strong, made a furious charge upon the British centre, bore down all before them, and took a great number of guns. The prince of Orange was wounded. The road to Brussels was already thronged with the fugitive English troops, and Well-

ton, scarcely able to keep his weakened lines together, was apparently on the brink of destruction, when the thunder of artillery was suddenly heard in the direction of Wavre. "It is Grouchy!" joyfully exclaimed Napoleon, who had repeatedly sent orders to that general to push forward with all possible speed. But it was not Grouchy; it was Blücher.

The faithful troops of the veteran marshal (the old Silesian army) were completely worn out by the battle, by their retreat in the heavy rain over deep roads, and by the want of food. The distance from Wavre, whence they had been driven, to Waterloo, where Wellington was then in action, was not great, but was rendered arduous owing to these circumstances. The men sometimes fell down from extreme weariness, and the guns stuck fast in the deep mud. But Blücher was everywhere present, and notwithstanding his bodily pain ever cheered his men forwards, with "indescribable pathos" saying to his disheartened soldiers, "My children, we must advance; I have promised it—do not cause me to break my word!" Whilst still distant from the scene of action, he ordered the guns to be fired in order to keep up the courage of the English, and at length, between six and seven in the evening, the first Prussian corps in advance, that of Ziethen, fell furiously upon the enemy. "Bravo!" cried Blücher, "I know you, my Silesians; to-day we shall see the backs of these French rascals!"

Ziethen filled up the space still intervening between Wellington and Bulow. Exactly at that moment, Napoleon had sent his old guard forward in four massive squares in order to make a last attempt to break the British lines, when Ziethen fell upon their flank and dealt fearful havoc among their close masses with his artillery. Bulow's troops, inspired by this success, now pressed gallantly forward and finally regained the long-contested village of Planchenoit from the enemy. The whole of the Prussian army, advancing at the double and with drums beating, had already driven back the right wing of the French, when the English, regaining courage, advanced, Napoleon was surrounded on two sides, and the whole of his troops, the old guard under General Cambronne alone excepted, were totally dispersed and fled in complete disorder. The old guard, surrounded by Bulow's cavalry, nobly replied, when challenged to surrender, "*La garde ne se rend pas*"; and in a few minutes the veteran conquerors of Europe fell beneath the righteous and avenging blows of their antagonists. At the farm of *La Belle Alliance* Blücher offered his hand to Wellington. "I will sleep to-night in Bonaparte's last night's quarters," said Wellington. "And I will drive him out of his present ones!" replied Blücher.

The Prussians, fired by enthusiasm, forgot the fatigues they had for four days endured, and, favoured by a moonlight night, so zealously pursued the French that an immense number of prisoners and a vast amount of booty fell into their hands and Napoleon narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. At Genappe, where the bridge was blocked by fugitives, the pursuit was so close that he was compelled to abandon his carriage, leaving his sword and hat behind him. Blücher, who reached the spot a moment afterwards, took possession of the booty, sent Napoleon's hat, sword, and star to the king of Prussia, retained his cloak, telescope, and carriage for his own use, and gave up everything else, including a quantity of the most valuable jewellery, gold, and money, to his brave soldiery. The whole of the army stores, two hundred and forty guns, and an innumerable quantity of arms thrown away by the fugitives fell into his hands.

The Prussian general, Thielmann, who, with a few troops, had remained behind at Wavre in order, at great hazard, to deceive Grouchy into the belief that he was still opposed by Blücher's entire force, acted a lesser but equally honourable part on this great day. He fulfilled his commission with great

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skill, and so completely deceived Grouchy as to hinder his making a single attempt to throw himself in the way of the Prussians on the Paris road.

Blucher pushed forwards without a moment's delay, and on the 29th of June stood before Paris. Napoleon had, meanwhile, a second time abdicated, and had fled from Paris in the hope of escaping across the seas. Davout, the ancient instrument of his tyranny, who commanded in Paris, attempting to make terms of capitulation with Blucher, was sharply answered, "You want to make a defence? Take care what you do. You well know what license the irritated soldiery will take if your city must be taken by storm. Do you wish to add the sack of Paris to that of Hamburg, already loading your conscience?" Paris surrendered after a severe engagement at Issy, and Muffling, the Prussian general, was placed in command of the city, July 7th, 1815. It was on the occasion of a grand banquet given by Wellington shortly after the occupation of Paris by the allied troops that Blucher gave the celebrated toast, "May the pens of diplomatists not again spoil all that the swords of our gallant armies have so nobly won!"

Schwarzenberg had in the interim also penetrated into France, and the crown prince of Wurtemberg had defeated General Rapp at Strasburg and had surrounded that fortress. The Swiss, under General Bachmann, who had, although fully equipped for the field, hitherto prudently watched the turn of events, invaded France immediately after the battle of Waterloo, pillaged Burgundy, besieged and took the fortress of Huningen, which, with the permission of the allies, they razed to the ground, the French having thence fired upon the bridges of Bâle which lay close in its vicinity. A fresh Austrian army under Frimont advanced from Italy as far as Lyons. On the 17th of July, Napoleon surrendered himself in the bay of Rochefort to the English, whose ships prevented his escape; he moreover preferred falling into their hands rather than into those of the Prussians. The whole of France submitted to the triumphant allies, and Louis XVIII was reinstated on his throne. Murat had also been simultaneously defeated at Tolentino in Italy by the Austrians under Bianchi, and Ferdinand IV had been restored to the throne of Naples. Murat fled to Corsica, but his retreat to France was prevented by the success of the allies, and in his despair he, with native rashness, yielded to the advice of secret intriguants and returned to Italy with a design of raising a popular insurrection, but was seized on landing, and shot on the 13th of October.

Blucher was greatly inclined to give full vent to his rage against Paris. The bridge of Jena, one of the numerous bridges across the Seine, the principal object of his displeasure, was, curiously enough, saved from destruction (he had already attempted to blow it up) by the arrival of the king of Prussia. His proposal to punish France by partitioning the country and thus placing it on a par with Germany was far more practical in its tendency.

THE SECOND TREATY OF PARIS (NOVEMBER 20TH, 1815)

This honest veteran had in fact a deeper insight into affairs than the most wary diplomatists. In 1815 the same persons as in 1814 met in Paris, and similar interests were agitated. Foreign jealousy again effected the conclusion of this peace at the expense of Germany and in favour of France. Blucher's influence at first reigned supreme. The king of Prussia, who, together with the emperors of Russia and Austria, revisited Paris, took Stein and Gruner into his council. The crown prince of Wurtemberg also zealously exerted himself in favour of the reunion of Lorraine and Alsace with Germany. But Russia and England beholding the reintegration of Germany with displeasure, Austria, and finally Prussia, against whose patriots all were in league, yielded. The future destinies of Europe were settled on the side of

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England by Wellington and Castlereagh; on that of Russia by Prince John Razumowsky, Nesselrode, and Capo d'Istria; on that of Austria by Metternich and Wessenberg; on that of Prussia by Hardenberg and William von Humboldt. The German patriots were excluded from the discussion, and a result extremely unfavourable to Germany naturally followed: Alsace and Lorraine remained annexed to France. By the second Treaty of Paris which was definitively concluded on the 20th of November, 1815, France was merely compelled to give up the fortresses of Philippeville, Marienbourg, Saarlouis, and Landau, to demolish Huningen, and to allow eighteen other fortresses on the German frontier to be occupied by the allies until the new government had taken firm footing in France. Until then, 150,000 of the allied troops were also to remain within the French territory and to be maintained at the expense of the people. France was, moreover, condemned to pay 700,000,000 francs towards the expenses of the war and to restore the *chef-d'œuvres* of which she had deprived every capital in Europe. The sword of Frederick the Great was not refound: Marshal Serurier declared that he had burned it. The Invalids had in the same spirit cast the triumphal monument of the field of Rossbach into the Seine, in order to prevent its restoration. The alarum formerly belonging to Frederick the Great was also missing. Napoleon had it on his person during his flight and made use of it at St. Helena, where it struck his death-hour. On the other hand, however, almost all the famous old German manuscripts which had formerly been carried from Heidelberg to Rome, and thence by Napoleon to Paris, were sent back to Heidelberg. One of the most valuable, the Manessian Code of the Swabian Minnesingers, was left in Paris, where it had been concealed. Blucher expired, in 1819, on his estate in Silesia.^d





CHAPTER VII

ASPECTS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CULTURE

The German plains were the scene in which all nations engaged in mortal conflict. Situated in the centre of Europe, and too much divided into separate dominions to be able then to repel aggression by their native strength, the German states have alternately been the prey of internal discord and the theatre of external aggression. Such a state of things is inconsistent with the growth of a national literature, which, though it is often stimulated by the excitement and passions of war, can take root and flourish only amidst the tranquillity and enjoyments of peace. Religious freedom was extinguished in Germany by the victory of the White Mountain near Prague, and it never acquired domestic peace till the victories of Eugene and Marlborough had tamed for a season the ambition of France, and those of Frederick the Great had secured the independence of northern Germany.

That science had made great progress during the Middle Ages in Germany, the land which gave the art of printing and the discovery of gunpowder to the world, need be told to none at all acquainted with these subjects; and on the revival of letters she took an honourable place both in scholarship and the exact sciences. The country of Scaliger and Erasmus will ever be dear to the lover of classical literature. But the intellect of Germany at this period, bred in cloisters and nourished by the study of classical literature or the exact sciences, was entirely of a learned caste. Its productions were, for the most part, written in Latin, and addressed only to scholars. Its national literature did not arise till the middle of the eighteenth century.—ALISON *b*

THE development of literary life in the eighteenth century was accomplished in ascending line; in it we can distinguish three grades, each of which rises considerably above its predecessor. The first division reaches to 1750; the advance which was already traceable in the last decades of the seventeenth century continues in this period, individual retarding elements do not succeed in stopping the progress of the development. In the centre of the second division, which lasts till the beginning of the seventies, stand the first three of the six great new high-German poets, of whom Klopstock bestows on German poetry a forcible turn of poetic expression and elevation of sentiment; Lessing, fine logical arrangement of language and consistent sequence of thought development; Wieland, perfect grace. Then, after a short process of fermentation,

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the new German poetry enters under Herder's guidance on the highest stage of its development, the age of Goethe and Schiller.^c

In the second half of the eighteenth century, poetry, science, the entire intellectual and literary life of the nation received such a mighty impetus that the productions of the Germans, whether in the field of the imagination or of mental activity, ranked with those of the English and French. In fact, they were often in advance in respect to depth, versatility, and genius. Men of the highest talents in various directions entered new paths, and, partly by attacking and vanquishing superannuated errors, prejudices, and false ideas, partly by inspired creations in the field of poetry or science, laid the foundations for a height of culture almost unequalled in modern history. Germany also lived through an epoch of reforms and revolutions, in which, however, the only weapons were those of the intellect, and where the highest goal to be striven for was the idea of culture and the refinement of humanity. Poetry and the taste for art progressed most rapidly of all, so that poetic culture stood at the head; philosophy and religion were allied with poetry; imagination and sentiment, the true foundations of poetry, were also carried over into the realm of science. The greatest minds of the nation devoted their talents to poetry.^c

KLOPSTOCK AND WIELAND

Far before German contemporary poets stands the German Homer, Klopstock. He it was who, by the powerful influence of his *Messiah* and his odes, established the supremacy of the antique taste; not, however, in defiance of German and Christian associations, but rather to their advantage. Religion and patriotism were with him the highest of all conceptions; but, in reference to the form in which they should be exhibited, he considered that of ancient

Greece the most perfect, and thought that he could unite the greatest beauty of substance with the greatest beauty of form by praising Christianity and Germanism when attired in the garb of Greece: a strange error, certainly, yet one which arose very naturally from the strange character of the progress of social development which characterised his age. It is true, indeed, that England exercised a considerable influence upon Klopstock, for his *Messiah* is a mere pendant to Milton's *Paradise Lost*; but Klopstock must not, on that account, be called a mere imitator of an Englishman; the services which he performed in behalf of German poetry are as peculiar as they are great. He repressed, by means of his Greek hexameters and with other Sapphic, Alcaic, and iambic classical metres, the French Alexandrines and doggerel verses which had hitherto been in vogue.



KLOPSTOCK
(1724-1803)

But Klopstock did more than this: though in form a Greek, he was, and wished to be, in spirit a true German; and he it was who introduced that patriotic enthusiasm, that reverence for everything German, which against all the new fashions that have arisen since his time has never disappeared, but, on

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the contrary, has often in its opposition to everything foreign been carried to an unjust and absurd height. However strange it may at first sound to near him, the child of the French peruke period (*Peruckenzeit*), styling himself a bard in his Alcaic verses, thus commingling heterogeneous periods, the modern, the antique, and the old-Teutonic, yet this was the commencement of that proud and manly confidence which urged on German poetry to cast off its foreign fetters and to lay aside that humiliating attitude which it had preserved even after the Peace of Westphalia. It was indeed necessary that someone should come who could smite his breast with his hand and exclaim, "I am a German!" His poetry, like his patriotism, was deeply rooted in that lofty moral and religious belief upon which such lustre was shed by his *Messiah*; and it was he who, next to Gellert, imparted to modern German poetry that dignified, serious, and pious character which it has retained in spite of all its excesses of fancy and wit.

It was Wieland who transplanted into German woods and Gothic cities the light and graceful spirit of Athens, though not without considerable admixture of the levity and playfulness of the French genius. Wieland combined in his own person the Gallomania and Grecomania. He was brought up in the former; he passed at an after period into the latter; yet he perceived at once the one-sided byway pursued by Klopstock and Voss; he led the Germans from their pompous stiffness back to the successful and easy motions of the graces of France and Greece. The German muse, moving with graceful, cheerful freedom in the days of *Minnezeit* (love-time), attired by the meistersingers in starched linen, disguised in a periwig and hoop-petticoat after the Thirty Years' War, no longer knew what to do with her hands, but continued to play lackadaisically with her fan.^f

Whatever may be the excellences of Wieland and Klopstock, both are essentially writers of the past. This cannot be said of Lessing, the third great German of this period; he is still a living influence. He is, indeed, the only writer before Goethe whom Germans can now read without feeling themselves in a world foreign to their sympathies. Throughout his career he strove to renew and fructify the intellectual life of his nation, and he achieved his aim by important creative activity, and by the clearest, freest, and most drastic criticism of the eighteenth century.^g



WIELAND
(1733-1813)

LESSING

Lessing combined in himself the study and culture of all the schools of his age; so that he passed through the Gallomania, the Grecomania, and the Anglomania, like the sun passing through the zodiac, without sacrificing any of

its freedom, and without inclining either to the right or to the left, but pursuing nobly his own course. In that age of foreign influences and of clashing tastes, great poets could not spring up as from the earth; they had to struggle with herculean strength through a circle of foreign hindrances, which both bewildered them and led them astray; they were forced to open up a path for themselves, by means of a sound, comprehensive, and incorruptible criticism. This was the reason that Lessing combined the critical with the poetical power, that the armed Pallas loved to walk side by side with him! He exercised this criticism in many and various fields—in those of theology, philosophy, philology, the history of art and literature, as well as in that of poetry. He opposed the unlicked rudeness, the gross fanaticism, and the spiritless pedantry of a cold faith, in his celebrated controversy regarding the *Wolfenbüttele Fragmente*, in which he avoided falling into the extreme of complete unbelief, as his excellent *Nathan* shows.

He exercised a no less important influence upon the rise and progress of profound comprehensive study and also of a better taste in philology; and, through his intercourse with Winckelmann, upon the revival of the fine arts. As soon, however, as he directed his attention principally to poetry, he became the true Hercules Musagetes, the vanquisher of all the remaining fragments of the Gallomania, and of all the prolixity and tedium inseparably connected with it, as well as the trusty Eckart before the Venusberg of the modern sentimentality and poetical licentiousness—to which, however, the gates and doors have, since his time, been opened. If we examine what relation he bore to the older and younger schools of his day, we find that he always saw the faults which they committed with the clearest eye, and pointed them out in the most decided language. No one could point out with such far-reaching acuteness as Lessing the difference between the true antique and its French caricature; and to him are the Germans indebted for being the first to purify their stage from the starched French Alexandrines and, above all, their language from its turgid and bombastic style. Even before the appearance of the Grecomaniacs, before Voss or Klopstock, Lessing had entered the lists; he was, however, far from making common cause with them. He did not rescue the antique from the French bombast merely to give it up to the German pedants. The Grecomania was as disgusting to him as Gallomania—a fact which he never attempted to conceal.^f

HEINE ON THE WRITERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Lessing was the literary Arminius who freed our theatre from foreign rule. He demonstrated the vanity, the absurdity, and the bad taste of those imitations of the French drama which themselves had followed the Greek. But not only by his criticism was he the founder of a modern German original literature, but by his own works of art as well. This man followed all intellectual tendencies, all phases of life, with enthusiasm and disinterestedness. Art, theology, archæology, poetry, dramatic criticism, history—all were pursued by him with the same zeal and for the same end. In all his works lives the same great social ideal, the same progressive humanity, the same religion of reason of which he was the John the Baptist and of which we are still looking for the Messiah. He preached this religion always, but unfortunately he was often alone and in the desert; and, besides, he did not possess the art of turning stones into bread—the greater part of his life he spent in poverty and want.

That is a curse which weighs on nearly all great spirits among the Germans, and perhaps will not be abolished except by political liberty. Lessing was politically inclined more than anyone suspected, a characteristic which is

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found in none of his contemporaries. Only now do we perceive what he meant by his despotism of twelve in *Emilia Galotti*. In his day he was regarded only as a champion of intellectual liberty and as an opponent of clerical intolerance, for his theological works were easier to understand. The fragments *Ueber Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, which Eugène Rodrigue has translated into French, may perhaps give that nation some idea of the comprehensive breadth of Lessing's intellect. The two critical works which have exercised the greatest influence on art are his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* and his *Laokoon, oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*. His most prominent dramatic works are *Emilia Galotti*, *Minna von Barnhelm*, and *Nathan der Weise*.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was born at Kamenz in Lusatia on January 22nd, 1729, and died at Brunswick on February 15th, 1781. He was a complete man, who, while he attacked the old with his disastrous criticism, at the same time created something new and better. "He was," says a German writer, "like those pious Jews who were often disturbed by the attacks of the enemy while they were building the second temple, and who finally fought with one hand while they built on the house of God with the other."

Another writer who worked in the same spirit and for the same ends and who may be called Lessing's direct successor, was Johann Gottfried von Herder, who was born at Mohrungen in East Prussia in 1744, and who died at Weimar in Saxony in the year 1803.

Although Lessing gave a mighty blow to the imitation of the borrowed French Hellenism, he himself, by pointing out the real works of art in Grecian antiquity, created in a way a new kind of foolish imitation. By his opposition of religious superstition he advanced the sober desire for enlightenment which spread in Berlin and which had its chief organ in Nicolai and its arsenal in the General German Library. The most deplorable mediocrity then began, more stubbornly than ever, to show itself, and emptiness and vanity puffed themselves up like the frog in the fable.

One is very much mistaken if one believes that Goethe, who had already appeared at that time, was as yet universally recognised. His *Gotz von Berlichingen* and his *Werther* were hailed with enthusiasm, but so also were the works of the most common bunglers, and Goethe was given only a very small niche in the temple of literature. As has been said, the public received the *Gotz* and the *Werther* with enthusiasm, but more on account of the subject matter than because of artistic excellence, which almost no one knew how to appreciate. The *Gotz* was a dramatized cavalier romance, and that variety was popular at the time. In the



G. E. LESSING
(1729-1781)

Werther, people saw only the elaboration of a real story, that of the New Jerusalem, of a youth who shot himself for love and thereby made a great deal of noise in that absolutely still period. People read his affecting letters with tears; it was noticed that the way in which *Werther* had been removed from a titled society had increased his disgust with life; the question of suicide

made the book still more talked about; at this suggestion a few fools hit upon the idea likewise to shoot themselves. The book, through its subject matter, had the effect of a thunder-clap.

Wieland was the great poet of the day, with whom no one could compete except perhaps Mr. Ode-poet Ramler in Berlin. Wieland was worshipped idolatrously more even than Goethe at any time. The stage was ruled by Iffland with his noisy, bourgeois dramas, and by Kotzebue with his stale attempts at wit.⁷

STURM UND DRANG

Borrowing the title of a drama of Klinger, a title extremely characteristic of the German poetry of that period, the historians of literature named the age of Lessing's pioneer work—which began with *Minna von Barnhelm* at the end of the Seven Years' War and extended to the classic purification which followed the collaboration of Goethe and Schiller, after the return of Goethe from his Italian journey and at the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution—the period of *Sturm und Drang*.

The starting point of this period is Herder; its zenith and centre, Goethe; its conclusion, Schiller. With Herder are associated, as isolated workers, Gerstenberg and Schubart. To Goethe succeed his pupils Lenz and Klinger, and their companions Muller and Heinse. Between Goethe and Schiller stand the members of the Göttinger society—Bürger, Voss, and their companions. Finally, side by side with the men of Sturm and Drang, calmer natures appear, such as Iffland and other dramatists; Hippel and others in the sphere of romance.

The common characteristic of the *Stürmer* and *Dränger* consists in a sovereign contempt, or at least in relegation to the background, of all rules of art, and in the delight of employing a language vaunting itself the direct outflow of a genius which has felt superior to all formal restraint. This language must be as abrupt, rough, and strong as possible; especially must it recall in its expressions, comparisons, and antitheses the striking speeches and counter speeches in the popular and carousal scenes of Shakespeare. Thus only the overgrowth was borrowed from the great Briton; his refinements and delicacies were departed from as much as possible. An especial enthusiasm was expressed for Rousseau's love of solitude and hatred of civilisation, though the poets did not make what is classical in this writer—his enthusiasm for nature—their own. Besides this there were numerous echoes of Klopstock, Wieland, and Lessing; further, and this is one of the chief merits of the *Stürmer* and *Dränger*, a revival was accomplished of the old German folk songs and popular humour, and a joyous reception given to the genuine and pseudo-popular poetry of foreign peoples, to which the Ossian craze especially belongs. The keynote is given by the numerous conceits and fancies of the poets themselves, and also by distinct and bold allusions to reprehensible deeds committed by those rulers who were inimical to the people and freedom. *Emilia Galotti* early sounded this note. The Sturm and Drang period was really a whirling thunderstorm in the rising German poetry, and an impulse towards freedom away from the restraint of rule and from foreign models, towards the popular development of conditions in the fatherland.

As patriarch of the *Stürmer* and *Dränger* we mentioned Johann Gottfried Herder. Both as poet and philosopher he took for his first model the Genevan apostle of freedom, Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose influence over him he however showed in a thoroughly independent fashion. He began his poetical activity by directing his attention to the popular poetry of all nations, without considering its stage of development, with this object he undertook wide and profound studies on the history of poetry. With a courage worthy of

[1767-1780 A.D.]

recognition in a theologian, he logically placed the miraculous tales of the Old Testament among great national poems, and thus set Hebrew poetry on the same basis with that of other nations. Thus Herder became a pioneer in popular poetry, as was Lessing in more artificial poetry, though Herder was as little or less a born poet than was Lessing. From this, his most important work in the poetic field, proceeded his *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, that ever-beautiful song book of the human intellect. A worthy companion to this is his later edition of the Spanish romance of the *Cid*. It was Herder who first made Indian poetry known in Germany (with the *Sakuntala*); and he was the first who turned his attention to Shakespeare in a penetrating and critical fashion, not merely as a man seeking a model. His own poems, on the other hand, of which the unrhymed *Legenden* were the best known, are purely scholarly, without any enthusiasm or imagination.

There is little more of the Sturm and Drang spirit to note in Herder's work, except in some of his lesser critical and æsthetic writings; he had his influence on the period which bears that name, through his labours in collecting and assimilating the unformed poetry of early ages.

There was more of the Sturm and Drang spirit in Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg, who went side by side with Herder as forerunner of that epoch and who was born in 1737 at Tondern in Schleswig. First a Danish officer and then a publicist in Holstein, it was as the latter that he began to give vent to his independent views of literature as early as 1766. Amongst these those on Shakespeare's works were of importance. He entirely rejected any judgment of this great poet which was based on the standards of the ancients, and would not even countenance the designation of his works as tragedies and comedies, since these antiquated appellations did not suit them; he called them only "living pictures of moral nature," and thus claimed for them, so greatly did he honour their author, a peculiarly individual and plastic character. Lessing besought him not to fling away utterly, in his enthusiasm for modern form, the laws of French tragedy and the classic tradition; but in 1767 Gerstenberg gave a practical illustration of his views in the tragedy *Ugolino*, suggested by the episode in Dante's *Hell*. This was wholly in the spirit of Sturm and Drang, causing wild agitations in the heart of the reader or listener by unchaining all the terrors of a death caused by hunger and despair. The fundamental idea of tragedy was ignored in sovereign fashion: the guiltless suffer a cruel death without any object except that of the most pitiful private revenge. That unrestrained titanic force from which the flower of the German classics has since blossomed was already dominant. The poet was



HERDER
(1744-1803)

silent after this youthful feat, except for some extremely insignificant productions having relation to music and philosophy. He did not die till 1823.

In the same wild spirit in which Gerstenberg wrote, Christoph Daniel Friedrich Schubart, who was born at Obersonthem in 1739, not only wrote but lived. After having attended the schools at Nördlingen and Nuremberg and the University of Erlangen, he came as a teacher to Geisslingen in 1763, but in 1769 was music director at the court of Ludwigsburg, where he led a frivolous existence and whence he was expelled in 1773 on account of a satire on the duke of the country. After fitful wanderings he wrote in Augsburg the journal called *Deutsche Chronik*, whose tone was in favour of patriotism and enlightenment, but with which he had to flee to Ulm. Scarcely had he begun a more steady existence here than the despotic duke, Charles of Würtemberg, had him enticed into his territory and placed in the fortress of Hohenasperg, where he spent ten years and temporarily lost his reason. After his liberation from the tyrant he was restored, gave himself up to a useful life, and died in 1791. An unbridled poetic impulse glows and flashes from his *Ahasver* and his *Fürstengruft*. He struck the popular note in his *Kaplied*, whose subject, indeed, was extremely lugubrious, namely, the sale of some hundred Swabians by the affectionate father of their country to the Dutch East India Company.

After these forerunners, after this stormy dawn, rose that man who, in the total development of a universal genius, became first the pride of the Sturm and Drang period, later the ornament of tranquil classicism, and finally, in old age, the ironical leader of romanticism. Thus Goethe lived through three periods of German poetry as a poet of the foremost greatness.¹

THE COURT OF WEIMAR

The town of Weimar has played a brief but glorious part in the history of Germany. For fifty years it was "the dwelling-place of the muses," as the phrase still ran in the days when Duke Charles Augustus was reigning.

What was the town? One of its historians defines it in these terms: "If a hundred years ago anyone had opened a statistical work at the article *Weimar* he would have found something like this: a small town on the Ilm with a ducal palace; presents nothing worthy of note; at some distance a hill with a *Lustschloss* called Belvedere; a little farther the park of Eittersburg devoted to the chase." The author of these lines might have added: population, seven thousand; houses built of wood with high roofs, blackened by time; streets unpaved, no industry, the country ill-cultivated, ruined by wars. Such was Weimar.

Among the personages who assisted to render the town illustrious we must first make mention of the duchess dowager, Amalia. A daughter of the house of Brunswick and niece of Frederick II, she had been married in 1756 to the duke of Saxe-Weimar. She was then seventeen years old; two years later she was left a widow in difficult circumstances. She succeeded at first in removing from her country the traces of the ravages of the Seven Years' War; then she turned her attention to the education of her two sons. What particularly distinguished her was a great desire to learn, a natural curiosity whose eagerness age did not diminish. She summoned Wieland from the neighbouring University of Erfurt and confided to him the education of Prince Charles Augustus. Wieland was the earliest of the illustrious writers whom the hospitable little city united, and it was thanks to him that Weimar first became a kind of asylum for German literature.

The spirit of this amiable writer held sway at the court of Weimar when Goethe arrived there. The principle adopted was that of enjoying life peace-

[1773-1775 A.D.]

fully; wisdom was made to consist in avoiding all excess; ceremonial was gladly waived. The society was composed of a few dames of honour and a few court functionaries whose official employments were not burdensome. They read French and German verses; they improvised comic scenes; they obtained diversion from masquerades; they amused themselves with disguises and with petty intrigues of an uncompromising character; they told each other about the reviews; Wieland's *Merkur* enjoyed great credit. The Epicurean philosopher who was soon to take rank among the first German writers by his poem of *Oberon* was the worthy president and the inspiring soul of this society. There was a little theatre at the castle like the theatre at Versailles. French operas were chiefly given there, but there were also a few German plays. Wieland's *Alceste* was represented in 1773, a courtier named Schweizer having composed the music. These were amateur performances, but soon appeared real artists. The tragedian Eckhof spent some time at Weimar with his company. Corona Schroeter, the Leipsic singer, and Amalia Kotzebue, sister of the writer, arrived later. In short, it was a world of gentle animation, where absence of etiquette drew the various classes together, and where poets, artists, courtiers, amateurs lived in a sort of community of noble aspirations and delicate enjoyments.

At Weimar the distance between the princes and the poets, between patrons and patronised, was too small for the former to endeavour to exact flattery and the latter to offer it. Besides, similarity of tastes drew all together. Sometimes the duchess Amalia, who was a musician, collaborated with a composer or a poet for the arrangement of an interlude or lyrical play. The principal court functionaries all had some special talent which was utilised for the common entertainment, and some have left a name in literature.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS AND GOETHE

At the moment when Goethe and the young duke, the latter of whom had just been married, arrived at Weimar towards the end of the year 1775, they were already friends. Goethe had not yet laid aside the turbulence of his early years, and Duke Charles Augustus was not less impetuous than he. They came at first like two disturbing elements into the calm and elegant group amongst whom the aged Wieland was supreme. "The duke was then very young," says Goethe in his *Conversations with Eckermann*; "he did not know to what use to put his forces, and we were often on the point of breaking our necks. To ride over hedges, ditches, and rivers, wear himself out during whole days going up and down mountains, to spend the night under the open sky, camping near a fire in the wood—such were his tastes. To have inherited a duchy was to him a matter of indifference, but he would have liked to win it, conquer it, take it by storm."

With so much energy of temperament and such a desire to distinguish himself, what could he do in the duchy of Weimar? Charles Augustus recognised that even there he had a part to play. He surrounded his throne with men illustrious in the sphere of intellect, and Germany is not less indebted to him than if he had been a Charles V or a Frederick II. Charles Augustus, says Goethe again, was born a great man; he had many of the essential qualities of a prince: he knew how to distinguish merit; he sincerely desired the happiness of mankind; finally he was gifted with a species of divination which made him discover by instinct the course to be taken in difficult circumstances. Thus after a few years expended in follies he turned his attention seriously to the welfare of his state, and Goethe was then his adviser and almost his associate in the government.

Some historians maintain that his residence at Weimar was a bad thing for

[1775-1794 A.D.]

Goethe, that the years which he consecrated to the government of a petty state might have been more usefully employed for German letters. But Goethe had in him an irresistible bent towards risking all the chances of life, and plunging into it again even after deceptions and sufferings—a need to act and to let himself go which often turned him aside from his path and interrupted the poetic vein, but which also stimulated it and incessantly augmented the resources of his mind. For Goethe one thing was superior even to art and poetry, and that was life.



GOETHE
(1749-1832)

If we consider that the desire to do good should be natural to great minds and that all was inchoate in the duchy of Weimar, poor as it was in itself and further impoverished by the last wars, we shall understand how the government may have tempted Goethe. Moreover, he governed only as much as he wished, being sure that the least of his reforms would be accepted, and not fearing to compromise a crown by too much negligence or too much zeal.

In the midst of his life as an official and diplomatist, what became of the poet? The poet in Goethe was not dead, but slept, and when the hour should come was to awake. Even in the midst of the labours which seemed least in accordance with his true vocation, Goethe did not forget what Germany expected from him. All the literary group from the banks of the Rhine,

whose centre had been suddenly shifted, was attracted by him to Weimar. Klünger, the brothers Stolberg, Merck, came one after another, though without taking up their permanent residence there. Lenz himself came there to perpetrate a few extravagances. Finally Herder was appointed chief preacher at the court, in spite of the orthodox party.^p In 1786 Goethe left Weimar in order to travel in Italy, whence he did not return till June, 1788.^a

Meantime another power was rising at his side, a poet younger by ten years; this was Schiller, who had just made himself known by his drama of *Don Carlos*. What were to be the relations between the two poets? Were they to be rivals like Corneille and Racine, Voltaire and Rousseau? On the contrary, they were to be united, after 1794, in a close friendship which was often to be a collaboration, to which the one would bring the fruits of his experience, a genius already matured and tried; while the other on his side would contribute ardour, life, passion, a soul enamoured of all ideal things and filled with all noble ambitions. Goethe was to be a guide to Schiller, but in return he would receive from him a new impulse and as it were a second youth.^p

THE REACTION AGAINST RATIONALISM, GOETHE

The struggle against the shallow rationalism in state, religion, and literature is the distinguishing mark of the literary constellation at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies of the eighteenth century. In religion itself this rationalism threatened to explain away the fundamental ethical truths of Christianity; consequently, in those who opposed it, as Claudius,

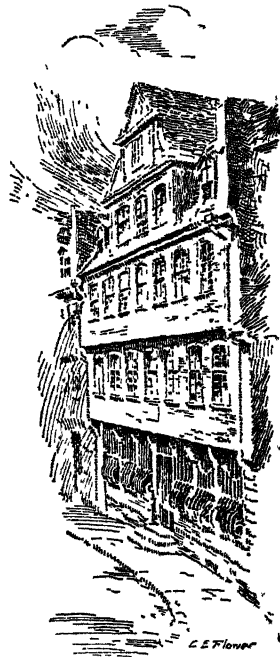
[1770-1774 A.D.]

Hamann, Lavater, Fritz Jakobi, and to a certain extent in Herder also, we find an enthusiastic belief. In the political world an opposition was asserting itself against the enlightened despotism which in its government was not guiltless of treating historic growths in arbitrary fashion; in this it was opposed by Justus Moser. In poetry, finally, resistance was made to the restriction of rules. From the darkness of rationalism, so proud of the products of its own age, the eye turned back to the idealistic enlightenment of the nation's past; the merits of the old German architecture, the poetry of the sixteenth century were again recognised.

The intellectual guide, as we have seen, was Herder. It is wholly in Herder's spirit that the young Goethe soars, when life and love have once freed his genius from the bonds of an art which, though he exercised it with inimitable grace, was still conventional. With what marvellous harmony this, the most fertile spirit that Germany has produced, was developed from the storm and stress of his youth to the highest perfection, so that his life became the greatest work of art—to paint this would take too long. A stranger to no human feeling, accessible to every form of emotion, but yielding to none against his will, he has described his personal life, the joys and sorrows of his own existence, as poetically as the great questions which stir all humanity. Imbued in youth with the robust tone of the German art of the sixteenth century, influenced in manhood chiefly by the antique, in his old age attracted by the meditative poetry of the East, in face of these various influences he still preserved his independence, and if the ancient ideal of beauty best corresponded to the pure harmony of his intellect, yet he did not allow himself to be ruled by it, but created it anew in the German spirit.^c

SCHLEGEL ON GOETHE AS A DRAMATIST

Scarcely had Goethe in his *Werther* put forward something like a declaration of the rights of feeling against the restraint of social conditions, than he offered a poetical protest in *Götz von Berlichingen* against the bonds of all arbitrary regulations by which dramatic poetry had been limited. In this drama we see, not imitation of Shakespeare, but the enthusiasm excited by one creative genius in a kindred spirit. In the dialogue he continued Lessing's principle of naturalness, only with greater boldness; for, besides the verse structure and all elevating adornment, he also rejected the laws of a literary conception of speech to a degree such as no one had ventured on before him. He would by no means have any literary circumlocution; the representation must be the thing itself. And so with sufficient illusion, at least for those who are unacquainted with the historical monuments in which our ancient forefathers themselves speak, he sounded in modern ears the tone of a distant age. He has expressed the old German true-heartedness in the most touching fashion, the situations indicated with a few strokes have the most irresistible effect, the whole has a great historical import, for it represents the conflict between a vanishing age and one that is just beginning, of the century of rude but strong independence, and the succeeding one of



THE GOETHE HOUSE
Frankfort-on-the-Main

political tameness. In this the poet had no regard at all to the presentation on the stage, but rather appeared to defy its insufficiency with youthful arrogance.

In the main it was Goethe's object above all so to work as to express his genius in his writings, as to bring new poetical life and stir into the age; the form was indifferent to him, though he generally preferred the dramatic. At the same time he was a warm friend of the theatre, and at times worked according to its demands as determined by custom and the taste of the day; as, for example, when he produced in *Clavigo* a bourgeois tragedy in Lessing's manner. This piece has, in addition, the defect that the fifth act does not harmonise with the others.

Later on he sought to reconcile his own artistic views with the customary dramatic forms, even the subordinate ones, almost all of which he went through in individual attempts. In his *Iphigenia* he expresses the spirit of the ancient tragedy as he had conceived it, especially from the side of tranquillity, clearness, and ideality. With like simplicity, genuineness, and noble delicacy he wrote his *Tasso*, in which he turned an historical anecdote to the general significance of the contrast between court life and poet life. His *Egmont* is again a romantic historical drama, whose style hovers midway between his older manner in *Gotz* and that of Shakespeare. *Erwin und Elmire* and *Claudine von Villabella* are, I might say, idealistic operettas, so light and airy that the only danger is lest they should become heavy and prosaic through musical accompaniment and acting; in them the noble and restrained style of the dialogue in *Tasso* alternates with the daintiest songs. *Jery und Bately* is a most charming nature picture in Swiss manners and in the spirit and form of the best French operettas, while on the other hand *Scherz, List, und Rache* is a true *opera buffa* full of Italian *lazzi*. *Die Mitschuldigen* is a rhymed comedy in bourgeois manners, according to the French rules. So far did Goethe carry his complaisance that he produced a continuation to an afterpiece of Florian, and impartiality of taste so far as to translate some tragedies of Voltaire for the German stage.

The *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*, an extremely witty satire on Goethe's own imitators, inclines to the comic caprice and fantastic symbolism of Aristophanes, but it is a discreet Aristophanes in refined society and at court. Long before this, in some amusing stories and carnival plays, Goethe had made the manner of honest Hans Sachs entirely his own. We recognise the same free and powerful poetic spirit under all these transformations, to which may be applied the Homeric lines on Proteus:

First he is a lion with fearful, rolling mane,
Then flows down as water and rustles like a tree in the storm.

To the youthful period belongs his *Faust*, which was projected early but did not appear till late, and which even in its latest form is still only a fragment, and in whose nature it perhaps lay to remain of necessity always a fragment. It is hard to say whether we are more astounded in gazing upward at the height to which the poet soars, or more overwhelmed with dizziness at sight of the depths which he opens before our eyes. The wonderful folk-story of Faust is a very theatrical subject, and the marionette play from which, according to Lessing, the first idea of the drama was taken, answers this expectation even in the mutilated scenes and inadequate words with which it is represented by unconscious puppets. Goethe's version, which in some points adheres closely to the legend but in others leaves it entirely on one side, intentionally oversteps the dimensions of the stage in every direction. Many scenes are stationary delineations of Faust's inward state of mind and moods, develop-

[1772-1831 A.D.]

ments of his ideas on the inadequacy of human knowledge and on the unsatisfactory lot of mankind in long monologues or dialogues; other scenes, although in themselves extremely ingenious and significant, have the appearance of having only a casual bearing on the matter in hand; many, very dramatically conceived, are only slightly sketched. Some scenes, full of the highest dramatic power and of heartrending pathos—for instance, the murder of Valentin, and Gretchen and Faust in the cell—show that popular effect was also at the poet's command, and that he has only sacrificed it to more extensive objects. He often makes demands on the reader's powers of imagination, he compels him to give his fleeting groups a background of vast moving pictures which no theatrical art can bring before the eyes. In order to raise Goethe's Faust it is necessary to possess Faust's wizard staff and exorcisms. But even with this incapacity for outward representation, much is to be learned in connection with dramatic art from this strange work, both in the plan and execution. In a prologue which was presumably added at a late period the poet explains why in his fidelity to his genius he could not accommodate himself to the demands of a mixed crowd of spectators, and writes what is to some extent a farewell letter to the theatre.

It must be confessed that Goethe does indeed possess much dramatic but not quite so much theatrical genius. He is more concerned with a delicate unfolding than with a rapid external motion. The mild graciousness of his harmonious spirit itself holds him back from seeking a strong demagogic effect. *Iphigenia auf Tauris* is indeed more akin to the Greek spirit than perhaps any poetic work of the moderns composed before him, but it is not so much an ancient tragedy as a reflection of one, an epode; the violent catastrophes of those tragedies here stand only in the distance as a memory, and everything is gently resolved in the depths of the spirit. The strongest, most moving pathos is found in *Elmout*; but the end of this tragedy is likewise entirely removed from the external world into the domain of an idealistic music of the soul.

FAUST

In the Borghese garden at Rome German artists and travellers still show the place where Goethe composed the Witches' Kitchen of his *Faust*. In no work has the poet set forth his own inner life and his human and poetic development to the same extent as in the dramatic work *Faust*. This poem, whose main outlines had been already sketched in the author's earliest youth, and which was completed only a year before his death, drags through the whole of Goethe's long life; hence the great diversity, not only between the first and second parts, but between the different divisions of the first. That in it, however, the utmost beauty that poetic representation can give is set forth with enviable lightness and nobility, and that the poet dives into the depths of human existence in order to charm into the most beautiful manifestations of the world above the most secret things of human nature—on this subject the voice of the world has long since pronounced, only it has not generally been found possible to look with favour on the "spinning and weaving of obscure words round obscure conceptions," which really find their explanation in the profound thought of the idea.

Following the popular legend Goethe has made the figure of Faust the bearer and representative of the ideas of the age, of its intellectual tendencies and strivings, treating him in the first part rather as a personality, in the second more as an ideal conception. In the first part Faust appears as one of those mighty, demon-like human beings of the *Sturm* and *Drang* period, who has penetrated all the depths of knowledge without finding inward content, and, in despair at the deceitful and fragmentary character of all human

knowledge, plays with the idea of releasing himself by suicide from the trammels of the body, which hinder entrance into the inmost recesses of nature and knowledge of the essence of things. Then the Easter hymn awakens the sweet memory of the happy years of innocent childhood, when his soul found tranquillity in faith, and when the satisfaction of the corporeal needs of pure nature was the object of his wishes and effort, and the recollection holds him back from his design: "The tear rises, the earth possesses me again." To re-establish in his inmost spirit his belief in the divine revelation is his earnest aspiration; but as he has already tasted of the tree of knowledge he cannot again return to complete faith. In an attempt "to translate into his beloved German" the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, he begins questionings and now becomes the prey of the evil one, who already in the form of a poodle had drawn wide circles round him. In a compact with Mephistopheles he resigns the future life, resigns theory and speculation in a bold wager, and laying aside the pursuit of knowledge as a fantastic idealism, he turns, rejuvenated, to pursue the joys of life, pleasure in all its manifestations; the intellectual hero Faust follows the path of Don Juan, the hero of the world of sense, but here again without finding satisfaction. How should the solitary idealist, who in a titanic sense of eternity desires to be the whole of humanity, now satisfy himself with the one-sided realism, with a single form of activity? Human happiness, which he hoped to obtain in the possession of the pure feminine being (Gretchen) whom the poet has delineated with so masterly a hand, is spoiled for him by the evil one because it is founded, not on right and virtue, but on sensual human nature.

Gretchen, rent by love and seduction from her modesty and innocence, oversteps the limits of female morality, of childlike piety, of domestic propriety, of social regulations, and abandons herself entirely to the pleasures of forbidden love, whereupon one sin produces another. Her mother is hurried into eternity by a sleeping draught; her brother, the brave soldier Valentin, falls in a night duel at the hands of Faust and Mephistopheles; her own child dies by her hand. Her earthly happiness is gone, she is delivered up to justice as an infanticide; she expiates her misdeed and is admitted to the mercy of heaven. Disordered in intellect, but with the inborn sense of Christian virtue, she disdains flight from prison and is redeemed for heaven, so that in the second part she appears amongst the holy choir of penitents. But Faust's accusing conscience is deafened by the insipid dissipations of the Walpurgis Night on the Brocken.

If the Faust poem is to have a satisfactory solution an attempt must be made to reconcile intellectual freedom and development with the sensuous human nature; for only in this unison of the highest intellectual development with the powerful impulses of pure nature lies the ideal of a perfect human being. To effect this harmonious union and introduce the human being so organised, to make action follow on knowledge and pleasure, was to be the task of the second part of Faust. But neither the numerous continuations which Goethe had himself challenged, but which were nothing but repetitions, nor Goethe's own second part, in which the traces of age and a changed mood are not to be mistaken, can be regarded as successful fulfilments of this task. The idea of the Faust tragedy, in the sense of a symbolic universal human tragedy, cannot be comprehended within the compass of a self-contained work of art.

In *Famulus Wagner*, Goethe has immortalised one of his comrades of Strasbourg and Frankfort—the dramatic poet of wild genius, Heinrich Leopold Wagner, who, like Lenz, gladly posed as Goethe's rival (*Prometheus*. *Die Kindesmörderin*, Gretchen's story translated into the commonplace); and in the delineation of Mephistopheles there hovered before his eyes the picture of the

[1770-1832 A.D.]

Darmstadt professor, Merck, a man whose own writings (novels, translations, critical essays) have won less renown than his influence on Goethe. The fundamental idea of his critical, atheistical judgment on his Frankfort friend culminates in the following expression: "Thine endeavour, thine irresistible tendency is to give a poetic form to the actual; others seek to realise what is called the poetic, the imaginative, and that produces only trash."^e

We cannot better close our short sketch of Goethe than by quoting the masterly words in which Robertson^k sums up the modern conception of this great man:^a

"Never was there a life so rich as his. Not only did he lead German literature through the stormy days of 'Sturm and Drang' to the calm age of classical perfection; not only does he form the end and goal of the movement of eighteenth-century thought, which had begun in England, and become Europeanised in France; but he was able to understand, as no other man of his generation, the new time. He was the spiritual leader of the romantic movement, and he encouraged all that was modern and healthy in the literatures of Europe, which sprang up under the influence of Romanticism. He looked on life, it is true, with the eyes of eighteenth-century humanitarianism; but, at the same time, he showed an understanding for modern conflicts, for modern ethics, for modern ideals in art and literature which made him, in the fullest sense, a poet of the nineteenth century. That Goethe was the most universally gifted of men of letters has long been recognised; but it is sometimes forgotten that he was also the representative poet of two centuries, of two widely different epochs of history."^k

SCHILLER

Schiller, at the beginning of his career, is rooted wholly in the tendencies of the period of Sturm and Drang. His first dramas, founded like the plays of the other Stürmer and Dranger on the conflicts most agitating to men—for example, deadly enmity between blood relatives—are inspired with a warm breath of the love of freedom which is in opposition to all existing winds. As Goethe had been led by the harmonious symmetry of his nature, so Schiller by the stern discipline of his moral personality was brought through the revolutionary ideas of the Sturm and Drang, and contributory to the same end was the influence of Kant's philosophy, to whose significance no one could any longer shut his eyes, and towards which everyone who shared in the intellectual activity of the times had to assume some attitude. A historical piece was found among his first dramas, and his historical studies led him further and further into the domain of historical drama, a form of art which after *Don Carlos* he handled not merely with the genius of a born dramatist, but also with a marvellous historical insight. The grand subjects of his early dramas reappear in his later pieces, as well as his enthusiasm for



SCHILLER
(1759-1805)

[1781-1804 A.D.]

liberty, but both are enlightened and purified, and in the time of the greatest dismemberment he appears in *Wilhelm Tell* as the prophet of national unity. In the realisation of this object the thoughts and words to which he gave utterance and which found an enthusiastic echo had no small share.^c

Schlegel on Schiller as a Dramatist

Schiller wrote his first works while he was still very young and unacquainted with the world which he undertook to depict, and, although an independent genius and bold to insolence, he was nevertheless dominated in many ways by the examples of Lessing, Goethe in his earlier works, and Shakespeare as far as he could understand him without an acquaintance with the original.

Thus his youthful works came into existence: *Die Räuber*, *Cabale und Liebe*, and *Fiesco*. The first, wild and horrible as it was, had a tremendous effect, to the complete turning of sentimental young heads. The unsuccessful imitation of Shakespeare is unmistakable. Franz Moor is a prosaic Richard III ennobled by none of the qualities which in the latter blend disgust with admiration. The overstrained tone of sensibility in *Cabale und Liebe* can hardly touch us, but it can torture us with painful impressions. *Fiesco* is the most preposterous in its conception, the weakest in its effect.

So noble an intellect could not long persist in such extravagances, although they won for him an applause which might have made the continuance of the infatuation excusable. He had experienced the dangers of barbarism and of an unbounded defiance of all moderating restraint, and therefore threw himself with incredible exertions and a kind of passion into civilisation. The work which marks this new epoch is *Don Carlos*. Though in parts it goes deep into the delineation of character, it cannot yet entirely belie the old boasting monstrosity, which it only clothed in more select forms. The situations have much pathetic force, the plot is complicated even to epigrammatic subtlety, but his ideas on human nature and the social order which he had bought so dear were so precious to the poet that he described them in full instead of expressing them through the course of the action, and allowed his characters to philosophise more or less over themselves and others, so that the size of the work swelled quite beyond the limits of the domain prescribed for the theatre.

Historical and philosophical studies now seemed for a time to lead the poet away from the theatre, to the advantage of his art, to which he returned with an intellect ripened and enriched in many ways and at last really enlightened as to his aims and resources. He now devoted himself entirely to historical tragedy and sought by the renunciation of his own personality to attain to real objective delineations. In *Wallenstein* he worked so conscientiously in accordance with the historic foundation that he could not quite make himself master of his subject, and an affair of no great compass grew with him into two great plays and a more or less didactic prologue. In form he adhered closely to Shakespeare, only he endeavoured to limit himself more in the change of place and time, so as not to make too great a demand on the spectator's powers of imagination. He also paid more attention to consistent tragic dignity, allowed no mean personages to appear on the scene, or at least did not permit them to speak in their natural tone, and relegated the people, in this case the army, which Shakespeare allows to appear with so much life and truth in the course of the story, to the prelude.

With greater art and equally great attachment to the historic foundation, *Maria Stuart* was planned and executed. With a marvellous subject, such as the story of the Maid of Orleans, Schiller thought that he might permit himself more liberties. The last of Schiller's works, *Wilhelm Tell*, is the best ac-

[1755-1790 A.D.]

according to my judgment. Here he has entirely returned to the poetry of history. The treatment is faithful, sympathetic, and, considering Schiller's lack of acquaintance with Swiss scenery and national manners, of marvellous local truth. It is true that in this he had a noble model in the vivid pictures of the immortal Johann Müller.

Schiller was in the ripest fulness of his intellectual strength when an untimely death snatched him away; till then his health, long undermined, had been compelled to obey his powerful will and completely exhaust itself in heroic efforts. He was a meritorious artist in the true sense of the word, one who paid homage to truth and beauty with a whole heart, and who sacrificed his own individuality to them in ceaseless effort, far removed from the petty egoism and the jealousy all too frequent even among excellent artists.¹

KANT

"After Goethe had returned from Italy and Schiller had settled permanently in Jena, German literature seemed, after its 'Storm and Stress,' at last to have arrived at a period of tranquillity. But the classic beauty of the one poet and the noble aspirations of the other might have made little impression on the intellectual life of the nation as a whole, had not other forces also been at work, foremost among which was the philosophy of Kant. This thinker first shook the German people out of their easy-going provincialism, and taught them to appreciate ideals of life and thought as yet undreamed of in the philosophy of the eighteenth century." With these words Robertson² brings forward the great philosopher of the eighteenth century.³

Immanuel Kant, descended from a family of Scottish origin, who during his life was never far away from the environs of his native city of Königsberg, studied there theology, philosophy, and mathematics. In 1755 he became lecturer in the university, and received in 1770 the appointment and salary of professor of logic and metaphysics. At first he was influenced by Newton, the first epoch of his literary work being in the line of natural history, and his *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels* is absolutely a prophecy of Laplace's theory of the origin and continuation of the planetary system.

The change from natural history to logic and metaphysics did not take place until some time in the sixties, and was due to the directing influence of Hume, whose doubts upon the objective validity of the law of causality had made a deep impression on Kant. His researches were no longer in the direction of the theory and natural history of matter, but of the theories concerning the spirit of man.

The epoch-making works in which the results of the latter are shown are *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781; 2nd revised edition, 1787), *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (1788), and *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (1790).



IMMANUEL KANT
(1724-1804)

To these three foundation stones numerous other writings are added which in part serve to complete the system, and in part represent its application in regard to theology, doctrine of laws, ethics, and æsthetics, as, for example, *Die Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, *Zum ewigen Frieden*, *Rechtslehre*, *Jugendlehre*, *Anthropologie*, *Streit der Facultäten*, etc.

With such arguments concerning God and immortality, in fact, with this somewhat meagre definition of religion as "the recognition of all our duties as God's commandments," rationalistic theology began to operate at once, while certain elements of Kant's doctrine of religion which penetrated further, as, for instance, the celebrated chapter *Vom radicalen Bösen*, were disregarded or misunderstood. Not until it was combined with moral philosophy did rationalism attain a settled formation and stronger development, reaching some sort of solidity, comprising more than the usual vague commonplaces and phrases until then in vogue about human happiness and bliss.

Kant's theology is the first to reach true rationalism, while what preceded it might better be termed naturalism or explanatory theology. He himself had been of the opinion that the possibility of revelation could be neither proved nor denied, but he had also said that religion itself ought certainly not to be made dependent upon its acceptance or rejection, since in reality the only standard for judging any religion and any revelation was founded on their moral value. The theology of that time was greatly influenced by his opinions, and thus the *Praktische Vernunft*, with the accompanying *Postulaten*, has become primarily the starting-point of rationalistic thought. Consequently, dogmatic theology put aside all those teachings which contradicted the "autonomy of reason" from an intellectual standpoint (inspiration, for instance) or on practical grounds (as Augustinism), and put everything upon the basis of personal motives. Accordingly, in the domain of history especially, there was introduced in accordance with this view that vaunted "pragmatic method," in whose calculations the weakness and sensuality of the masses, the selfishness and ambition of the priests were raised to the importance of principal factors, and the different religions degraded into cunning contrivances of human cleverness. Even such an excellent work as that of Gottlieb Jakob Planck of Göttingen, *Geschichte der Entstehung, der Veränderung, und der Bildung unseres protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, is still completely dominated by this conception.⁶

Heine's Portrait of Kant

The life history of Immanuel Kant is hard to write, for he had neither life nor history. He lived a mechanically ordered, almost abstract bachelor life in a quiet, retired little street of Königsberg, an old city on the northeastern boundary of Germany. I do not believe that the great clock in the cathedral tower accomplished its daily duties more dispassionately and regularly than its countryman, Immanuel Kant. Getting up in the morning, coffee drinking, writing, giving lectures, eating, going to walk—everything had its appointed time, and the neighbours knew that it was exactly half past three by the clock when Immanuel Kant, in his grey coat, his Manilla cane in his hand, walked out of the door and went towards the little linden avenue which is still called after him the Philosopher's walk. Eight times did he go the length of it back and forth, in all seasons; and if the weather was dark or the grey clouds threatened rain, his servant, the old Lampe, was seen walking behind him in anxious care with a long umbrella under his arm like an image of providence.

Strange contrast between the external life of the man and his destructive.

[1755-1797 A.D.]

world-crushing ideas! Truly, if the burghers of Königsberg had dreamed the full import of this thinking, they would have stood in much more terrible awe of him than of an executioner—of an executioner who kills only men; but the good people saw in him nothing but the professor of philosophy, and when he passed by them at a certain hour they greeted him in a friendly fashion and tamed their watches by him.

But if Immanuel Kant, the great destructor in the realm of ideas, far exceeded Maximilien Robespierre in terrorism, he nevertheless has many similarities with him which suggest a comparison of the two men. First we find in both the same inexorable, cutting, unpoetic, sober honesty. Next we find in both the same talent for suspicion, only that the one exercises it in regard to thoughts and calls it "criticism," while the other directs it against men and calls it "republican virtue." In the highest degree, however, is the type of the petty middle class manifest in both—nature intended them to weigh out coffee and sugar, but fate willed that they should weigh other things, and placed in the scale of the one a king and of the other a God. And they weighed justly.^b

Kant's Philosophy

In the system of Kant, one-sidedness was a characteristic rather of the principle than of its arrangement. He was as many-sided as he could find sides in the culture of the century. His mind was the philosopher's stone of his age. Paying homage to all the tendencies of the mind, he exercised a beneficial influence over all. He raised himself to the summit of that Protestant enlightenment and culture which characterised his whole age. After him it became necessary to fall, partly into one-sidedness, partly into the opposite—into the romantic Catholic element. The pure product of the Reformation, he comprised, in the noblest sense, its good and noble sides, just as at the same time in France the atheistical and material school of scorners fell into the dark side of unbelief and clever immorality. As all the culture which succeeded the Reformation was based upon criticism and empirism, so also was the system of Kant, which consequently had a beneficial influence upon theological exegesis, upon investigation into nature, and upon the inquiries into systems of government and education, and which mutually influenced and was influenced by the modern poetry which, imitating life and nature, had come into vogue after the age of Lessing, Wieland, and Goethe. The universal toleration which, after the death of Frederick the Great, had emanated chiefly from Prussia, the endeavour after a universal culture, the interest taken in everything foreign, the indulgent examination of the views of all parties, the predilection for the analytical methods of procedure, the striving after utility, popularity, and the enjoyment of social life were in the hands of the noble Königsberg philosopher developed and diffused to that great extent for which the eighteenth century was distinguished.

The anthropological and critical method had about this time begun to prevail in France and England. Rousseau's sentimentality, Voltaire's intellectual power, Swift's satire, and Sterne's humour, all appealing to human nature, overthrew old prejudices; these men, with Diderot, Goldsmith, and Fielding, having penetrated into the literature of Germany, the effects which they produced stand in direct relation to the anthropology of Kant. Stiff forms having been cast away, the human heart and the ties of social life having been more minutely examined, delineations of customs, psychological novels, idyls, dramas of domestic life (*bürgerliche Schauspiele*), satires, humorous extravagances were published, in all of which might be traced the echo of the fundamental principle of the Kantian philosophy—the examination of the human heart, humanity, and also attacks upon the false notions of past ages. This

might be called the Flemish school of philosophy, in contrast with the Italian school of the earlier mysticism and the later system of Schelling. This peaceful, happy period, from 1780 to 1790, foreboded nothing of the storm produced by the mad enthusiasm of the French Revolution, of the fortunes of the empire, and of the ultramontanism of the Restoration: prosaic, accommodating, prejudiced, and provincial, it saw a short world-historical idyl, which was, as it were, an interlude to be succeeded by a great tragedy; Kant was the ruling genius during this domestic peace of that good old period.

JACOBI

Jacobi, though proceeding upon a principle opposed to that of Kant, arrived at the same result. Kant addressed himself to those in whom the intellect was predominant; Jacobi to those in whom the sentiments: both, however, to the educated, to men imbued with the spirit of the humanity and social culture of the eighteenth century.

Everything connected with Kant and Jacobi belongs essentially to the culture of the eighteenth century, to that culture founded by the study of the classics, and that humanity promoted by a universal peace. The new century, in which the ideas of Fichte and Schelling began to supersede those of Jacobi and Kant, was disturbed by the political spirit of the age and by the revival of the ancient romantic and mystic spirit.

FICHTE

Fichte, as the representative of the French Revolution, or rather of its echo in Germany, forms the transition of the romanticists. He came immediately after Kant, as the stormy period from 1790 to 1800 succeeded the peaceful one from 1780 to 1790. The transition from the moral system of Kant, which, though no less pure, is moderate and tolerant, to that of Fichte, which is haughty, nay tyrannical, may be taken up here. Fichte's system can be properly explained only from the revolutionary spirit of his age and from the circumstance that the aim of that revolution, at least in the imagination of its originators, was to erect a utopian republic of virtue. Men were seized with a strange enthusiasm. They dreamed of a supreme moral order of the world, of a universal republic of free and equal citizens, all thoroughly honest and moral. Fichte had the same end in view. It is evident that he investigated the moral principle of revolutions more profoundly than any other philosopher.

Fichte, being altogether a moralist, all his works relate to real life; yet they are written in such a learned way that no one who does not belong to his school can understand even his *Addresses to the German Nation*. This bold and ardent mind longed for the dictatorship and terrorism of virtue. Opposing absolute virtue even to heaven, he would not permit it to accept the guarantee of religious authority. Succeeding generations were to be rendered independent of every adventitious support, by a giant-strong principle that "that alone exists, which man does; that alone deserves to exist, to which he compels himself by the power of his will; and that alone can man wish, which becometh his independent Ego: honour to himself, justice to all!" Fichte's highest position—"Ego is God"—was unfolded to the world by Novalis, in that stupendous anthropomorphism which we have hitherto rather gazed at than comprehended, in his posthumous works. He added a second position, "God wills only gods" (*Gott will nur Gotter*), so that the world appeared to

[1800-1821 A.D.]

him nothing less than a republic of gods; we must at least confess that Novalis, considering himself, in the sense of this system, as really a god (though only a poetical one) and king of the universe, has made the whole world the scene and object of his poem, in a more comprehensive manner than any of those poets who preceded him.^f

SCHELLING AND HEGEL

To Fichte succeeded Schelling, with whom the return of philosophy to religion and that of abstract studies to nature and history commenced, and in whom the renovated spirit of the nineteenth century became manifest. His pupils were partly natural philosophers, who, like Oken, sought to comprehend all Nature, her breathing unity, her hidden mysteries, in religion; partly mystics, who, like Eschenmayer, Schubert, Steffens, in a Protestant spirit, or like Görres and Baader, in a Catholic one, sought also to comprehend everything bearing reference to both nature and history in religion. It was a revival of the ancient mysticism of Hugh of St. Victor, of Honorius, and of Rupert in another and a scientific age. Nor was it unopposed: in the place of the foreign scholasticism formerly so repugnant to its doctrines, those of Schelling were opposed by a reaction of the superficial mock-enlightenment and sophistical scepticism predominant in the foregoing century, more particularly of the sympathy with France, which had been rendered more than ever powerful in Germany by the forcible suppression of patriotism. Abstract philosophy once more revived and set itself up as an absolute principle in Hegel. None of the other philosophers attained the notoriety gained by Schelling and Hegel, the representatives of the antitheses of the age.¹

Hegel, the Prussian philosopher, first gathered his ideas on the state into a system in 1821, in his *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, published in Berlin. At the head of it he put, so to speak, his much-quoted and seldom-comprehended proposition, "Whatever is reasonable is real, and whatever is real is reasonable." It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that by "real" is not meant that which concretely exists here or there, but that which is worthy of reality in order that the proposition may have meaning. To make it appear as a glorification of the reaction is simply ludicrous, for the revolution was also repeatedly "real." In spite of the absolutism then prevailing in Prussia he had the courage to declare the constitutional monarchy to be the true form of the state, as being the rational medium between the absolute monarchy and an absolute republic. He did not even reject the sovereignty of the people if it did not conflict with the sovereignty of the monarch. He recognised three authorities: the princely, as individual representatives of the state; the ruling, whose members, the officials, represent the middle classes; and the legislative, in which the people as a whole found expression. Hegel had, however, no great opinion of the people, and designated it as that part of the state which did not know what it wanted!²

While the different sections of Hegelians opposed each other, Schelling developed the later phases of his system; and thought was turned into a new channel by Herbart, whose psychological work has been carried on at a later time by Lotze.

SCHOPENHAUER

Arthur Schopenhauer, although his chief book was written in the lifetime of Goethe, did not secure a hearing until long afterwards. German philosophers have, as a rule, been utterly indifferent to style, but Schopenhauer's prose is

[1783-1809 A.D.]

clear, firm, and graceful, and to this fact he owes much of his popularity. He expressed bitter contempt for his philosophical contemporaries, and, going back to Kant, claimed to have corrected and completed his system. His main doctrine is that will is the fundamental principle of existence; but his importance arises less from his abstract teaching than from his descriptions of the misery of human life. History seemed to him but a record of turmoil and wretchedness; and there is high literary genius as well as moral earnestness in his graphic and scornful pictures of the darker aspects of the world.^o

JEAN PAUL RICHTER

The first rank among the authors of humorous romances is taken by Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, of Wunsiedel in Franconia, whose works, since they are the exact reflection of his inner life and his little confined world of feeling, are only comprehensible in the light of the author's own history and course of development. Having grown up in quiet provincial solitude, and in the poor circumstances of a provincial pastor without society and school, Jean Paul was left to his lively childish imagination and his rich world of feeling; thus was produced in him that bias towards a narrow and peaceful existence which accompanied him throughout life, and which, allied with the sensibility and warmth of feeling in his nature which never lost the character of youth, gives the tone to his writings. At the school at Hof he made rapid progress and already began to put together copious notes and to cultivate in himself the passion for the details of erudition. When he was about to attend the University of Leipsic, the death of his father reduced him to great poverty and compelled him to earn his living, at one time as a tutor, at another as a writer in the small establishment of a poor mother.

He now read principally such books as were congenial to him, especially Rousseau's works, which had the greatest influence in determining the direction of his mind; he absorbed whatever answered to his nature and his fashion of thought and feeling, and by one-sided studies arrested a progressive development and transformation of his mind such as we perceive in Schiller and Goethe. He modelled his whole life in the circle of thought and feeling proper to youth; and the omnipotence of fine feeling, the enthusiasm and craze for ideal conditions, which are predominant in youth and which in him existed in an extraordinary degree, were transferred to his writings. In them we find those principles of a lofty virtue, that feeling for the innocence and purity of early years, that elevated conception of friendship and love, and that violent pressure towards freedom which exhibit themselves in noble youth. This ideal world of his with its lofty characters stands in glaring contrast with the reality, and the presentation of this contrast forms the foundation of all Jean Paul's romances, which consequently bear a double character: the humorous, when they pursue the outer world with mockery and irony, but also penetrate the height and depth of human existence with a sun-clear insight; and the idealistic, inasmuch as the heroes are depicted as the models of all perfection and purity of soul. His later works indeed reveal an attempt to conquer the innate hostility and to reconcile the opposing principles, but he could not attain to the harmonious and beautiful human ideal of Schiller and Goethe.

Of action Jean Paul's romances contain little; their chief value consists in feeling and sentiment, and their charm in "miniature painting," in the idyllic description of petty conditions, as set forth in the monotonous life of country pastors, village school-teachers, and officials, or the society of small capitals. His fantastic manner of description, the out-of-the-way knowledge, the obscure images, comparisons, and allusions such as his overwhelming strength of im-

[1789-1809 A D]

agination and feeling and the learning he had amassed placed at his disposal and which are strewn through his pages, have excited against him the prejudice of all men of classic training and attachment to forms and rule.

He is most successful in his descriptions of nature, his landscape pictures, in which mountains and valleys, villages and parks, the quiet daily worship of nature, with sunrises to sunsets, the light and shade and tone of the landscape, are presented with great art and vividness; on the other hand, his love scenes are often mere sentimentality, distilled into the feeling of the heart without any underlying relation to the senses.

The "Poetry of Longing"

Jean Paul's first writings were satirical and show that he was deeply read in Swift. They give evidence of mental disturbance, of discontent with earth, "a dark chamber full of inverted and confused pictures of a fairer world." The small success of these satires led him to the humorous novel, the true field of his activity. In the unfinished *Unsichtbare Loge* we already perceive the vague world of feeling and the touching sentimentality which moves to tears side by side with the wit and humour which waken laughter, a mingling of jest and earnest which forms the characteristic element of the romances of Jean Paul and produces at once sadness and serenity. In the *Hesperus* the softer elements, the delight in the touching and the inclination to linger over human suffering, chiefly prevail. Many have admired this romance most of all, and in it the "poetry of longing" has found its fullest expression, and an inexhaustible horn of plenty full of images and ideas has been poured out over it.

The two next romances, *Quintus Fiacin* and the touching book *Blumen-, Frucht-, und Dornenstücke oder Ehestand, Tod und Hochzeit des Armen-advocaten Siebenkas*, are devoted to the description of obscure life and belong to the order of humorous romances proper. In Siebenkas the poet depicts his own melancholy circumstances from the time when he toiled at his first work in his mother's room in Hof, "crippled and oppressed from within and without, when after many trials he tears himself away, though with a bleeding heart, from every-day life, and soars into the world of poetry." Siebenkas is a true reflection of the discordant nature of the poet himself, "enchanted sensitiveness for the poetry of the apparent commonplace, but morbid and spoilt by fanciful crotchets." But his nature impelled him to unite the diverse and contradictory; consequently we see the poet who possessed so decided a gift for the conception of real life busied in the *Kampanerthal* with philosophic problems, and occupying himself with the knowledge of God and immortality. Jean Paul's personality appears at the fullest in the *Titan* and in the *Fliegeljahren*, which are considered his most important romances. There he depicts with more comprehensive truth "the titanic nature of the age" according to the noble ideal as well as from the monstrous, vitiated side, with exaggeration, but none the less with depth and truth and a grand artistic execution. In these two works the poet appears to have spent the excess of his powers of imagination, and consequently his subsequent writings bring forward little that is new and are more restrained.

A yearly pension received from the prince-primate Von Dalberg, and after the fall of Napoleon from the king of Bavaria, removed from him the anxiety of supplying the means for subsistence which had embittered his earlier life. His last works are scientific in character, but as Jean Paul had no profound knowledge of any science they have little technical value, though rich in brilliant ideas. On the other hand, his idyllic pictures of German home life were warm vindications of the native world of feeling against the inclinations and

sympathies for Hellenism of the Weimar circle, and in the years of the Napoleonic domination and the succeeding reaction Jean Paul showed himself a courageous spokesman for German liberalism and patriotism.^c

THE ROMANTIC SCHOOL

The most important literary movement which originated during the lifetime of Goethe was that of the romantic school, whose leading members at first attached themselves to him, but gradually diverged more and more from his spirit. The rise of the school was in some measure due to the philosophy of Fichte, whose theory of the ego as the principle which freely creates its own world gave new importance to the individual as opposed to law and convention. Schelling still more effectually prepared the way for the romanticists by his poetic treatment of the relations between the mind and nature; and several of his disciples, especially Steffens, worked in the same direction by dwelling on the possibilities of mystery in human life and in the external world. The aim of the romantic school was to assert for modern feeling the right of a freer, more varied utterance than can be provided for it by the forms of classic literature. They were not in sympathy with their own time; they found it tame, prosaic, colourless; and to enrich it with new elements they went back to mediævalism, in which, as they conceived it, daily life had not been divorced from poetry. They drew enthusiastic pictures of the Middle Ages, of the charms of chivalry, of the loyalty of each class to the class above it and to society as a whole, of the devout piety which was supposed to regulate the conduct of prince and peasant alike, and which revealed itself in splendid architecture and a gorgeous ritual. With a like purpose the romanticists pointed to oriental life, and began the serious study of Sanskrit and Persian poetry. The chief writers whom they opposed to the classical poets both of antiquity and of modern times were Shakespeare and Calderon, but they also brought to light many mediæval authors who had previously been neglected, and stimulated the Germans to a systematic study of the whole of their past literature.^d

In a conversation between Eckermann and Goethe the old master, impatient with the alluring pretensions of romanticism, exclaimed, "I call classical that which is healthy, and that which is sickly, romantic." This title he would have applied to the works of the Swabian school, indulgent as he was to the first attempts of Uhland. They were, however, a pleasing apparition, these simple songs, natural and true, which were correct without seeking elegance, near to the people in their familiar style and the freedom of their language; it is true it was poetry of the second order, lacking sublime inspiration but the better preserving the taste for national memories and higher things in the class to which it appealed; for it required, to understand them, only a little intellectual culture united with feeling. They knew how to take from the romantic school all that was truly "healthy," leaving to it only its exaggerations and its faults. Goethe himself modified the excessive severity of his first judgments, and after having treated with more or less disdain the early publications of Uhland, he rendered him complete justice in his last literary conversations.^d

YOUNG GERMANY

Everyone knows the sway of Hegel's philosophy, how it influenced the highest intelligence, how, in fact, it controlled all Germany. Never had any doctrine gained such a strong position. Hegel combined all the work of German metaphysics, as Goethe represented all poetry since Klopstock. At last

[1830-1840 A.D.]

the higher poetry and the systems of the thinkers, for some time separated, could now meet. The unity of Germany was already formed in spirit: it was but necessary for this unity to be projected into the real world—to enter into active life after having exhausted all degrees of contemplation.

There now appeared a literature, light, frivolous, lively, which took its frivolous grace as an evidence of social liberty and looked forward to the best results.¹ This school was known as "young Germany," which played its part for several years with alternate periods of success and defeat. In the mean time, while the poetry of the preceding epoch was reduced to dust, the high philosophy of Hegel was demolished by the men who boasted of having rendered it accessible to all—much more accessible, indeed, as one could henceforth walk on its débris. This party called itself the "young Hegelian school." They were as hot-headed and unmanageable as their predecessors had been droll and affected. These were the ultra-revolutionists; more than one violent execution signaled their advent, and that the pretended Girondists of "young Germany" did not all perish is due to their elegant frivolity, which saved them.

HEINE

An unexpected event now occurred: one of the writers who most influenced young Germany, Heinrich Heine, joined with a brilliant manifestation the group of political poets. It was he who had commenced and hastened this moral revolution. With what irony, with what cavalier lightness he interpellated the serious philosophy at that time still so imposing! How laughingly he undermined the foundation of the edifice! He had no system, no definite intention; the political parties were not yet formed; his muse was often but a bird that whistling in the branches mocked at everything. Before this spirit of jest and mockery the old society fell; there commenced a rapid change which Heine could well believe was due to his influence.

It may well be believed that Heine's entrance into the camp of the belligerents was greeted with varying sentiments. The surprise was great at first, followed by fear and joy, pride and inquietude tempering each other. Heine was truly the poet of the new generation. Since the school of Uhland had waned, the author of the *Buch der Lieder* had monopolised popularity, and as audacious frivolity had already taken the place of serene spirituality, the poetry, capricious and scoffing, which broke forth on each page of this brilliant book suited marvellously this hostile disposition and helped to spur it on. Meanwhile, in 1840, Herwegh, Hoffman, and their friends held Germany with their political songs. Heine seemed surpassed and perhaps already forgotten, when with one bound he rejoined them; he threw himself into the mêlée, and by the unexpected evolution of his fantastic thoughts he troubled and disquieted his new friends as much as he caused fear among his adversaries.²

Heine was a product of romanticism, from which he severed himself much more thoroughly, however, by his self-ridicule than Chamisso, Ruckert, and Platen. The objective irony of the old romanticists became subjective with him; as they juggled with the outer world, so he with the ego, which contemptuously shed its own heart's blood.

Heine has become with Börne one of the founders of a new political controversy in the same way in which his book on the romantic school was the forerunner of a new critical history of literature; although scientific only to so small a degree and so filled with frivolity, it yet contains many passages of

[¹ It will be obvious that in what follows we are not adhering to the strict limitations of our chapter. But the period under discussion cannot well be marked off by arbitrary dates.]

[1817-1844 A.D.]

beauty and truth. Meanwhile, in all his prose works he affected a great love for France, while he railed at Germany, not with the anger of love, like Borne, but in the language of an insolent boy. We now come to Heine's poetical works, and naturally those of the earlier, the German period. The first works of his still youthful muse contain *Das Buch der Lieder*, although it did not appear until 1826. The earliest period, 1817-1821, is entitled *Junge Leiden*. Almost immediately Heine's demon grins at us from the most sentimental and touching descriptions. Ghastly visions of death, the grave, and the devil betray an overwrought imagination and the influence of the romanticists, which latter, however, soon disappears. With the *Lyrisches Intermezzo* (1822-1823) appeared those pretty little poetic thoughts so peculiar to Heine, as though he intended to tease the world with them, as *Im wunderschönen Monat Mai*, etc.; but very soon these alternate with shrilly laughing frivolity, or trivialities which again have a thrilling conclusion, as the well-known *Es ist eine alte Geschichte*, etc., and finally appear the trivial endings of sentimental beginnings in the real Heine manner.

Grand and solemnly grave, however, are the *Nordsee Gedichte* (1825-1826), except a few particularly coarse Heineisms. Some fragments which if carried out might have turned out admirably are the *Florentinische Nächte* and the *Rabbi von Bacharach*. Heine's tragedies of 1823, *William Ratcliff* and *Almansor*, which revel in horrors and are evidently unfinished, were not favourably received; they are strongly reminiscent of Byron.

Heine's second poetical period began in 1841 with *Atta Troll: ein Sommer-nachtstraum* (which appeared in 1843). This comic epic poem contains the story of a bear with interspersed literary maliciousness and various indecencies, in which, however, the cleverness of the metre and its wittiness must be admitted. To this succeeded (1844) *Deutschland: ein Wintermarchen*, in the preface of which Heine spoke a word in praise of Germany—that is, if he was in earnest about it! The poem relates a winter journey of Heine's to Germany, and, in spite of its frequently most trivial language, is excruciatingly funny, and many of the affecting thoughts contained in it are crushed the most by trivial jests. The *Neue Lieder* appeared in 1851. They contain wanton apostrophes to French women of the demi-monde, which give an insight into the amorous adventures of the poet, but are, however, mingled with elegiac passages which recall the German origin of his muse, and also various poems, among which are some romances which are reminders of the best German ones, as for example *Ritter Olaf* and acrimonious *Zeitgedichte*.

In the same year followed *Romancero*, a collection of romances and ballads, in which the Heine-esque note of triviality and self-ridicule is predominant. Yet here also are found truly poetical strains, as, for example, the touching song of the Silesian weavers. An annihilating scorn pervades the satire on a certain poetry-making king and on the Polish counts in Paris. As an appendix to *Romancero* the *Neueste Gedichte* appeared in 1854.¹

RAPID GROWTH OF LITERATURE IN GERMANY

Such is a brief account of certain aspects of German literature of the period. Its merit and importance will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected that it has been entirely the creation of a century. Unlike the literature of Italy, which sprang up during two hundred years on the revival of letters, or of France and England, which have slowly evolved during the mental struggles of three centuries, it has all been produced by the mental effort of one or at most two generations. No long line of illustrious men marked its progress: they all sprang up at once, as Minerva fully armed from the brain

[1851-1854 A.D.]

of Jupiter. This circumstance is very remarkable, when the great extent and variety of literary excellence in Germany is taken into consideration; and it is fitted to inspire the most consolatory belief in regard to the permanent nature of human progress. Goethe says that the human mind is constantly advancing, but it is in a spiral line; and it may be added that in a spiral the curves are alternately in light and shadow. The annals of his own country afford the clearest proof of the truth of the observation. To appearance, the German mind was entirely dormant during the long winter of the Middle Ages; but on the return of spring the ceaseless progress appeared; it sprang up at once, like the burst of nature after an arctic winter. The luxuriance of intellectual vegetation which thus broke forth teaches us that, even when apparently lifeless, the human mind is incessantly acting; that it is during the long period of repose that error is forgotten and prejudice dies out; and that, under circumstances where reason might despair of the fortunes of the species, the beneficent powers of nature are incessantly acting and preparing in silence the renovation of the world.

MUSIC

No other art is so indebted to distinctively Teutonic influences, no other art has been so civilised and dignified by the German minds and by the German temperaments as music. A special office of the Teutonic soul seems to be the bringing of intellect to bear on all those things for which it possesses emotional receptiveness and creative power. It is true that this very tendency sometimes ties down the wings of Pegasus and dulls the lyre of this or that muse. Sensuous beauty can be the less in its being Germanised. But we can forgive the turgidness and clumsiness that come often as if in an intellectual extreme, when we think of Peter Fischer, of Albrecht Dürer, of the architects who have built the Cologne Cathedral or St. Stephen's, and of that sparkling galaxy of musicians whose names are peculiarly linked to Austria—Haydn, Mozart, Gluck, Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms; and of the more strictly German group that shows us as central figures Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, Weber, Schumann, and Wagner.

It is through a subtle appeal to the very core and essence of human nature just as it is, just as we meet it daily about us, as we know it to be struggling or repressed in our very selves, in our heart of hearts, that the German school has so influenced music. Its voice is the voice of mystical humanity in us, and something more. Haydn, Mozart, Gluck, Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert, and Brahms have not degraded music in relation to our merely artistic ideal of it. They have not laid violent hands on it as art, and wrested it away from its earlier mysteriousness. They have brought it near to us by a wonderful natural gift and insight. But they have made music psychologically as nearly an articulate and organic thing as it is possible to make it.^a

The imitation of nature is not the object they pursue—it is ideal beauty to which they aspire; and it is the incessant striving after that elevated shadow which is the real cause of the greatness which they have attained. It is to this that is to be ascribed the extraordinary perfection to which they have brought the art of music, the one of the fine arts which has the least relation with the wants or appliances of present existence. Mozart and Beethoven stand alone in this respect; even Italian music must yield to the variety of their conceptions, the brilliancy of their expression, the pathos of their sentiment. It is the constant effort to express the ideal which has produced this excellence. "The impression," says Madame de Staël, "which we receive from the fine arts has not the smallest analogy to that which imitation, how perfect soever, produces. Man has in his soul

[1705-1824 A.D.]

innate feelings, which the real will never completely satisfy; and it is to these sentiments that the imagination of painters and poets has given form



BEETHOVEN
(1770-1827)

and life. The first of arts—music—what does it imitate? Yet of all the gifts of the Divinity it is the most magnificent, for the very reason that it is the most superfluous. The sun gives us his light; we breathe the air of a serene heaven; all the beauties of nature tend in some way to the use of man; music alone is of no utility, and it is for that reason it is so noble and moves us so profoundly. The farther it is removed from any practical application, the nearer it is brought to that secret fountain of our thoughts, which is always only rendered more distant by its application to any practical object."

Beethoven

Beethoven is by common consent, and the universal opinion of the best judges, put at the very head of composers of his epoch. Sublimity and variety are his great characteristics; he is

the Michelangelo of music. Like that great master of painting, his conceptions are vast and daring, and his powers equal to their full expression. He is essentially, and beyond any other composer, sublime; but, like Milton, he knows how to relieve intense emotion by the awakening of softer feelings, and none can more powerfully thrill the heart by grandeur and melt it by symphony. Music in his hands exhibits its full powers and takes its place at once where Madame de Staël has assigned it, as the first of the fine arts, the most ethereal in its nature, the most refining in its tendency, the most severed from the grossness of sense, which penetrates at once, like a sunbeam from heaven, into the inmost recesses of the soul. Beethoven's pieces, however, like Milton's *Paradise Lost* or Michelangelo's frescoes, are not adapted for ordinary capacities nor are they calculated to awaken universal admiration. They are too complicated for an uninitiated ear, which is always most powerfully attracted by simplicity and melody. Beyond any other of the fine arts, the pleasure of music is felt by the most illiterate classes; you cannot see a military band go through the street without perceiving that. But a scientific education and no small proficiency in the art are indispensable to a perception of its highest excellences, which none feel entirely but such as are themselves capable of expressing them.



MOZART
(1756-1791)

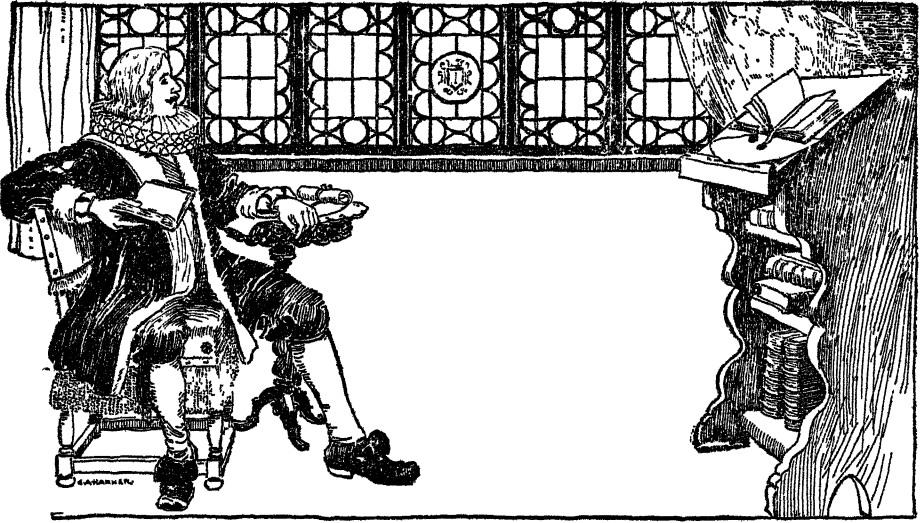
Mozart

If Beethoven is the Michelangelo of music, Mozart is its Raphael. Not less than that divine master of the sister art, his inmost soul was filled with the mysterious harmonies, the thrilling thoughts, which, emerging, as it were, through the chinks of thought, fill the minds of all who feel this influence with sympathetic rapture. They throw the mind for a few seconds or minutes into a species of trance or reverie, too enchanting for long endurance, which affords perhaps the nearest foretaste which this world presents of the joys of heaven. It is the peculiarity of the highest efforts and most perfect productions of the fine arts alone to produce this ephemeral rêverie, and when it is awakened it is the same in all. The emotion produced by the *Holy Family's* of Raphael is identical with that awakened by the symphonies of Mozart, and akin to that which springs from the contemplation of the Parthenon of Athens, or reflection on the *Penseroso* of Milton. Mozart had the very highest powers; but though gifted with the faculty of producing the sublime, he inclined, like Schiller, to the tender or pathetic, and never moved the heart so profoundly as when his lyre rang responsive to the wail of affection or the notes of love.

Haydn

Haydn was a very great composer, but his character was different as a whole from either Beethoven or Mozart. His conceptions were in the highest degree sublime; human imagination never conceived anything more lofty than some bursts in the *Creation*. They have rendered into sound with magic force the idea, "Let there be light; and there was light." If a continued comparison is permitted to the great masters of the pencil, he was the Annibale Carracci of music. Like him, his powers were great and various, but he aimed rather at their display than the expression of genuine heartfelt feeling. Not that he was without sentiment, and could not, when he so inclined, give it the most charming expression; no great master in any of the fine arts ever was without it. But it was not the native bent of his mind; that led him rather to the exhibition of his great and varied powers. His reputation with the world in general is perhaps greater than that of Beethoven, because there is more simplicity in his compositions; one key-note is more uniformly sounded, and a single emotion which can be shared by all is more effectively produced. But for that very reason he is less the object of impassioned admiration to the gifted few to whom the highest powers and deepest mysteries of the art are familiar, and who know how that great master could wield the former and penetrate the latter.^b





CHAPTER VIII

THE LATER DECADES OF FREDERICK WILLIAM III

[1815-1840 A D]

The chief trouble with the Holy Alliance was, that it regarded the people as a senseless flock, to be driven by whatever measures the allied rulers might suggest. The treaty proved practically to be a dead letter, nor was even the brotherly concord of long duration. But liberal ideas were in the air now, and the strivings of the German people for a generation to come were to be towards their realisation.—HENDERSON

GERMANY AFTER WATERLOO

GERMANY had hoped for three results from the uprising of 1813: the repudiation of the foreign yoke, the creation of a united people, and the introduction of a constitutional form of government.

The French dominion was successfully repudiated, not, it is true, to the fullest extent as the most enthusiastic patriots had desired, but in a considerable degree as men of moderate views had hoped, even as early as the close of 1813. At that time there existed a wide-spread inclination to rest content with the right bank of the Rhine, and to abandon to the French the entire district extending along the left bank, including Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) and Worms. The inhabitants of these districts would not have been dissatisfied with this arrangement on the whole. But the patriotism of a Blücher and a Stein could not endure so yielding a policy, and E. M. Arndt's pamphlet, *The Rhine Germany's River, not Germany's Boundary*, gave expression to the contrary inclinations of those who had decided against it. This danger was averted by the advance into France; but the wish to win back Alsace also miscarried in 1814 as well as in 1815, although at the Second Peace of Paris, German, and more

[1813-1814 A.D.]

particularly Prussian diplomacy put in a strong and well-grounded claim to it. It was frustrated principally through the desertion of Austria, although Germany was prepared to further special Austrian interests even to the extent of making the archduke Charles the future governor of the country.

But the policy displayed by Metternich in relation to the reconstitution of the German states was even more prejudicial. When in February, 1813, Alexander and Prussia swore to the alliance of Kalish, they thought they could set aside all the German princes who merely depended on the fate of Napoleon, particularly those in the confederation of the Rhine, and promised the people a constitution founded on the purest German elements in the national character. At that period a Prussian empire was not far from the thoughts of those who had taken the oath, but this was soon thrust into the background. In consequence of Austria's co-operation in the anti-Napoleon alliance, all prospect of it faded so completely that even before the battles of Katzbach and Dennewitz the three allies had agreed as to the impossibility of restoring Germany to the rank of an empire. Austria, acting as an independent power, went even further, by the Treaty of Ried assuring complete and unconditional independence to Bavaria (October 8th, 1813); and similar treaties followed with Würtemberg and Baden, Frankfort and Fulda.

Naturally Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Oldenburg, and other states could no longer be withheld from their exiled princes, and the continuance of the innumerable German principalities was assured, before ever the Rhine was crossed.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION

In such circumstances it was far from easy to find any constitution which would give to the German people more than the merest semblance of united political action. To endeavour to establish this was the task of the German commission at the Vienna congress, chosen from Austria, Prussia, and the principalities. Of course they did not occupy themselves with the fantastic plans which dilettante patriots had hatched—for instance, with Görres' idea of again raising Austria to the imperial dignity, whilst the Prussian ruler should at the same time be made king of Germany. The groundwork upon which they built was rather an idea of Stein's proposing a supreme directory for the federated countries, consisting of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and Hanover; the assembly of the confederation to be formed of representatives of the princes and diets collectively. Direct revenues, as, for instance, border taxes, were allotted to cover the expenses of the federal body, which moreover guaranteed to all its members definite political rights.

These proposals on the part of Prussia (dated September 13th, 1814) were opposed by twenty-nine small states, probably not, however, because the propositions went too far, but rather because they did not go far enough. On the 14th of November they declared that a universally acknowledged sovereign head was needed to rule over the German nation, and that they in their departments—*viz.*, the several divisions—would be ready to bear their share in the making of laws and the settlement of taxes.

It is true that the originators of this declaration in a measure laid themselves open to the suspicion that by these amplifications of the more moderate demands of Prussia they desired to defeat the latter, particularly in the question of the directory; but in the main there is no doubt that they were in earnest. However, from the outset there was no chance of their being able to enforce their demands. The Prussian draft underwent, in the first place, sundry alterations by the advice of Metternich, principally consisting of the removal of its more liberal provisions. On the 16th of October the two great

powers laid the twelve articles before the three princes, who signified their assent.

Accordingly Germany fell into seven divisions—Austria and Prussia making two, and Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Hanover counting as one. This was to be the dominating part, these three taking the lead in the confederation diets, assuming the duty of inspecting the confederate troops, and having the last word in all jurisdiction. They jointly formed the council of the head division and were given the executive power, the right of diplomatic representation, and the decisions as to peace and war. In the matter of law-making they were to be assisted by the council of the divisions formed out of the remaining states and mediatised houses. This plan was unquestionably of purely artificial growth, but as it had an historical foundation and as the force of circumstances pretty well tended in this direction, there was hope of its feasibility. Opponents, however, appeared on every hand. Metternich himself was the first to throw obstacles in the way. At any rate his faithful supporter F. Schlegel sowed broadcast a doggerel poem in fourteen stanzas, intended to sting the small states. There was not much wit discoverable in them, though some obscure and tolerably gross rhymes upon Prussia might pass for it.

The small states retorted with the address of November 14th already mentioned. But the most violent attacks proceeded from the secondary states; Bavaria and Wurtemberg demanding with cool effrontery the same number of votes as Austria and Prussia, and moreover a change in the president. In spite of this, however, they had no intention of renouncing their independent rights in matters of peace and war. Indeed, their impudence went so far that Wrede hinted at French support, and Wurtemberg, on the 16th of November, broke up the sitting.

Upon this, Metternich himself declared most emphatically that it did not lie in the power of any individual prince to settle whether he would or would not join the confederation, and that each one was bound to make any sacrifice which the good of the whole should require from him; but the only answer which the king of Wurtemberg made was that he must persevere in his demand. That answer had the effect of driving the German section out of the sitting, and they never again assembled.

Strained Relations of Austria and Prussia

It is certain that the factor which principally contributed to this result was the increasing tension between Austria and Prussia on the Polish-Saxon question, which led to the secret alliance between Austria, Saxony, France, and England, and to which the secondary states were parties. It was not until this conflict had become somewhat milder in tone that the German question could again be discussed. The impulse was given by an address from thirty-two princes and towns, the "lesser potentates" as they called themselves, demanding a general congress representing all the German peoples. Prussia joined Austria in drawing up two new drafts; in one of which the arrangement of the divisions was superseded, whilst the second assigned to the lesser princes two seats in the upper council chamber, so that these would have nine representatives, without any increase in the number of the divisions.

Moreover, it rigorously maintained the demand that each country should have provinces with minimum rights exactly defined, and that these individual constitutions should come under the jurisdiction of the confederation. Certain fundamental privileges, as, for instance, right of emigration, freedom of the press, or suspension of serfdom, should also be provided for in the charter of the confederation.

The Austrian Draft

Besides these Prussian propositions there now appeared two other plans, one from Mecklenburg, which it is needless to particularise further, and an Austrian draft from the pen of Baron von Wessenberg. This latter was in all essentials taken as the basis of the new German Confederation. It gave to all its members absolutely equal rights, including the right to the presidency, assured a constitution to each state severally to be granted within the space of one year, and promised certain fundamental privileges to the entire nation. Whatever secret umbrage Metternich may have taken at this, he none the less declared Baron von Wessenberg's draft to be the more suitable, and revised it to his own mind, William von Humboldt doing the same from the Prussian point of view.

On the 11th of May new negotiations were opened upon these two drafts, and on the 23rd an agreement was arrived at which, whilst it closely followed the original Wessenberg draft, nevertheless evaded most of the more democratic concessions. But the secondary and minor states were at last invited to take part in the conferences. Eleven sittings, from May 23rd to June 10th, were necessary to complete the business. The alterations yet to be made were unimportant, several enlightened applications from some of the smaller states being simply disregarded. Wurtemberg and Baden had taken no part in the councils and refused to append their signatures. It even cost the Prussian delegates a struggle before they decided to sign. They first made a solemn declaration that they had wished to give this charter wider powers and a greater facility and decisiveness in operation, but that it was, after all, better to have for the present a less complete federation than no federation at all, it being reserved for the federal assemblies to supply the aforesaid needs. This was in fact a bill drawn on the future, which could not avail the people much.

Moreover the agreement, according to which the assembly of the confederation was to meet not later than September 1st, 1815, was not adhered to. At first the continuation of the war gave a colourable excuse. Then all questions of boundaries between the different states had first to be settled, and this was no light task. Baden and Wurtemberg took a long time to decide upon belonging to the confederation at all, and at the beginning of 1816 a war threatened to break out between Bavaria and Austria on the subject of the possession of Salzburg. Prussia would have preferred coming to an agreement with Austria, previous to the meeting of the confederation assembly, on the subject of Germany's future military constitution, and on this account showed no disposition to hasten events. Indeed, when in the summer of 1816 the different members gradually assembled in Frankfort, Prussia was among the last. The delegates of the smaller states were obliged to wait with what patience they might till their greater brethren joined them, and the first sitting took place on the 5th of May, 1816, instead of on the 1st of September, 1815.

Naturally, the national interest in the new order of things, which had never, even at the beginning, been very great, was by this time somewhat weakened. However, there had at that time been some high-sounding phrases bandied about which awoke confidence in natures blessed with trustful dispositions, but as no deeds followed these words, the nation fell for the most part into an indifferent and contemptuous mood. As Stein declined the offer of being either Austrian or Prussian delegate at the meetings, on the ground that a strong and sensible development of the constitution was not to be expected, public opinion was convinced that the diet would lead to no result and withheld the confidence demanded from it. This was unjust towards some of the states, and particularly in the case of several of the Frankfort delegates.

[1816 A.D.]

Among the representatives there was more than one who dedicated himself to the task with eagerness and hope, and who worked unweariedly to raise the diet in the eyes of the people and to make it the real axis of Germany's destiny.

But in the case of the greater states and their envoys, it must be confessed that the contrary spirit predominated. Wurtemberg and Baden were dragged into it, so to speak, by the hair of the head, Bavaria and Saxony being almost as unwilling. Between Austria and Prussia the liveliest mistrust existed from the very first, and whilst the Prussian envoy, Von der Goltz, was partly through physical suffering disabled from taking more than a very insignificant part in the proceedings, and remained isolated in the midst of his brother delegates, Count Buol-Schauenstein, the Austrian, sought to unite his interests as closely as possible with those of his colleagues. He succeeded the more easily in that Prussia's never-ceasing purpose was to adjust the military concerns of the confederation in intimate connection with the armies of the two great powers, and to this end kept up negotiations with Metternich. Buol-Schauenstein skilfully allowed just enough of this plan to become known to the other envoys to make them distrustful, and untiringly repeated, on his own faith and that of his emperor, the soothing assurance that they intended to do all in their power to make the confederation strong and self-supporting.

CONSTITUTIONS IN THE VARIOUS STATES

Of popular representation in the diet of the confederation there was of course no question. At the Vienna congress, when the press had already hinted at some hope of the kind, the Prussian plenipotentiary, Wilhelm von Humboldt, expressed the opinion that they were a long way from that. All the more earnest was the desire among those in the diet who occupied themselves with politics that the individual states, at least, should send delegates from the provinces.

The charter of the confederation had indeed promised as much in Article 13, or, as the diplomatists wittily interpreted it, had at least prophesied this; for, out of the provision in the Wessenberg draft that, within one year, in all states included in the confederation a separate constitution should be established, the period mentioned (one year) was at first omitted, and eventually out of the "should be" a mere "would be" was made. The ardour for fulfilment raised by these prophecies was now very different in the different states. It was keen in the south German states, probably not out of enthusiasm for a liberal policy or from strength of conviction, but rather out of a just conception of their special needs. To these states nothing was more certain than the desire to keep themselves free from any interference on the part of the confederation. At this time the assembly was far from being sufficiently strong as an organisation to allow of its making any really dangerous attempt of that kind. For that, the deed constituting the confederation on which they must base all their actions was quite insufficient.

It was meanwhile necessary to lose no time in giving the individual states a weapon in new constitutions strong enough to defend them against future attempts of the kind. The more strongly organised were the separate states in their own division and the firmer their defences, the fewer gaps they would present through which the confederation might gain a footing. That it was this consideration which drove the princes of southern Germany to apportion the constitutions is shown by the time at which they took this step. As soon as the kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg became acquainted with the first Prussian draft of the 13th of September, 1814, and all the rights to Germans vouched for therein, they gave their ministers orders to work out plans for

[1818 A.D.]

new constitutions and to seek alliance from the old provincial estates in order that, after securing their co-operation, they might oppose with effect any further demands.

As this danger became less threatening, their ardour grew less, but they were still cunning enough to adhere to the beaten way, and after a time could not have retreated if they would. Indeed, as the Prussian king took less and less interest in the diet of the confederation, the south German princes felt more and more inclined to foster theirs and thus win an advantage for themselves in public opinion as opposed to the north Germans.

After many years of such preparation, Bavaria gained a constitution for herself on the 26th of May, 1818, Baden following on the 22nd of August, on the lines of the liberal opinions of the day. The grand duke of Baden, further, linked with this an especial purpose. His only relative of equal rank with himself was his uncle, Ludwig—a collateral branch of the grand ducal house, the counts of Hochberg, not being reckoned in the same status. For this difficulty, Austria, in the Treaty of Paris of 1814, had provided for the event of the extinction of the direct line by assuring part of the country to Bavaria. But neither the grand ducal house nor the people were content with this prospect, and the constitution was to become one weapon the more with which to contest Bavarian claims. Thus in its first articles it provided that the counts of Hochberg, raised to the rank of markgrafs of Baden, should inherit.

Whether this decision would really have been of the expected efficacy if other and stronger influences had not come to the help of the hopes of Baden, may be questioned. As a matter of fact, Bavaria, urged thereto by Alexander, resigned her claims after 1818 in exchange for certain concessions and 2,000,000 florins; and after the death of the grand duke and his uncle Ludwig, the latter's half-brother, Leopold I (of the Hochberg line) actually ascended the throne of Baden.

The discussions and strife in Württemberg excited the attention of Germany to an even greater degree than the Bavarian and Baden constitutions. Here, in 1806, the despotic Frederick I, a true prince of the confederation of the Rhine and a warm adherent of Napoleon, had on his own initiative broken up the long-established divisions. Now when, in 1815, he wished to give a new constitution to the country, he had to suffer the mortification of seeing the representative whom he had himself selected refuse his proposal and coolly demand the restoration of the former constitution. In spite of its defects, in spite of its antiquated decisions, it seemed more desirable to the Württembergers to trust to the gradual development of a recognised and well-tryed legal basis than to accept from the grace of a king favours which his caprice might sooner or later revoke.

With such a character as Frederick I this plan was certainly inexpedient, although, in either case, it meant everything to them. But their subsequent conduct appears both unpractical and impolitic; for in 1816, after Frederick's death, when his son William, a broad-minded monarch with true patriotic instincts, through his minister Von Wangenheim laid a very liberal proposal before them, the estates met him with the same persistent refusal.

Their alleged reason was that they must insist on the restoration of the Tübinger agreement, made in 1514. The constitution decreed was given by a trustworthy monarch and was better suited to the time and to their needs than the demands made by the Württembergers, but nevertheless they persisted in their opposition and triumphantly joined in Uhland's verse:

No prince was ever yet so lofty placed,
So high elect above all other men,
That, if the thirsty world for freedom prayed,
He could assuage its thirst by his sole word;

So claiming by his sovereignty alone
To hold the balance of all right and wrong,
And weigh out justice to th' impatient world,
As much, or little, as seems good to him.

King William, in spite of the irritated mood which pervaded the people, did not break off the negotiations; and it was partly owing to his skill, partly to dread on the part of the estates that they might not eventually get back their old and evil constitution even should they succeed in trifling away the new and beneficial one, that on September 26th, 1819, just as the reaction was making itself strongly felt, an arrangement was reached which enabled the country to be included among the constitutional states.

Only two years later, in 1821, a similar state of affairs occurred in Hesse-Darmstadt, but with that the number of states in any way important was exhausted. Of the smaller countries, Nassau, Lippe, Liechtenstein, and the Saxon dukedoms were successfully brought into port. Their constitutions contained in certain ways very peculiar conditions; for instance, in Liechtenstein it was stipulated that the representatives should possess landed estates of a certain value and "conciliatory dispositions."

Saxe-Weimar was ahead of the other minor states; for Charles Augustus, Goethe's friend, was the first German prince who fulfilled Article 13 of the Act of Confederation, since he had conferred a constitution on this little state by May 15th, 1816, and, by the abolition of the censorship and the introduction of freedom of the press, had further practically evinced his liberal views.

THE CONSTITUTION IN NORTHERN GERMANY

In north Germany matters were so fundamentally different that in 1819 Joseph Gorres, a man who, with no great love for the Frenchified south German constitutional forms, was yet willing to see representation introduced into every country, was justified in openly complaining that whilst one half of Germany was afflicted with St. Vitus' dance, the other half was lame with a bad foot.

The constitutions of some of the states might certainly be preserved as curiosities. The royal Saxon provincial diets fell into seven divisions, which never assembled as a whole, but of which two, that of the knightly order and that of the burgesses, were again subdivided after the divisions of the country; so that the public wit might with justice say, the diet were playing at puss-in-the-corner.

In Mecklenburg the government was, as in our own day, well disposed towards reforms; since it actually possessed in one part of its territory (the Domanium) unlimited power; but, as an offset, it was in another part absolutely powerless against the knights and land-owners, who would not hear of any innovation; refusing, for instance, every reform in taxation, because the imposts had been fixed, sixty years previously, for all time. In Oldenburg there was no representation of the people at all; they "preferred waiting to see how the new idea worked in other countries." In Hanover the nobles would have preferred restoration of the fourteen different constitutions which existed before the French régime; but here the government took energetic measures by convening a "general diet," the constitution of which assuredly did not correspond with the legitimate desires of the people, for whilst the nobility were represented by forty-three members the peasant classes had only three representatives. It can hardly be wondered at that the assembly was as reactionary as it could possibly be, refusing to make its proceedings public, objecting to the establishment of a uniformity in coins and measures as in Hanover and scarcely permitting the introduction of an equitable scheme of taxation.

[1817 A.D.]

To go into the constitutions of the remaining north German states would not be interesting. They all shared more or less the antediluvian character of those already described, and in no way showed any liberal tendency; they all clung to the ways of the Middle Ages, favouring the nobility and clergy rather than the citizens, and utterly subordinating the peasants. They were the exact opposite of the constitutions the time demanded—the so-called representative system which was to give to every citizen in the state who was a rate-payer, up to a certain amount, equal voting rights and, therefore, equal influence on the formation of the diet. But at least they fulfilled to the letter the guarantees of the Act of Confederation. In the largest states, even in Prussia, this remained unfulfilled, although by the solemn promise of the king it had acquired a new and higher value. This want was a circumstance which told heavily against Prussia's internal development as well as against her position among the states of Germany.^b

THE WARTBURG FESTIVAL (1817 A.D.)

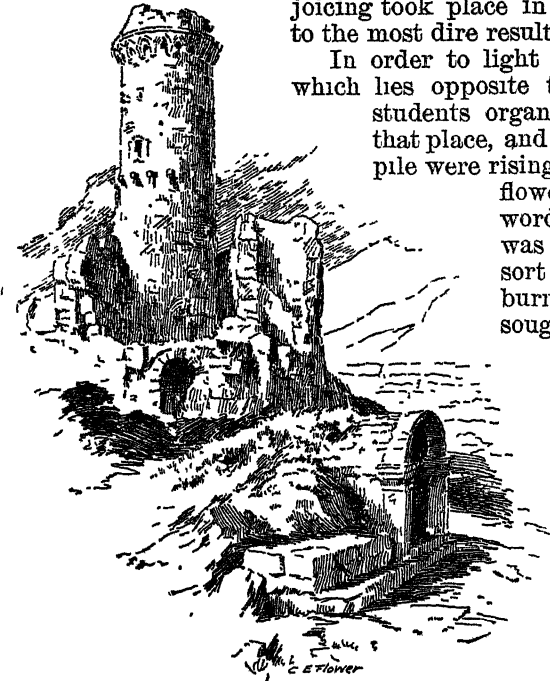
The results of the measures soon showed themselves.^a The new patriotic spirit maintained itself only in the universities. Many volunteers had returned from the camp to the lecture-rooms, where they continued their former adherence to the high-flown ideas of the war of Liberation, and inspired the younger generation with enthusiasm for the same.

"They rejoiced in their reconquered fame," writes Heinrich Zschokke, "and wished to see at least as much liberty and justice for their own people as they had helped to conquer even for a hostile nation. The importance of the times had made them more earnest, more on fire for everything that had to do with German strength, greatness, and freedom. The result was that in the universities, among themselves, they laid aside their former dissolute ways, became more moral, industrious, and religious, adopted the simple dress of the thoughtful Middle Ages, and sought to banish everything strange, which had from the sheer love of imitation become associated with German life." A very important step for the improvement of manners in the universities was taken when they did away with the rude "code of students' law," broke up the different unions which until now had been the cause of endless brawls, and formed one general association of students. The high aim of this new great association was moral and scientific improvement in the service of the common fatherland.

Whilst the transformation of the unions into the association was being effected in the different universities, the year 1817 opened, closing the third century since the beginning of the church reformation. From various sides calls were issued to celebrate this anniversary with as much solemnity as possible, without provoking intolerance against the Catholic church. In Jena the students conceived the idea of the celebration of the secular festival by the entire German Students' Association on the time-honoured Wartburg, and making the same occasion also serve to commemorate the battle of Leipsic. This proposal met with universal approval. Berlin, Erlangen, Giessen, Göttingen, Halle, Heidelberg, Leipsic, and Marburg early sent to Jena their promise to take part in the festival. Thus on the morning of the 18th of October, amidst the ringing of bells, a long procession of students, whom the professors Schweitzer, Oken, Fries, and Kieser joined, wended its way from Eisenach up to the Wartburg. There, in the gaily decorated Knights' Hall, the student Riemann of Jena, a knight of the Iron Cross, made the address of the occasion, in which he exhorted all "to strive for every human and national virtue, and to stand at all times by the great German fatherland." Thereupon Pro-

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Professor Fries turned to those assembled and addressed them, concluding with the words: "Let, therefore, our motto be: 'One God, one German sword, one German spirit for honour and justice!'" Finally Oken also delivered a speech in which he laid especial stress on the idea that concord and patriotism must always be the bond uniting the German youth. The festive procession then descended to the town, where a service was held in the principal church, and the proceedings of the day terminated with a gymnastic display on the market place and esplanade. Unfortunately, another rejoicing took place in the evening, which was to lead to the most dire results.



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF GODESBERG

In order to light a bonfire on the Wartenberg, which lies opposite to the Wartburg, part of the students organised a torchlight procession to that place, and while the flames of the wood-pile were rising high youthful enthusiasm overflowed. Audacious and thoughtless words fell, and when the proposal was made to turn the bonfire into a sort of patriotic *auto-da-fé* and to burn all those pamphlets which sought to check the new ideas, there was loud rejoicing. From all sides pamphlets—or their titles merely—were brought forward: Ancillon's *Sovereignty and Political Science*, Colln's *Intimate Letters*, Dabalow's *Thirteenth Article of the German Act of Confederation* (in which the establishment of a constitution was promised), Von Haller's *Restoration of Political Science*, Janke's *The Cry for a Constitution of the New Preachers of Liberty*, Immerman's *A Word of Reflection*, Von

Kamptz's *Code of the Gendarmerie*, Kotzebue's *History of the German Empire*, and many others were cast into the flames.

This overflow of exuberance would probably not have been generally noticed had not Kamptz, Janke, Schmalz, and a few others made a great commotion over the "utter wantonness of such doings." The high diplomacy seized the opportunity for demanding accurate information from the government of Weimar, and when the report proved unsatisfactory a special embassy appeared at Weimar and Jena in order to take severe proceedings against these "unheard-of machinations highly dangerous to a well-ordered state." A great inquiry was instituted, the association was broken up, a strict censorship imposed, and social life subjected to sharp control. Everywhere a lookout was kept for political agitations, revolutionary attempts, and daring attacks on the dignity of the governments. Thus the movement was invested with a significance entirely foreign to it, while embitterment and a passionate longing for liberty were evoked amongst the young enthusiasts, who began to regard adherence to the association as a sacred duty and a heroic deed. The governments next sought to draw together in closer union, so as to be able to meet the "revolutionary endeavours" more effectually. In the autumn of 1818 a

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new congress met at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), and there the position of Germany was discussed by Metternich, Capo d'Istria, Wellington, Canning, Hardenberg, and Humboldt in the presence of Emperor Alexander, Emperor Francis, and King Frederick William III: not much concerning this gained publicity; it was known only that France had been solemnly admitted into the Holy Alliance.

MURDER OF KOTZEBUE (1819 A.D.)

Metternich showed himself highly pleased at the result of the congress; he had won a great influence over King Frederick William, and now hoped to exert an influence on the intellectual life of Prussia. The opportunity arose sooner than he had dared to hope. The winter was not yet over and a correspondence was still carried on between Vienna and Berlin concerning the measures to be adopted for banishing the evil spirit of revolution, when news spread through Germany that caused the deepest emotion in palace and cottage: August von Kotzebue, the well-known dramatist, had been stabbed on the 23rd of March in Mannheim by a student, Karl Ludwig Sand, and there was no doubt that a political motive was the cause of the crime.

Sand, born at Wunsiedel in Bavaria, had taken part in the war of Liberation, had then joined the association, and had become more and more embittered against the hindrances to a free political life. Carried away by enthusiasm, he determined to awaken his people out of their stupefying sleep by a great deed. Kotzebue had drawn on himself the hatred of all patriots, not only by the malicious defamation with which he persecuted such men as Arndt, Jahn and Oken, but also because he was thought to be a Russian spy. Sand therefore determined to make him the means of giving a warning to his brethren. He travelled on foot from Jena to Mannheim, and stabbed Kotzebue in his study with the words, "Here, traitor to the fatherland!" Then he descended to the street, knelt down, and stabbed himself in the breast, saying, "Long live my German fatherland." But the wound was not fatal; Sand was first taken to the hospital and to prison, then tried, and publicly executed on the 20th of May, 1820.

As soon as Metternich heard of Sand's act he was sure of his game. Immediately he represented to Berlin that passion and violence could be banished only "by severity and fear," and that the organisation of the German Confederation must be completed by a new congress. Prussia immediately consented to the proposal, the secondary states also agreed, and the congress met that very summer (1819) in Karlsbad. Before Metternich appeared at the congress in Karlsbad, he sought to assure himself completely of the king of Prussia; he obtained an audience of the monarch, who was undergoing a cure at Teplitz, and he quickly and completely won him over to his views and principles.

"You have come to visit me in a serious time," said the king on receiving Metternich; "six years ago we had to fight the enemy in the open—now he steals about in disguise. You know that I place every confidence in your views. You warned me long ago, and everything has happened as you foresaw."

The depressed spirits of the monarch were very welcome to Metternich; he replied to the king that the emperor Francis was also of the opinion that the disorder had reached an unheard-of height in Germany, and that it must be dealt with most energetically. Austria was prepared to help Prussia, but the latter must proceed with all severity, according to definite principles.

"You are entirely right," replied the king; "and it is also my desire that during your stay such principles should be laid down as can be carried out

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inviolably. I wish you to lay them down with the chancellor of state, Hardenberg."

"The whole affair depends on one question," replied Metternich. "If your majesty is resolved not to introduce representation of the people into your state, the possibility of help is at hand; otherwise there is none."

"That was already my idea," replied the king. "Try to bind the delegates to the conference by writing."

THE KARLSBAD DECREES

These words sealed the fate of Germany for several decades. In his perplexity and depression the king of Prussia surrendered himself into the hands of Austria; and his chancellor, Hardenberg, who still wished to redeem the promise given to the people, was unconditionally handed over to the Austrian minister. Prince Metternich triumphantly sent word to the emperor Francis at Vienna, and then, certain of victory, appeared at the conference in Karlsbad. Here also he had free play, as Hardenberg's opposition was broken, all his proposals "for the radical cure of the revolutionary spirit" were immediately accepted. They were directed (1) against the "misinterpretation" of Article 13 of the Act of Confederation (concerning the introduction of a constitution); (2) against the insufficiency of the means for maintaining the authority of the diet; (3) against the "acknowledged defects" of the school and university system; (4) against the "abuses of the press", (5) against the "criminal and dangerous agitation to bring about a revolution in Germany."^d

The Karlsbad Decrees abolished the freedom of the press throughout Germany, established a committee of inquiry for the confederation in Mainz to cope with the "demagogical intrigues"—such was the name applied to the still very indefinite efforts towards nationalism and liberty, especially those of the young students—and placed the universities under strict supervision.^e

Nothing has contributed more than these decrees to alienate the peoples and irritate them against princes, governments, and authorities. From such conditions, as Niebuhr prophesied, must arise a state of existence without love, without patriotism, without joy, and full of ill-feeling and bitterness between governments and subjects. Stein expressed himself on the subject of this policy in similar language.^f

In Prussia the immediate consequence of the Karlsbad Decrees was the resignation of several ministers, chief of whom being Wilhelm von Humboldt, brother of the celebrated author of the *Kosmos*. The name of Wilhelm von Humboldt had been intimately connected with the intellectual revival of Prussia; he had been one of the Prussian plenipotentiaries at the congress of Vienna, and subsequently a member of the Prussian council of state; but having become involved in political disputes with Hardenberg he had been sent into honourable exile as ambassador to London.^g

In January, 1819, he was recalled thence to take his place in the cabinet, and as "constitution minister" was intrusted with the direction of the affairs of the estates and communes. During the congress of Vienna the king of Prussia had issued as a "pledge of faith" the famous ordinance concerning the popular representation which was to be brought into existence. In accordance with this, and with the object of creating popular representation, provincial estates were to be organised or restored, and from them the assembly of the representatives of the country was to take its origin. The sphere of activity of the representatives of the country was to extend to the giving of advice on all subjects of legislation which concerned personal and individual rights, including taxation. For the organisation of the provincial estates and

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the representation of the country, as well as for the drafting of the constitutional charter, a commission was to be immediately appointed. In the succeeding years, these promises of a general constitution charter and representation of the estates of the realm were again repeated. The people, especially in the Rhine districts and the other newly acquired territories, demanded with increasing urgency the fulfilment of these promises. Humboldt's recall raised hopes that the work of constitution-making would now be begun in earnest, and it was not his fault that those hopes were deceived.

Although the pursuit of demagogues was already in full swing and the opening of the Karlsbad conference was close at hand, Humboldt had applied himself courageously to his task. Faithful to the principle he had developed in several memorials—that a representative constitution raises the moral force of the nation, strengthens the state, and affords a sure pledge both of its safety in regard to foreign countries and of its progressive development at home—he proceeded to draw up a constitutional charter. An inner committee was formed in the constitutional commission appointed two years before. But it soon became apparent that Humboldt and his views would not be able to prevail, although he modified them to a mere advisory competence of the estates of the realm. The ruling spirit in the ranks of the government, to which even the chancellor Hardenberg submitted, desired only the provincial estates. In this moment came the Karlsbad Decrees, and for the time being there could be no further question of representative government in Prussia. Humboldt designated the decrees as “unnational, disgraceful, calculated to enrage a thinking people,” and proposed their withdrawal, in this he was supported by the ministers Beyme and Boyen, but they were met by an unfavourable response from the king, and the three ministers retired from office.^f

General von Grolman tendered his resignation to Frederick William III because the present times and the sad years he had lived through since 1815 compelled him to do so. The celebrated professor of theology in Berlin, De Wette, was dismissed because he had written a letter of condolence to the unhappy mother of Sand; Ernst Moritz Arndt saw himself entangled in a long investigation during which he was suspended from his office; Gorres fled to Switzerland to avoid annoyances; and Jahn, the founder of the gymnastic clubs, was arrested by night and taken to Spandau, and later to Kustrin and Kolberg, because he was accused of having first taught the highly dangerous doctrine of the unity of Germany. After many years of imprisonment he was at last liberated, but banished for life to Freiburg-an-der-Unstrut. Even Gneisenau was suspected and surrounded by spies, because he had said that the royal promise should be redeemed and the people given the promised constitution. But the government acted most rigorously against the youth of the country; in all the universities extensive persecutions of “demagogues” were started; a great number of students were arrested and put into prison. Everyone who occupied himself with the affairs of the fatherland or publicly uttered the word “Germany” was suspected of being concerned in political agitations, and ran the risk of being suddenly seized and put under lock and key.^g

The inquisitorial zeal led to the most absurd and malicious blunders, and the regular judicial forms were violated in the grossest fashion. The Prussian state newspaper published abstracts of documents which were said to reveal “the existence of a union composed of evil-disposed men and misguided youths, and having branches in several German countries,” a secret confederacy which aimed at creating in Germany a republic founded on unity, liberty, and so-called national spirit, and which proposed to realise its plans by open violence and the murder of princes and citizens.

Similar persecutions took place in other German countries besides Prussia.

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The discovery of the Young Men's League *Junglingbund*, with its vague fantastic projects, which had branches in various universities, gave a fresh impulse to the demagogue hunt and brought a great number of really harmless young men into captivity. The alleged Men's League, which was said to have conspired with the league of the young men, could not be discovered, in spite of every search. A word expressive of a national German patriotism sufficed to arouse suspicion of demagogical tendencies. Vile informers like the notorious Witt von Dorrington found a rich field for labour and reward. But the persecuted members of the students' societies sang in sight of their "ruined citadel" Binzer's mournful, pious song:

The house may fall, what then?
The spirit survives in us all and God is our fortress.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ACT OF VIENNA (1820 A.D.)

The course begun at Karlsbad of eluding the confederation diet was immediately continued. It seemed to Prince Metternich that the work of reaction had not yet been completed, and in particular that the blows struck at the parliamentary constitutions had not been sufficiently severe. All the states of the confederation were now invited to send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to prepare decrees of the confederation on the general affairs of that body. The further development of the confederation, the abrogation of the fundamental law which the Act of Confederation had designated as the first business of the confederation assembly, was accordingly delegated to a conference of ministers, under the eye of the Austrian government. The decisions of the conference were then accepted by the diet, in open violation of form, as the Supplementary Act of Vienna (*Wiener Schlussacte*), and, as the second fundamental law of the confederation, were given the same force as the Act of Confederation (June 8th, 1820). The Supplementary Act of Vienna consists of sixty-five articles, and contains, in three sections, (1) general decisions concerning the constitution of the confederation, the rights and duties of the confederation assembly; (2) rules concerning foreign and military relations; (3) special decisions on the subject of the internal relations of the states of the German Confederation.

The amplification of the main features of the Act of Confederation as contained in this second fundamental law exhibited throughout the reactionary spirit of the times, and there was no attempt to meet the nationalist tendencies of the people. The international character of the confederation, the full sovereignty of the princes was everywhere brought into prominence, and there was no mention of extending the central power where it was a question of satisfying national demands, but only where development in the direction of liberty was to be baulked in the separate states. The Metternichian doctrines concerning the parliamentary constitutions were not indeed fully expounded in the Supplementary Act, but their traces were very plainly visible. The confederation marked out the farthest bounds to which the constitutions might advance in order not to prejudice the first object of the confederation, namely, the maintenance of the monarchical principle; and those bounds were sufficiently narrow.

Thus in the Vienna Supplementary Act it was laid down that as the German Confederation, with the exception of the free cities, consists of sovereign princes, the whole power of the state must remain concentrated in its supreme head, and a parliamentary constitution can bind the sovereign to co-operation with the estates only in the exercise of specified rights. The sovereign princes

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united in the confederation could not be limited or hindered in the fulfilment of their obligations to that confederation by any parliamentary constitution. If the internal peace of any state of the confederation is endangered by resistance on the part of the subjects to the authorities, and the government itself appeals for the aid of the confederation, the assembly is bound to render it the speediest help for the restoration of order. It is further to be insisted on that the legal bounds of freedom of speech shall not be overstepped in a manner dangerous to peace, either in the parliamentary discussions themselves or in their publication through the press.

If the Austrian views did not triumph to the same extent as at Karlsbad, if the articles concerning parliamentary constitutions were confined to vague generalities, if neither the rights of the estates to grant taxation nor the publicity of parliamentary discussion was abolished, yet the growing jealousy was prejudicial to the central states, which in their alarm at the influence of the great powers of Germany also found a support in foreign governments, and in spite of their dread of revolutionary upheavals could not wholly suppress their apprehension of an attack by the confederation on matters of internal politics. In strange contradiction the absolutist articles were here and there weakened by phrases of constitutional complexion, a monument of the wavering, self-conflicting, vague, and insincere efforts on the part of the central courts which really had long since abandoned their liberalism, but still wished to make capital of it in opposing the great powers.^f A spirited comment on the Austrian views and methods is given in a letter written by Vom Stein to the Freiherr von Gagern:^a

DARMSTADT, September 23rd, 1820

In Vienna they have done, it must be admitted, only half the work, and, in their discussions over confederation and the confederation system, have not in the slightest realised "the nation." And then the shuddering and shrinking! We wished earnestly enough for harmony between Austria and Prussia—in the main—but we certainly never wished for such a welding together, such an assimilation of things that resemble one another hardly, if at all, as is represented by the relations now vainly established with the peoples of the different governments. Prince Metternich, a born misleader (*gewohnt zu verführen*), is herein misleading the Prussian cabinet, and so does harm to that and to our own cabinet—indeed to us all. Sit upon me (*Schmahlen Sie mich*) if this is untruth and nonsense *g*

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY ACT

But the provisions of the Supplementary Act, whether advantageous or compromising in outward show, remained on the whole absolutely devoid of serious consequences. During great movements they were ignored or violated without protest; in the hour of reaction they were reaffirmed; in periods of order, when alone anything valuable or permanent can be created, the Supplementary Act had as little effect on the confederation as the Act of Confederation itself. When the great popular movements that took place in southern Europe from 1821 to 1823 had been completely suppressed, the triumph of reaction in Germany, as in the rest of Europe, was self-evident, quite apart from the new "exceptional and fundamental laws" (*Ausnahms- und Grundgesetze*). As long as the issue was undecided, the enforcement and results of this law were also very indecisive and very diverse, too, in different states.

In Hanover and Brunswick the altered tone and manner of the government gave evidence of how completely it was in accord with legislation of this character, and Count Münster and the Prussian government vied with them in enforcing it; for in practice the former went even beyond the letter of the Karlsbad Decrees, and that in a country which had not exhibited the slightest symptom of the popular commotion to which they applied.

In Nassau, again, these decrees in an aggravated form became the law of the land, and the government took advantage of the situation to browbeat the diet of 1820 even more thoroughly than its predecessors, and vied with Cassel in the diligence with which it enforced stringent measures against the machinations of demagogues.

In Bavaria, on the other hand, the most influential men were averse to allowing their national legislation to be altered by the Karlsbad Decrees and to delivering Bavarian subjects over to the Mainz commission; the government published the September decrees with a proviso safeguarding the sovereignty of the monarch and the inviolability of the constitution and at a later period the Supplementary Act, with the reservation "so far as consistent with the constitution of the country." The Supplementary Act was never published in Wurtemberg at all.

Neither was it published in Baden. In this country, where Sand's murderous deed had stirred up the most violent commotion, the Karlsbad Decrees were at first obeyed without reservation by the enactment of severe press regulations and strict supervision of the universities and the "democratic" party in the chamber. When the estates of 1820 were again convoked, some of the latter were refused leave of absence, and the publicity of debate was curtailed by reducing the size of the galleries. But immediately after, under the influence of events in Italy and Spain, the government completely changed its attitude: it withdrew the refusals of leave; liberated the Heidelberg bookseller, Winter, who had been arrested at the request of the Mainz commission, after granting him an acquittal in the *Hofgericht* (superior court of justice); proceeded to come to an amicable understanding with the assembled chamber upon financial questions; conferred a wider right of control over the sinking-fund on the committee of the estates; consulted commissioners from the estates in the negotiation of a voluntary loan; and acceded to the wishes of the chamber by reducing the period of military service and enacting a law dealing with ministerial responsibility. The chamber responded to this propitiatory behaviour by modifying its reforming zeal of a year before in harmony with present circumstances, and the diet closed with gratifying results and mutual satisfaction.

The unsettled condition of the world in 1820 stood Darmstadt in even better stead. The proposed constitution of March 18th, 1820, was quite too obviously cut after the pattern of Karlsbad principles. There the nation and the estates were presented with the contemptuous mockery of a proposal to grant a constitution, while at the same time maintaining the absolutism of the ruler in its full extent—to confer with the one hand the right of voting taxes, and take away with the other the right of refusing to vote them: for if the estates should refuse to vote the grant required for the discharge of the obligations of the confederation, the government was to retain the power of exacting nevertheless the necessary sum. The government was to issue police laws and regulations for the administration and the civil service without the concurrence of the estates; in case of need a law was to be valid if ratified by one chamber only; there was to be no right of petition in respect to questions of general policy; a threefold process was to be introduced at elections; and the qualification for eligibility for election was to be raised.

The Remonstrance

The disaffection aroused by these disdainful proposals promptly made the government adopt a half-conciliatory, though still half-menacing tone, in a rescript addressed to the government of the province of Starkenburg. Public irritation was not allayed by this; in speech and writing the mutilated

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concessions were mercilessly tried by the standard of constitutional consistency, with severity and vigour, but with admirable judgment. The limitations of the electoral law were powerless to prevent the election of liberals, most of them independent citizens and peasants (or farmers). Difficulties arose on every side. Of the fifteen *Standesherren*, whose position was determined to their dissatisfaction by an edict issued shortly after the proclamation of the constitution, only one appeared. Thirty-two of the deputies of the second chamber handed in a remonstrance drawn up by *Oberappellationsrath* Hopfner to the effect that the grand duke had promised a comprehensive constitutional charter, whereas the edict was a mere "body of regulations for the estates respecting the functions incumbent on them"; and that consequently, if the prince did not amplify the constitution according to his promise at Vienna, the signatories would refrain from all participation in the business of the estates and would refuse to take the oath. An unsatisfactory answer having been returned, twenty-seven deputies carried out the intention thus expressed, to the open approbation of their constituents. The twenty-three remaining members likewise declared that they had not the remotest idea of regarding the edict of the 18th of March as in any sense the final instrument of the constitution, although they were prepared to take the oath on the understanding that it did not prejudice their right to move resolutions adverse to the edict. The ministry yielded to these representations, and, as a result of protracted negotiation on the part of the government, most of those who had previously refused to take the oath appeared at the opening of the chamber of estates.

The government exhibited an extraordinarily placable and liberal temper. If, as many people averred, it meant to abet the intrigues of the demagogues and so to furnish itself with a pretext for arbitrary action, it had made a gross miscalculation; for the opposition consisted of men of unimpeachable character and moderate views, far removed from political trickery. The calm, dignified, and resolute bearing of the estates, by which even Stein was edified, appeared to produce an effect on the upright mind of the prince, who ended by getting out of humour with the nagging of the ambassadors of the great powers. The ministry made a good impression by the frankness, candour, and modesty they displayed in their statement concerning the condition of the country; the concession of publicity of debate and two speeches and statements made by Grolman, one of the ministers, on the subjects of ministerial responsibility and alteration in the laws of the constitution (which were to be made only by a majority of two-thirds), disposed public opinion much more favourably towards the government. But an absolute ecstasy of rejoicing was called forth by the declaration that the government conferred upon the estates the unconditional right of voting taxes, and that the grand duke, well pleased that Hesse should have a constitution adapted to modern requirements, called upon them to draw up a constitution to the best of their ability and submit it to him for ratification. And the general joy was enhanced by the declaration of the budget, which now showed no deficit, mainly in consequence of considerable economies in court and military expenses. The outcome of the negotiations was a new constitutional charter, which contained emendations, drawn up in a liberal spirit, of all the principal points of the edict of the 18th of March, and, though nominally conferred by the monarch, was really a joint production, the completion of which filled the whole country with satisfaction.

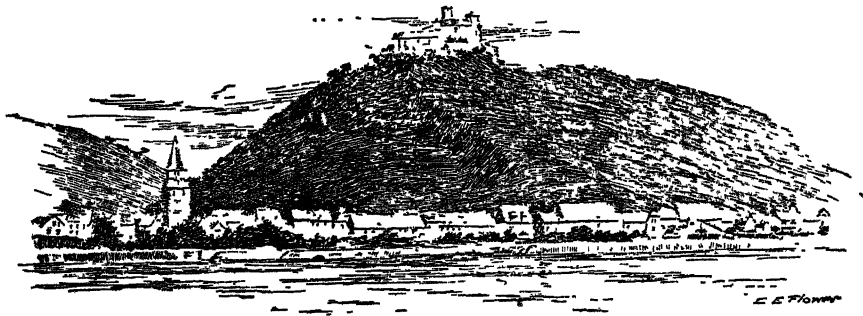
The resistance and repugnance of the small states of south Germany to the idea of being governed by a mandate from Austria was in marked contrast to the tractability of Prussia when she allied herself with Austria. From this time forward it was long an established maxim at Berlin that even ministers who found this alliance troublesome could do no more than tender advice

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which might serve to undermine it at some future time or to evade it by tortuous proceedings. The tone and manner in which—before, during, and after the Karlsbad meeting—Hardenberg's ministry vaunted its readiness to work on Austrian lines had the degrading character of the obsequious flattery of a dependent or satellite. And so sure did Metternich feel of the strength of his influence, in the first flush of officious zeal on the part of Prussian statesmen, that he had the hardihood to try to win over a man like Humboldt to concur in his schemes for the conference of Vienna, in the same way that he had won Hardenberg over at Aix-la-Chapelle.^h

THE ATTEMPT TO FOUND A SOUTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION

While Metternich was absolutely sure of Hardenberg, the Prussian chancellor was determining that Europe should, as it were, run in the tracks of his policy; and while the emperor of Russia, persuaded and surprised by him,



OLD CASTLE ON THE RHINE

allowed him to do as he liked, the diet at Frankfort, wonderful to relate, threatened completely to balk all his plans. It is interesting to take a look at the men who then sat in the diet—their capabilities, their efforts, the attitude of their states towards the great powers, and the mutual relations of the individual representatives.

With regard to the condition of Germany at that time, nothing had been accomplished with respect to the principal matter at the congress of Vienna which could have satisfied both of the great powers of Germany. Austria had not yet forgotten the German Empire, and looked upon her claim to be the first and leading power in Germany as a self-evident fact; Prussia had expected the supreme direction of affairs as a reward for her late great exertions and her victories over Napoleon. As neither of these two powers made any concessions to the other, they never came to a clear understanding as to their future conduct—as to whether they should divide the leadership of Germany between themselves, or whether they should, formally at least, stand on an equal footing with the other members of the confederation. Austria had kept to a do-nothing policy, till favourable events placed her in a position actually to play first fiddle.

So it happened that the first years of the diet passed by without any important indication of its independent activity. On that account the cabinet of Metternich, as well as that of Hardenberg, had hitherto laid no weight on the point as to which individual of this or that state represented it at Frankfort. Astonished, therefore, and amazed at the possibility of such a thing,

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Metternich, whose eye had been busy with affairs in lower Italy, the Spanish peninsula, Greece, and Turkey, was startled at the existence of an opposition right in the centre of the Frankfort diet—an opposition based, moreover, on liberal principles.

How angry he must have been when he came across the first sure indication of it—angry that he had had no inkling of it before! The Austrian representative in the diet had either quite overlooked this opposition in its very midst, or he had quite misunderstood its nature and importance. The Prussian representative had been to some extent aware of it, but had considered it too unimportant for particular mention in his despatches to his court.

The envoy representing Austria at Frankfort at that time was Count Buol-Schauenstein, a good-natured man, thoroughly imbued with the idea of the supreme greatness and power of his own court. Count Buol was the president of the diet. Besides him Austria had in Frankfort General Langenau, “a man of more than ordinary talent in the discernment and conduct of secret intrigues.” Langenau possessed the confidence of Prince Metternich, who consulted him in all matters specifically German. But Langenau was only imperial commissioner and president of the military committee of the diet, and so could exercise only a moderate influence on parliamentary business. Yet it was maintained that the president, Count Buol, had been obliged to say what Langenau and the other agents of Metternich wanted, and though he spoke vehemently he was unable to argue effectively, so that he was often obliged to participate in decisions that were contrary to his instructions. Count von der Goltz, the Prussian envoy, never contradicted Buol, but was never able to contribute in the least to the defence of any proposition.

THE DISCIPLES OF METTERNICH

Among those who served the policy of Metternich were Von Hammerstein and Von Marschall. Von Hammerstein was a man who on his first appearance had played the part of a liberal, seemed dangerous to Austria, and thereby drew attention to himself. He was considered to be a man of knowledge and understanding, with a certain capacity for intrigue. He also displayed that pride which takes no notice of inferiors. “Herr von Hammerstein,” wrote Langenau to Metternich, “does better every day. He will do us important service if you chain him fast in those fetters which he himself offers us.”

Marschall, the Nassau minister, was a blue-blooded aristocrat, hated vehemently every trace of liberalism, and had shown himself from first to last in such a light that Langenau said of him to Metternich that under all circumstances and for every purpose he could be firmly relied upon. Of the baron von Leonhardi Langenau said that he dared not open his mouth; neither was there any ground to fear the representatives of the so-called free cities: their votes might be reckoned upon, even though the majority of them might chafe in secret. “But in the majority of the representatives,” complains the secret informant of Prince Metternich, “there has sprung up a spirit of opposition which reveals itself in two-fold form under the mask of liberalism, although it is of an out-and-out political nature. The first form is that of legality. No motion is to be put to the vote without strict examination, and everyone is scrutinised in its relation to the letter of the law; each discussion is referred back to general principles—everything to be brought under the scrutiny of the diet. No law is brought forward without subjecting its meaning to an extremely artificial exegesis, so that there is nothing left to expediency. But it is not legality that is the ultimate aim of these sophists, but constitutionalism. The most important thing to them is to render the formal legal equality

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of all members of the confederation so unendurable to the greater powers in the diet that the latter will see themselves compelled to play only a passive part in it, and to resist the smaller powers only by this passivity of action. The smaller states will thus win public opinion by their activity in the same proportion as the greater states will lose it by their inactivity, which appears as an obstructive principle.

"The second form is that of nationality. Under this guise they seek to bring to a compromise, by separate agreements, the various and often conflicting interests of the individual small states, and actually to organise leagues within the confederation for the maintenance of the common interests thus established. Why is so much done, and with such zeal and caution, for the organisation of the mixed army corps? Why are differences in rank sunk so easily in order to obtain unanimity on that subject? Why do the joint owners of these corps stand together as one man as soon as they see their independence even remotely threatened? Why, in those states which are ruled by Protestants, has there been shown so much determination in overcoming the difficulties in the way of organising a common system for Catholic church affairs? Has not Wurtemberg, in order to bring about the system, subordinated its bishop to the archbishop of Baden? Has not Darmstadt renounced the dignity of metropolitan, which was for so long the ornament of Mainz? Has not the electorate of Hesse given place to the grand duchy of Hesse? Have not even the small states of north Germany been enticed into the south German union? Why are all financial considerations and all local interests put aside in order to bring about the south German commercial league, about which people in Germany are so busy just now?

"The answer is this: public opinion is to be won thereby; those diminutive peoples are to be made to believe in the possibility of their becoming a nation! They are to believe their welfare to be founded on such agreements. They are to take part against those who cannot follow in the same track, because they have other interests, and with this new cajoling of the people and public opinion these liberals wish to stem the influence which, to their intense irritation, they see the great powers exercise on the internal affairs of the German states, and which these great powers are peculiarly fitted to exercise. These men, who are often less liberal than they pretend to be in order to attain their ends, are divided, indeed, into two distinct classes—namely, idealists and realists; but, though looking at things from different points of view, they both strive for the same goal—namely, the organisation of a systematic resistance to the two great powers of Germany!"

THE WORK AGAINST LIBERALISM

In the opinion of the Metternichian diplomat the leader of the idealists was the representative of Wurtemberg, Baron von Wangenheim. Von Carlowitz and Von Harnier were more or less of his opinion. Baron von Aretin and Herr von Lepel were looked upon as realists. Aretin let the idealists talk, and while apparently contending with them drew such conclusions as they wished against Austria. Lepel candidly and openly voted for everything directed against the great powers. Herr von Roth followed his lead, whenever possible. The representatives, counts Eybe, Grune, Beust, and Baron Pentz, were personal friends of the idealists and realists, and though they did not actually undertake anything against the great powers, they could not be utilised for them. "They are not to be depended upon," wrote the secret informer to Metternich; "if any claim is made upon them, the one pleads the demands of honour, the other the law of *The Pandects*; in reality they also

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cater more or less to popularity. It is not clear what are the views of Baron von Blittersdorf; he seems to be at home with all elements."

This opposition was very inconvenient for the Metternich party. "Although we have good elements to rely upon," wrote the Metternichian diplomat, "the foundation of a system of stability and, therefore, the re-establishment of peace cannot be thought of unless both idealists and realists be banished. The diet must be purged. For that Austria and Prussia must work before all things."

The steps to be taken for this purpose were now agreed upon by the Austrian and Prussian cabinets. Austria and Prussia were to take steps in turn and by slow degrees to work against the envoy of this or that court in order to expunge liberal tendencies from the diet of the confederation. They would have liked to begin with Baron Aretin, but caution forbade them. He was the most obstinate and therefore the most dangerous member, and his removal was much to be desired. But Bavaria made a great point of her independence. It was feared that she would be the first to sound an alarm and that she would not be without strong support. Consequently the Bavarian government must not be irritated; it must be given an interest in the matter and be won over to the removal of certain members of the diet.

"Fortunately that is not so very difficult," said the Metternichian diplomat; "for the minister Rechberg forgets the Bavarian anti-Austrian system directly one shows him in a magic mirror the Revolution, and Prince Metternich as its subduer." Thus it was the policy of Austria as well as of Prussia not only to spare the baron von Aretin but even to praise him; Von Rechberg, the Bavarian minister, found this admirable. Every effort was made to keep the Bavarian government in this favourable frame of mind. "If we succeed in this," said Prussia and Austria to each other, "there will be no great obstacle in the way of eliminating the inconvenient members."

They adopted the method of working against one representative at a time, and attacked first one whose court, from one cause or another, it was most easy to isolate from the other courts. The game was considered won if only one envoy was to be recalled on account of his behaviour towards the great powers. For they reckoned thus: "If we show a firm resolve that if necessary the same process will be gone through again, we can certainly rely upon it that the evil spirit which is doing so much mischief in the diet will soon be expelled. It will not again so readily occur to any envoy to foster in his despatches ('which we can for the most part read at our leisure,' says the Metternichian diplomat) that spirit of opposition which is so easily aroused amongst the German princes; rather will they, in order to establish themselves firmly in their quiet and lucrative posts, contribute to induce their courts to meet the views and purposes of the Austrian court, and hence also the Prussian, out of loyal attachment to the old imperial house."

"This," thought Metternich, "is the only way to regain what we have, with most unaccountable carelessness, allowed to be snatched away from us."

The private despatch in which this system was laid down did not remain secret. It was circulated, without any signature, amongst the envoys to the diet. It is not certain even now whether it was from General Langenau or from the former Bavarian representative Von Berstett, who enjoyed the great confidence and consideration of the Austrian diplomats and was much thought of by Metternich. It cannot be contradicted or doubted by anyone that the method actually resorted to coincided with the one expounded in the report.

Several proposals made by Austria in the diet either fell through entirely or were deferred for a more thorough examination. Austria and Prussia were not a little surprised and offended at this. They did not seek for its cause in the nature of the proposals themselves and the manner in which they

were presented and pushed; but, unaccustomed to the failure of their proposals, they imagined the cause to be the hostile feeling of individual courts towards the great powers in the confederation, and still more the liberal tendencies of some of the representatives. Prussia complained in "circular remarks" of "the spirit of passion and arbitrariness which prevails in the diet," and Herr von Gentz set his pen industriously to work against a government which he did not mention by name, but quite sufficiently indicated. This government was that of Wurtemberg.

WÜRTENBERG

King William of Wurtemberg had for a considerable time been looked upon by Prussia and Austria with mistrust. The king was a convinced adherent of the free tendencies of the time. He took seriously both the constitution and the people, and neither Vienna nor Berlin liked it when he declared in a speech from the throne in the Wurtemberg parliament that he had succeeded in winning the surest support of his government, the confidence of his people. Not only did Wurtemberg cling to him with affection, but he whose name since the wars had become famous for knightliness and heroism in the mouths of Germans, as well as among other nationalities, was really revered throughout Germany for his patriotism, and in foreign countries for his liberal ideas. In the course of his travels through foreign lands honours were shown to him which fell to the lot of no other prince. In the opinion of many he was the man who ought to stand at the head of Germany, who ought to be German emperor. The king had other thoughts; at any rate they were the thoughts of men who were in daily intercourse with him or particularly intimate with him.

As the encroachments and domineering tendencies of Prussian and Austrian absolutism became more apparent and prominent, there arose spontaneously in the circles whose members were sincerely working to further the welfare of the people a moral and intellectual resistance to this absolutist power which threatened to engulf, with the freedom of the people, also the independence of the princes and states of middle and south Germany. This opposition found a public exponent of its views in the ready pen of a widely known publicist, Friedrich Lindner.

This writer had been living for several years in Wurtemberg, and, it was said, on a considerable pension paid him out of the private purse of the king; he was a native of Courland and had come to Stuttgart through the instrumentality of the talented queen, Catherine. In the year 1820 the pamphlet, *The Manuscript from South Germany*, created much stir in diplomatic circles and much public discussion. This state paper was from Lindner's pen. Its fundamental idea was to bring about a sincere union and common plan of action in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden—that is, a confederation of southwestern German states, which should form a defensive counter-balance to the superior power of Prussia and Austria, and oppose to absolutism the progress of constitutional life and public opinion. This idea at first sight might appear unnational, un-German, because it seemed impossible for Germany to become by its means more intimately united, but rather even more disunited. But when more nearly examined, it was the most natural road towards the unification of Germany. The basis of the idea was that the German people must attain unity through freedom and the development of its material interests. For this purpose there must first of all be founded in southwest Germany a firm centre, to which, in the course of time, the other secondary German states would be attracted by the power and charm of a free national life,

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as well as through the force of material interests. Let this extended confederation once exist, and Prussia herself, for material reasons, must acquiesce and join it. This scheme of a south German union was, under the circumstances, the only practicable one for the freedom and material welfare of Germany. Unfortunately it fell short of realisation at that time. Bavaria and Baden did not join heartily enough with Wurtemberg. Neither in Bavaria nor in Baden were the men on the throne and the men in public life of the same calibre as those of Wurtemberg. In Bavaria they thought much more of restoring old religious notions than of attaining political freedom and identifying themselves with the German national idea.

GERMANY AND THE GREEK INSURRECTION OF 1821

In the spring of 1821 a revolution broke out on the old classic ground of Greece, with the aim of throwing off the yoke of the Turks. This rising electrified almost the whole of Christian Europe without distinction of political creeds, for it was chiefly a rebellion of nationality and European culture against Asiatic barbarism—a struggle of Christendom against the *Koran*. But one section of the diplomacy of the time, foremost of all the Austrian, looked askance at the struggle, and saw in it only an uprising, a rebellion, a revolution like other revolutions. The Greeks fought heroically and conquered for themselves political independence, in spite of Christian diplomacy. Metternich persuaded the emperor Alexander that it would be the greatest of inconsistencies, after what had been resolved upon in the recent congresses against all and every revolution, to take now the part of the Greeks—of subjects rising in arms against their legitimate ruler, the sultan.

Public opinion declared tyranny to be always illegitimate; the European press repeated it. But the Holy Alliance, which had surrounded itself and its despotism with the incense of Christianity and had anointed itself with the oil of religion, could not, without violating the principles of its own existence, grant this; and it not only refused assistance to the Greek Christians in their deadly struggle, but declared itself hostile to them as revolutionists, and friendly to their unchristian murderers. It was particularly the Austrian and Prussian governments which at the congress of Verona carried through the sentence of condemnation, declaring that the Greeks must submit to their lawful lord, the sultan, and expect only mercy instead of justice from him. In the Greek insurrection Metternich feared a bad precedent and influence upon the Austrian Empire itself.

In Verona it was also resolved to suppress the constitution of the cortes in Spain, and if it did not submit, no longer to recognise the Spanish government—even to support by force of arms King Ferdinand and the reactionary party in Spain; ostensibly “to maintain peace, order, and security in Europe,” but in reality to restore and establish absolutism.

The behaviour of the great powers and the resolutions at Verona greatly injured their reputation in the public mind. In Germany there was great enthusiasm for the Greeks. Prayers, money, arms, volunteers, help of all kinds was offered them. Associations for relief arose everywhere, first in Stuttgart, through the enthusiastic efforts of Schott and Uhland, and in Zurich through Hirzel. Similar associations followed in rapid succession in Leipsic, Aarau, Freiburg, Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Munich, Bonn, and other places. Swabia and Switzerland showed the liveliest and most energetic sympathy, and it was a retired Wurtemberg general, the brave Count Norman, who led the most important contingent of volunteers into Greece. Many governments opposed the enthusiasm of the people by prohibitions of appeals, assemblies,

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recruiting, and embarkations. Yet some German princes were friendly to the Greek cause—the then crown prince, afterwards King Ludwig of Bavaria, and the king of Wurtemberg.

Some of the men in the immediate entourage of the king of Wurtemberg, at least one man, interpreted the unexpected rising of the Greeks from a quite peculiar standpoint. This interpretation was put into print, and the pamphlet, or rather the subject of it, seemed to Prince Metternich of such peculiar importance, so much more significant than any other production of the German press, that he sent a despatch of his own, together with an enclosure from Herr von Gentz, to every Austrian embassy at the German courts. Definite instructions were given in the despatch as to how the ambassadors were to act at the courts with regard to this pamphlet.

To quote Metternich himself: "I have felt myself compelled to devote some attention to this publication, which is undoubtedly hostile to us and to our principles, but for the rest is put together not without talent. In the enclosure you will find an analysis of the same, which will be sufficient to convince you that, with our sense of truth and justice, we shall not allow ourselves to be led astray either by sophistries or malicious attacks, if in a case like the present we find it not consistent with our dignity to take any further notice of the true author of this diatribe, whose identification would not be difficult."

The ambassadors, however, were enjoined to make no further use of this despatch and the enclosure than to impart its contents "in confidence" to the minister of foreign affairs at each German court. What sort of men—for one cannot say brains—must at that time have represented so calculating and far-sighted a power as Austria at the German courts! Metternich found it necessary to add to the despatch: "It is not difficult to decide against what and against whom the publication is directed, as the author attacks every existing institution, and notwithstanding his hypocritical apology for the constitution of the confederation every German institution acts quite consistently in particularly anathematising Austria. From his purposely obscure and enigmatical statements, it is not so easy for every reader to understand what he wishes to put in the place of the existing institutions, and how he intends to do it."

The publication bore the title, *On the Existing Condition of Europe: a Statement to Prince*.—It was from the pen of Lindner. He saw in the rising of the Greeks an event of world-historic importance, which had roused Europe from her stationary condition, as well as from her dreams of liberalism, and rendered her capable of a great political regeneration. In this respect Lindner appeared thoroughly revolutionary with a purely political purpose; but he had not so much the people in view as the princes, and particularly a certain class of princes, or rather one particular prince, the king of Wurtemberg. Germany was the stage on which the new hero of modern times was to appear and labour. Austria, which had neglected to complete the building up of her supremacy in Germany as well as in Italy by the establishment of a popular system of government based on modern ideas—Austria was on the point, or, after the rebellion of the Greeks, at any rate not far from the point, at which she was to forfeit a great part of her old-time supremacy.

THE SEPARATION OF THE COURTS

Men who were hostile to Austria considered that this juncture should not be allowed to slip by unutilised. Now was the time for those who were oppressed by Austria to rouse themselves to a sense of their strength, to the maintenance of their dignity. According to their view there were at the

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moment only three states of leading influence in the settlement of European affairs, Russia, Austria, and England; all the rest were confined within the magic circle which the policy of these great powers had drawn round them. France had lost, for the time being, all political influence, because her enemies had been astute enough to impose upon her, as her sole task, the struggle with her own liberals; Prussia, these men said, had surrendered herself entirely to Austria, because she had not the courage to declare herself in favour of intellectual freedom, and to step forward as the champion of the peoples; the other German states had either no will or no strength: and so the whole of Germany had become Austrian through the bonds of intellect, friendship, or fear. The present political system had brought no essential or pronounced advantage to any other power. The harvest had been therefore all the greater for Austria. Under the protection of the Holy Alliance, and with a crafty interpretation of its principles, its court had secured to itself the guidance of the spirit of the time, or rather the suppression of it.

Austria ruled with unlimited power in Germany and Italy, because she proclaimed herself the bulwark of all the other states against the dangers which threatened their *status quo*; indeed she had partly invented, partly exaggerated these dangers, in order to get into her own hands the supreme direction of all European affairs. The principle of maintaining existing rights—the system of stability—had, with the help of politics and success, developed to such a degree as to give a decided ascendancy to one power, without either Russia or England having obtained any corresponding advantages. It was as much to the interest of the south German princes as to that of the peoples, to emancipate themselves and the rest of the world from both this system of stability and the ascendancy which Austria had acquired through an insidious application of it.

The rebellion of the Greeks seemed to have shaken to its foundations the system of government hitherto prevailing, and henceforth a separation of the courts was deemed unavoidable, nay, it was considered to have already set in, despite the public efforts of the powers to demonstrate to the world their complete diplomatic agreement. Prussia—so it seemed—could not possibly in future recognise Metternich's system as her own. The hitherto patient confidence of the less powerful states had been the principal support of the system of the greater powers. At a moment when the Greeks were struggling for their national independence it seemed as if Germany also might hope to awake from her stupor and to change the political system under the essentially changed circumstances. To shake off the dependence in which the German states and their governments had been placed by the all-powerful influence of Austria, in the confederation diet, seemed an object worthy of great effort, and even easy to attain, because the path to it had already been paved by the circumstances of the time. Until now Austria had been certain of her supremacy in Germany only through her alliance with the other great powers, particularly with Russia. If this alliance were dissolved through recent events and the consequent springing up of diverging interests, if Russia were to follow a path different from that of Austria, a path loudly demanded by the Russian people who were of the same faith as the Greeks, and dictated by the traditional policy of Russia which aimed at the Dardanelles, then Austria would be isolated, and, taking its ground on the Act of Confederation, Germany would be able to recover her lost dignity and independence. Every sovereign prince could be an example of encouragement. However small his military strength, public opinion could increase it a hundred-fold. A single manly explanation in the diet, made in the face of the world, was sufficient to dissipate the fog which hitherto had rested on the Frankfort proceedings.

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The small party, for whose views in these matters Lindner was the exponent, shared the opinion that it must be the voice of a resolute prince in the diet which should give the signal for collecting and uniting all those who were of the same way of thinking. If Austria—as Von Gentz not incorrectly construed their ideas—with her antiquated legal scruples which never troubled either Gentz or Metternich, with her petrified policy, and her fixed opposition to new ideas, were once beaten in the diet, the legislation of the confederation entirely liberalised, and all so arranged that what could not formerly be attained by years of discussion might now be reached by a rapid series of bold motions, then the other barriers would fall of themselves. Then nothing could prevent the restorer of Germany from advancing ever further. This “malicious and clever conceit” from the inner circle of a south German court caused bad blood in all the higher circles of Vienna. Herr von Gentz, and with him Prince Metternich, plainly asserted that it was hoped there that the rising of the Greeks would pave the way for a rising of the Germans, even though the commencement of this rising was intended to be made in constitutional forms.

There was no proof that the king of Würtemberg personally shared these views, and even less that they emanated from him.

LINDNER'S POLICY

Lindner himself had ambition enough, and other individuals under whose influence he wrote had enough private aims to attempt to persuade the king of Würtemberg, under the pretext of a reform of the constitution of the confederation, to propose a dissolution of the confederation in the diet itself. This small party had reckoned rightly at least as far as this, that the king of Würtemberg, if he declared himself against Austria, would be welcomed on all sides as the champion of the fatherland. Public opinion far and wide looked upon this prince, on account of his distinguished personal qualities and disposition, as a ruler destined by Nature herself to become the restorer of Germany. Many a one would have invested him with the highest and undivided power, in order that he might gratify the demands of an enlightened century, of all friends of the people, and of freedom.

But however much the project of the Lindner publication was calculated to displease Austria and Prussia, it hardly succeeded in winning over the friends of the people, because the men who inspired it did not conceal their ulterior plans; at least their mouthpiece, Lindner, betrayed them.

And these ulterior notions were an offence to what the people wanted and what they thought. The project of placing the king of Würtemberg at the head of a south German confederation of constitutional states had scarcely been promulgated by these men in 1820, when, at the beginning of 1822, the same men, in indescribable self-deception, uttered the following to a people thirsting to attain constitutional freedom: “Representative government, under the countenance of which rhetoricians make a living, is already looked upon by the people as an unnecessary burden; the people have ceased to consider it a universal remedy for all political grievances; it has become evident that this expensive institution only serves for the nourishment of party spirit; that it can only weaken and cripple a good, and not ameliorate a bad, government; that it continually introduces a struggle without any result; nobody now imagines that the castle-in-the-air of the liberals is a dwelling place worthy of the century, much less that it can be its fortress.”

Thus greatly did they deceive themselves as to the views and wishes of the German people, and in the same state of delusion they imagined the most re-

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markable feature of the times to consist in this: that the two doctrines which had alternately antagonized and persecuted each other with party rage were abandoned at the same moment by public opinion; the political field was cleared of the weeds of revolution as well as of the poisonous plant of obscurantism. Neither of the two parties any longer found supporters. A new system must be discovered. The head of the new fanaticism, as well as that of the old obscurantism, must be crushed, and the representative system, as well as the system of stability, must be overturned. For this purpose a prince, a German Bonaparte, was necessary, who understood the needs of the times, who could by his own strength bring to bear that law of nature which calls superior genius to rule, and who would root out what still remained of the old privileges and regulations; not, however, to the end of allowing so-called representatives of the people to prescribe new regulations, but to the end of erecting, by his own individual and unlimited rule, a throne worthy of the enlightenment and civilisation of the century.

FAILURE TO FOUND A SOUTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION

The adroit pen of the Metternich cabinet knew well how to emphasise before Germany this aim of the scheme as the one and only thing of importance; and, singularly enough, public opinion declared itself for once in accord with Metternich and Gentz. The people wanted something else besides the absolute rule of a prince, who, as the third great power of Germany, would by his care for agriculture and commerce, art and education, skill and talent, and by means of these through the increase of capital, and in general through the furthering of material and social concerns, content the people without popular representation.

If this little party wanted to win public opinion for itself and its plan, it should have taken up again the idea which had electrified the nation in 1814 and 1815, and announced a prince-protector for the German Confederation with a German parliament at his side. The prince who carried through this revolution in Germany had, in the then condition of things, the people of southwest Germany to back him, and even public opinion in the whole of Germany. To a German parliament the southwest German people would have quite willingly surrendered their old individual privileges and constitutions. But the people were repelled by the foolish, because inopportune, scheme to vault over the popular representations of the single states.

And Austria saw this with triumph. She had been startled and amazed at the practical idea of splitting up the parliament by separate alliances and forming a new body politic in Germany, under the protectorate of a south German prince; through their blunder her enemies played into her hands, and she now displayed overweening contempt.

The Viennese government declared: "The German princes are, God be praised, too clear-sighted not to treat this senseless advice as they formerly treated the disorganisation of the confederation through the admixture of democratic elements and afterwards the dissolution of it by disloyal separate alliances. The German princes know what the so-called supremacy of Austrian Germany means; they know whether Austria has ever striven for an unreasonable preponderancy in any one of her political or parliamentary relations; whether she has ever abused her political position for the suppression of the rights of others; whether she has ever injured the independence of the smallest state in the confederation, or ever disturbed the freedom of discussion in the diet by even the appearance of arrogance."

In this contemptuous tone Metternich and Gentz played with the German

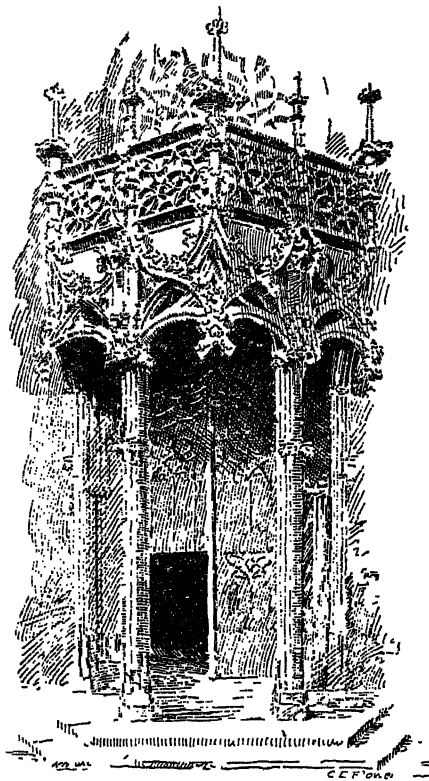
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princes. Gentz was well acquainted with the old classic saying that the highest degree of slavery is that in which the slaves are forced to appear free. The result showed that the calculations of that small southwest German party, at the end of the year 1822 at the congress of Verona, had completely failed. Contrary to all probability, the emperor Alexander was caught in the net of Metternich's policy; Russia's government declared Metternich's system to be identical with her own, and what had been loudly proclaimed by the Metternich cabinet as likely to happen, came true; Metternich's political system, called by Gentz the last anchor of social order in Europe, the last bulwark of the civilised world against the invasion of the new barbarians (the revolutionists), stood firm and unshaken. Instead of sinking in the storm of 1820-1822 it allayed and victoriously dissipated the tempest.

"As long," said Gentz in Metternich's name, "as one stone remains upon the other in the European Confederation, no revolutionary imagination will dare to go so far as to wish to annihilate the nucleus of its life and strength, the German Confederation."

History has given the lie to this prophecy.

The cabinet in Vienna did not conceal its indignation against the government in Stuttgart. It maintained that it could scarcely be supposed that the project and the publication had emanated from an individual author; both showed what hopes and schemes occupied the minds of men in certain circles, and though this was no new discovery it was always beneficial when presumptuous confidants brought into



DETAIL OF CHURCH OF ST ULRICH,
AUGSBURG

circulation the immature proposals of their party and their unreasonable and impracticable efforts, for they then serve as a warning and instruction to better men.

With such effrontery were Gentz and Metternich emboldened to publish their views on the subject. The king of Würtemberg simply ordered the article, which had appeared in the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, to be reprinted in the newspaper of the Stuttgart court.

THE PURIFICATION OF THE DIET

From Vienna and Berlin the governments hastened to change and renew the personnel of the representatives of the diet, whose spirit of opposition threatened to become injurious. The Austrian government exchanged notes with Berlin. It was impossible, Metternich declared, for Austria and Prussia, the governments of which were influenced by the same principles, pa-

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tiently to endure in the smaller German states a spirit of opposition, which was all the more dangerous, because it was called forth or caused by liberal humbug. Already it had reached such a point that the most important offices in certain states were filled by men whose principles were by no means a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of the *status quo* and the assurance of peace and order. It was almost impossible to remove all these men from office. It was, therefore, for Austria and Prussia to work by means of the diet to keep within bounds these unseemly efforts and to remove all opposition. In order thoroughly to attain this object, the sole efficient means was a change in the membership of the diet itself, for there were more than sufficient indications that the official opposition was strengthened and extended through the influence of the views of the opposition members of the diet.

This was evidently aimed at the Wurtemberg representative, Von Wangenheim. Prussia agreed with Austria in all these matters, and it was resolved to press forward the renovation of the personnel of the diet.¹

In the winter of 1822-1823 Metternich summoned a number of statesmen, including Count Bernstorff, to Vienna and laid before them a memorial which was the Viennese court's declaration of war against Wangenheim's party. The south German governments, it said, had allowed the democratic elements to make such headway that within a short time even the shadowy image of a monarchical form of government would have slipped through their fingers. That the mere idea of an opposition in the confederation assembly was possible, was sufficient evidence as to how far the latter must have already diverged from its original intention. The diet itself must first be purged from such elements; its methods of carrying on business must be simplified; digression into abstract theories and tribune oratory must be banished; the proceedings must be kept secret. The purified confederation diet should then so interpret the German constitutions "as the highest of the state laws prescribes," for above all secrecy was to be the rule at the discussions of the estates. Steps against the "license of the press" were also to be undertaken on behalf of the confederation, and the period during which the Karlsbad Decrees were to remain in force was to be indefinitely prolonged. It was with difficulty that Bernstorff obtained a few modifications of this plan of campaign, and in particular got rid of the "interpretation" of the south German constitutions.

Wangenheim foresaw his fall. In a malicious pamphlet which excited a great sensation, he characterised the opposition in the confederation diet and the envoys in Frankfort in a few words as "an effort of his student arrogance." The document is known as the *Langenau'sche Note*, because it was attributed to the Austrian general Langenau, the president of the military commission. The court of Stuttgart, which had been profoundly angered at the insignificant rôle to which the lesser German sovereigns had been condemned by the great powers of Europe, for a time still attempted to offer resistance, as did also the other governments guilty of the crime of opposition. But finally they had to give way to Austrian, Prussian, and Russian pressure, not, however, before the great powers had withdrawn their ambassadors from Stuttgart. Wangenheim and others of the less submissive envoys to the diet were recalled. Within a short time the diet was completely reorganised in accordance with the ideas of the two great powers. They themselves appointed fresh representatives in Frankfort; Austria, Baron von Munch-Bellinghausen, an extremely able statesman of the Metternichian school, Prussia, Von Nagler, who, as general postmaster, rendered greater service before and after to the postal system than in his unskilful work at the confederation diet. Soon after, the Wurtemberg foreign minister, Count Wintzingerode, had to bow before the hatred of the great powers.

THE ZOLLVEREIN

In the German nation the political system imposed by Metternich had produced at once deep despondency, hopeless resignation, and a pessimism which despaired of attaining by peaceful means a satisfactory state of affairs, of ever seeing the dawn of any other relation between rulers and governed than one of irreconcilable opposition. The aspiration towards national and political unity, towards the transformation of the multiplex state into one great whole, towards an honourable position and firm attitude in regard to foreign countries, probably still passed through the best brains and hearts; but only dreamers and visionaries could believe that these national strivings would ever be capable of being realised. The deep contrast between the eager wishes of the patriots and that which seemed attainable, had so depressing an effect on their minds and rendered the outlook so gloomy that they were reduced to despair and failed to perceive the germ of a better future—when one did at last come into existence. This manifested itself in the foundation of the Zollverein or customs union, which the Prussian government carried through with patriotic perseverance, not only against the opposition of particularism, but also against the short-sighted resistance of liberal and public-spirited men. In the gloomiest period of modern German history and the most profound dejection of national aspirations, the foundation stone of German unity was first laid in the domain of economy, but with the prospect of a grand future and great consequences to the general political life of the nation. The Prussian Zollverein was the “chief nail in the coffin of the German Confederation.” The present age can scarcely form a conception of the fetters and restrictions which a short-sighted administration imposed on commercial intercourse in most German countries; of the petty character of those tolls and frontier barriers at every few leagues; of the chicane and vexation with which the governments mutually annoyed one another; of the immorality of the luxuriant growth of smuggling, which was often systematically encouraged; and of the enormous harm done by all this to the material and moral prosperity of the whole nation.

In this desert of contradictory petty interests, of short-sighted restriction, of the mistrust and self-conceit characteristic of petty states, to have realised a great and sound idea in spite of all difficulties is a lasting merit of Prussian statesmanship, which alone in this field recognised and fulfilled its vocation. Steadily was stone after stone contributed to the structure of German commercial unity, regardless of the malicious counter efforts of hostile intrigues abroad, of the sullen resistance of particularism, of the short-sighted opposition of German liberalism, which, from dread of the absolute northern state in union with Metternich, declared its condemnation of the Prussian plans. Thus the importance of a national policy of tariff unification was cried down by the patriots more than by their adversaries.^f

The League of German Princes

In 1785 Frederick the Great had formed the league of the German princes (*Fürstenbund*) to preserve the rights of the various states of the German Empire then threatened by the combined policy of Russia, France, and Austria, the latter of which was at that time represented by Joseph II. The immediate cause of this league was the attempt of the three powers in question to force the duke of Zweibrücken to resign his claims to the reversion of the electorate of Bavaria, which Joseph hoped to acquire for himself.

The story of the War of the Bavarian Succession which followed has been

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already told in an earlier chapter. The league fell to pieces after the death of Frederick, but it was not without its sequel.^a

In the house of Habsburg and the league of the German princes we see two powers opposed to each other. Neither pursues patriotic objects for the empire; the one desires the unity of Germany, but only so as to possess it as a part similar to other parts of a polyglot monarchy; the other opposes itself to all attempts at unity, but at its head stands the state whose interests are mostly identical with national German interests. That this state for the first time headed an organisation is the point of importance in the league of princes.

Contemporaries already had a dim presentiment of this. For how could it be otherwise explained that the German patriots enthusiastically greeted the alliance, which in its aim promised only a perpetuation of the German plurality? The league fell, but its object remained. With the decay of the empire the idea of Prussian hegemony again came to the fore, the plan of a north German empire was conceived. Prussia became an essentially German state after the terrible catastrophe which then followed and the renewal of the war of Liberation. She was certainly pushed back from the coasts of the North Sea, but her position in the interior of the country was all the more firmly secured. Her irregular frontier in central Germany brought her into direct contact and gave her a community of interests with the small states. Prussia had scarcely begun to regulate her administration anew by the table of rates of 1818, when these joint interests asserted themselves.

The first influence was apparent in those small states, the "Enclaves," which were entirely, or for the greater part, surrounded by Prussian provinces. If Prussia had wished to carry out the frontier tariff in all its severity, it would have meant either the taxation of foreign subjects or a complete suspension of international as well as of the neighbouring commerce.

Deliberations on both sides led to the result that these detached fragments were acknowledged to be what they were—foreign and subordinate dominions under Prussian rule. A year after the issue of the Prussian tariff, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, with its subordinate the Wipperthal, at the foot of the Kyffhauser, came under the frontier tariff. As forming part of Prussia, the merchandise of the subordinate states crossed into Prussia and *vice versa*, free from duty; the share of the revenues which fell to the princes was calculated according to the population of the country, and settled once for all. Later on, this treaty was of the highest importance. The introduction announced that Prussia was ready to conclude similar treaties with the other states, but willingness to participate was slow in following. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, only, joined with its subordinate districts. With Saxe-Weimar and Saxe-Gotha the proceedings had to be carried on in individual and small districts. The greatest difficulties were raised by Anhalt. From the sources of the Elbe in the Harz, where Anhalt and Brunswick are contiguous for a very short distance, the province extends in narrow winding strips to the heights of the Fläming, hemmed in by three Prussian districts; Merseburg on the one side, Potsdam and Magdeburg on the other. In acknowledgment of the situation Bernburg, after having for three years proved the blessing of a custom's policy for the states in the Ballenstedt part of the "upper duchy," also introduced the same tariff into the "lower duchy," and thus for the first time, in 1826, an entire state joined.

But the two kinsmen in Dessau and Kothén still held aloof from one another. Not until Prussia seriously set to work to erect barricades on the frontiers of her states, to encompass both duchies with a line of custom houses, to blockade the upper and lower parts of the Elbe, and the results of an eight years' opposition proved that the geographical position of their territory ne-

cessitated a customs agreement, did they decide to follow the example of Bernburg.

It is evident that such a proceeding, though doubtless justifiable, would call forth the same hatred for the strong as that awakened by compulsion against the weak. Because the Prussian government was induced to believe that up till now the agreement had been to the advantage of both sides, during the Anhalt dispute it became convinced that in future facts might speak for themselves, and that it would be advisable to await further development.

In these proceedings, which had to be carried on in various directions at the same time, Prussia had to avail herself of various means for the same object. Warned by the aimless debates of the Frankfort diet, she dealt with each state individually; the customs union between Bavaria and Wurtemberg was acknowledged; all negotiations ceased with the Thuringian states until the eleven rulers (one of whom was the king of Prussia) should have come to some agreement. Thus, by a highly ramified system of state treaties, unions, declarations of accession, and separate articles, a whole series of connections was formed which all found expression on the 1st of January, 1834, in the great German Zollverein or customs union.

In the course of the next decade the blessings of a free and unimpeded commerce drew the outstanding states, one after the other, into the union. That Austria held aloof in the southeast was the necessary result of political conditions; but it was still more striking that in the northwest the maritime countries separated the halves of the Prussian monarchy.

Nevertheless, it was of undeniable importance that from the Austrian to the Hanoverian frontier, a province of more than eight hundred square miles with thirty millions of inhabitants had become part of a uniform customs district; even the intervening wedges, such as the kingdom of Hanover, could not entirely avoid the imposing influence of this union, nor could they prevent the baggage of railway travellers from passing through their province free of duty.

Intercommunication and Currency

The immediate results were of still greater importance. As in Prussia itself, the removal of inland duty had turned commerce into its natural courses, and imposed on the government of the state the task of opening out a road for it; in the tariff union, the results of the freedom of trade continually gave rise to new tasks. No sooner had the first Saxon states joined the union than Prussia saw the necessity of establishing a connection between the northern and the southern members of the confederation. In the Middle Ages, and even long before then, north Germany and north Europe, south Germany and south Europe were much more closely united than were the two divisions of Germany to each other. Now the two small countries of Meiningen and Gotha, by forming a union, completed the chain between Prussia and Bavaria. Thereupon a new road was agreed on, which, by connecting the Langensalza to the north German road, crossed the Thuringian Forest, united Gotha with Meiningen, and after crossing the river between Werra and Mainz, reached the old Bamberger road at the Bavarian frontier town of Lichtenfels—which up to the present day has remained the junction of the Prussian and Thuringian railways. A great network of commerce between the North Sea countries and Switzerland, which until now had taken its course through Hanover and Frankfort, as that had been the only available route, was to open up trade between the north and south by Magdeburg and Nuremberg.

The great German waterway, the Rhine, was then, as now, far more conspicuous than the overland road. The Vienna Congress had decided that the

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navigation of the Rhine should be free "to the sea." In spite of this, the Dutch raised duty on the wares before they entered the sea; for the agreement said "to the sea," and not "into the sea", and even if one wished to admit the latter interpretation, navigation was not possible beyond Katwyk on the Old Rhine, on account of its sandy bed, and the Waal and the Lek were not the Rhine. Thus for a long time the Dutch obstructed the natural harbour of the German west, whilst they themselves advanced up-stream and continued their commerce unhindered.

Now the states belonging to the Zollverein had a common interest in the opening of the Rhine. As experience had proved that amicable proceedings were not to be successful, Prussia without a moment's hesitation checked the navigation up-stream at Cologne, so as to force toleration for it down-stream. With the sole exception of Nassau, which according to the traditions of Orange adhered to the Netherlands, Prussia had all the Rhenish states on her side, and immediately proceeded with the opening of the Rhine. Since then the general authority of the river has been the Rhine Navigation Commissioner.

Here also, in consequence of the intercommunication, there had to be an understanding concerning currency. The Dresden Convention for regulating the coinage included the lands of the thaler and gulden; the Zollverein pound was already a factor of German unity in the measure system. But besides trade, the union also intrenched upon the internal and political life of the individual states. The connection between all branches of finance was then indissoluble. When certain taxes were suppressed on the frontier, no duty could be imposed on the corresponding produce in the interior of the land, which prejudiced it against the stranger. On the other hand, when the union taxed wine and tobacco, the states belonging to the Zollverein had to levy an equalising tax to prevent one state from overreaching the other. Such stipulations were made by the Treaty of Darmstadt; the grand duke bound himself to endeavour to obtain Prussian excise on articles of consumption. Even questions concerning the internal rights of the state were affected by the Zollverein. The exemption from taxation which the nobles enjoyed here and there became a thing of the past when the frontier taxes were raised for the profit of the union. On the other hand, the union began to assert itself internationally.

Not only did the Prussian agreement become valid in the smaller states, but it also resulted in a uniform policy for the entire union. The treaty concluded between Prussia and Greece was open to all the other states belonging to the union. The agreement with England was signed by the leading power, as all the confederates collectively had given their consent.

Prussia's Gains from the Zollverein

Thus the Zollverein already appeared in the likeness of a state. It fulfilled functions for all its members. By it and through it the smaller states had first received the possibility of a real system of state customs. Geometry teaches that the smaller the surface, the greater in proportion the periphery; thus with political science, the smaller the customs district, the more expensive the guarding of the frontier. In the dwarf states this was too expensive; it was there that the smuggling dens first had their mathematical existence.

On the other hand, the great state derived its natural benefits from this union. Its province was no geometrical square; it was a truly irregular surface, with a crookedly drawn frontier line requiring to be rounded off. Therefore Prussia could overlook financial losses. Such was the case when Darmstadt with its one hundred and fifty-two square miles increased its frontier

line to one hundred and sixteen, and the electorate of Hesse with its one hundred and fifty-four square miles increased it to fully one hundred and fifty-four more. When, in spite of the expensive frontier guard, the receipts were to be divided according to simple proportion, this could be done only at the cost of the Prussian taxpayers; but that which was sacrificed in individual cases was to be made good some day by the great readjustment of the whole. When the Zollverein was formed it was already apparent that Prussia and her allies had a smaller frontier line to guard now than formerly.

The league of princes, the imperial project, and the Zollverein are three degrees of the same period of development, which led from a particularistic alliance to the transitory plan of a union of states, and thence to the beginnings of a real organisation. This result was brought about by the Prussian statesmen; it had been they who had led the young state ever deeper and deeper into German interests, and had matured the identity of these interests in the first German union, under Prussian guidance.

The importance of the Zollverein for German unity was quite clear to contemporaries. In a lively strain Hoffmann von Fallersleben sings of the wares on the table of rates from sulphur matches to "radish, rape-seed, brandy, salmon, wax," and greeted them as the founders of German unity—

For 'tis you have formed a band
Round the German Fatherland.
To you let the fame redound
That our hearts are closely bound.

Thus Prussia had won for herself an influence over Germany in the sphere of economics, which prepared the way for her political supremacy. Industry in Prussia developed with unusual rapidity and strength; from the ancient military state a commercial state was being imperceptibly developed. The central states prospered to an extraordinary extent, and the mediæval system of estates became an impossibility, because the third estate was, in fact, the nation. In addition to this, Prussia encouraged science and the intellectual cultivation of the people. Thus she brought the people slowly but surely to true political maturity and thus directly aided the principle of popular progress. This made it all the more injudicious of the government obstinately to refuse to admit a representation of the people and even to renew the mediæval machinery of the estates.^h

PRUSSIA UNDER THE KING'S DIRECT RULE (1822-1840 A.D.)

The withdrawal of Humboldt and his friends after the promulgation of the Karlsbad Decrees had been a turning point in Prussian home politics. For the sake of soothing popular anxiety, fair promises were for a time held out concerning the question of a Prussian constitution. As late as the 20th of January, 1820, in an ordinance concerning the public debt reference was made to a future assembly of the estates of the realm. The constitution committee continued its labours, but the members who entertained liberal views were removed from it.^f

After the death of the chancellor Hardenberg [which took place at Genoa on the 22nd of November, 1822], the feudal party in Prussia expected to hold the reins of government for a long time to come, since its deputy, Von Voss-Buch, had been intrusted with the conduct of affairs. But after a few weeks the grey-headed leader of the feudalists followed his adversary to the grave (January, 1823), and Witzleben immediately put forth all his eloquence

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to move the king to the recall of Wilhelm von Humboldt. The crown prince also wished the return of the dismissed minister, hoping that with him new spirit and life might enter into the cabinet. The Berlin coterie of scholars spoke for him with one voice, and even a part of the feudalists were ready to welcome Hardenberg's opponent.

Humboldt himself stood aloof from these plans. In his lonely Tegel castle he had for a long time enjoyed the peace of quiet meditation, which was dearer to him than all the honours and ambitions of active life. The tranquil happiness of his Roman days overcame him again, when in the unpretentious noble castle, which Schinkel built for him, he wandered among casts of beautiful antique statues, or when in the evening he walked with his wife along the banks of the blue lake, and saw the Tower of the Four Winds glitter from among the old trees. Here he lived, in himself and for himself, as one removed from the world. "I am very happy; so at one with myself that I have no wish which I cannot reach through myself."

From the height of his philosophy of history he saw all that is human shrink into insignificance; he saw "the stream which bears things away, rather than the things themselves," and the limitations by which the power of the individual is restricted he accepted with serene composure:

This life is to the possible bound,
Its limits often tightly drawn.

In such a frame of mind the failure of Witzleben's counsels to take effect could neither surprise nor wound him. The king had never wholly withdrawn his favour from his fallen minister, whom he regarded as the ablest of his statesmen: but the same objection which five years ago had prevented Humboldt's appointment to the foreign office appeared to be still insurmountable. Prussia's peace policy stood and fell with the alliance of the eastern powers, and Frederick William distrusted his own ability to maintain at the head of his cabinet a man who was hated equally at St. Petersburg and at Vienna.

In his perplexity he appointed the old field-marshal, Kleist von Nollendorf, who, though holding aloof from political life, had yet as adjutant general won the personal confidence of the monarch by his uprightness and calm repose. But he also died suddenly before he had assumed office, and the king, knowing no other suitable man, reverted to an idea he had conceived after the death of Voss. This idea was to govern in the future without a leading statesman, with only heads for the different departments. The regular report to the king was assigned to Count Lottum, who remained in the cabinet, but he relinquished the administration of the finances to a minister of finance.

The count proved himself an industrious, conscientious reporter; his calm air of distinction, his straightforwardness and inaccessibility to intrigues of any kind pleased the monarch, and he held his office until Frederick William's death. He did not cherish great political ambition, and never received even the title of cabinet minister. For the rest the cabinet remained unchanged, although Hardenberg, in a posthumous memorial to the king, had emphatically advised the calling to office of new men.

Thus the day of the state chancellorship was followed by the king's direct rule. The will of the monarch alone held the ministers together, and everything depended on his decision. Only his confidential advisers, Wittgenstein, Witzleben, and Albrecht, were occasionally allowed to influence his decisions, while, still more seldom, Schilden, the chief marshal of the king's household, who every morning presented a brief report concerning the court, would sometimes be permitted to offer his advice on matters political. Such a government could suffice only during a period of profound peace; strength,

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unity, and the power of forming rapid decisions were rarely manifested. Owing to the king's reluctance to adopt radical measures and his inability to oversee the whole of the administration, the old besetting sin of the bureaucracy, red-tapeism, soon revived in full force. Every minister went his own way, as far as he could, in direct opposition to his co-workers: and the same state which boasted of the best administration in Europe and was the founder of the unity of the German market followed the contemptible practice of persecuting demagogues. And yet this personal government with all its obvious weaknesses preserved the Prussian state from a dangerous reaction, such as could hardly have failed to come under a cabinet headed by Voss-Buch. Now it was first made manifest how far the laws promulgated during the preceding years were in advance of the political education of the people; a strong reaction began, very much like that movement which stirred the German empire in the year 1878. Not merely the feudal nobility, but even wide circles of burghers and peasants felt hurt in their interests, customs, and prejudices, and complained of the freedom of migration, the agrarian laws, and the curtailment of guild restrictions. Frederick William, however, never surrendered the basic principles of his social reforms, and although he was now rapidly growing old and could with difficulty resolve on any innovation, he understood in his quiet fashion how to stand as king above the factions. In order to calm the hotspurs of reaction he did, it is true, grant them certain concessions, principally in personal matters; but he did not allow them to become too bold, and they never attained their last aim: the abolition of the Hardenbergian legislation.

Once in the summer of 1825 the unqualified adherents of Austria fancied that they had already attained a decisive victory, as their leader, Duke Charles of Mecklenburg [half-brother of the beloved Queen Luise], was intrusted with the presidency of the council of state, an office which until now had been held only by ministers of state.

In the castle of Monbijou, where the duke dwelt, Kamptz and General Müffling were the leaders in debate; there the Haller doctrine of salvation was far more impressively preached than in the palace on the Wilhelmstrasse, where the crown prince gathered about him his romantic friends. The king, however, who did not rate highly the statesmanship of his brother-in-law, held him with a tight rein; he allowed him to take a silent part in the sessions of the cabinet, thinking thus to keep him informed and to enable him in case of necessity to recommend a bill to the state council. Seat and voice in the council of ministers he was by no means allowed to have, although the duke urgently besought the king and attempted by repeated requests for dismissal to effect his purpose. The office of the prince, thus limited, was not much more than an honorary position.

THE PRUSSIAN PROVINCIAL DIETS

This policy of compromise, which kept all parties quiet and proceeded with extreme caution in legislation, sprang not merely from the character of Frederick William, but also from the strange mixture of political contrasts which were brought to light in the proceedings of the new provincial diets. On the birthday of the king, August 3rd, 1823, the general laws governing the provincial diets of the 5th of June and the special laws for Brandenburg, Prussia, and Pomerania of the 1st of July were promulgated. Then followed on the 27th of March, 1824, the laws for the remaining five provinces. In the years 1824 to 1827 the provincial diets were convoked, first in Brandenburg, then in Posen. Of the correctness of the decisions reached the king was deeply

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convinced, and what he had recently learned of the performances of the south German chambers of deputies, of the vacillations of the Stuttgart court, and the constant calls of anguish that now issued from Bavaria and Baden could but strengthen him in his conviction. He caused the new laws to be communicated to all ambassadors, with the explanation that the prevailing confusion of ideas and the great variety of conditions in the provinces had delayed the conclusion of the work. The courts and the diplomats naturally rivalled one another in expressions of grateful admiration.

Berstett was quite as delighted as the old king of Saxony; Rechberg praised especially the strong representation of the nobles. The Badenese ambassador expressed the hope that now the universal opinion concerning constitutional government would be changed, and Bunsen portrayed, in a report full of unctiousness, the joy of all right-thinking Romans: how easy to make such laws in Germany, how difficult in Italy; "who, when such things are considered, will not bless the spirit of reformation!" Only the old Franco-German Reinhard in Frankfurt could not refrain from indicating, in a malicious memoir, the discontent of the Rhineland population.

Public opinion in the smaller states received the result, which was so far removed from their own constitutional ideals, with an icy silence. The *Journal des Débats* was the first paper which discussed the new laws at length; then the German papers took the matter up, and their decision was almost unanimous; the expectations of the nation had been disappointed; in Prussia all was to remain as in the past. The Prussians themselves did not share in these feelings. Among the mass of the people the desire for representation had never taken deep root, and even the men who at first hoped for greater things were so completely imbued with monarchical sentiments that they received most thankfully what was offered and regarded the provincial diets as the basis for a future constitution. This was the thought of Stein, Humboldt, Vincke, and Schöner. Even in the circles of the liberals, to which General Pfuel and the father of Theodor Körner belonged, all greeted hopefully this beginning "of an organic constitution of the nation." To be sure, even among the high conservative party there was no lack of far-seeing men, who anxiously weighed the question as to what would be the course of procedure in case of war, since only the national diet had the right to increase the national debt. General Muffling felt impelled to advise that the king should convene, perhaps in the year 1828 after the provincial diets had twice assembled, a national diet to consist of one hundred and twenty members and two chambers, in order to obviate the necessity of a sudden and forced summoning of the estates of the realm in the future and in time of need. The king, however, would not consent to the proposition; he reckoned on a long continuance of peace and wished the provincial diets to be first given a thorough trial.

THE FIRST PROVINCIAL DIET

The elections to the first provincial diet proceeded without disturbance, although a lively interest was everywhere manifest. The knighthood of the old territories accepted the new order of things without reserve. The feudalist particularist opposition vanished with one stroke; the Prussian constitution at last stood on a foundation of recognised legality. Among the feudal nobility there were undoubtedly many individuals who secretly mourned over the half victory and the destruction of their old privileges; all diets, however, unanimously expressed their thanks to the monarch, and nowhere was the least effort made to defend the rights of the abrogated provincial estates. Only in Saxony, Prussia, and Pomerania, the provincial diets proposed that the Crown

should authorise the holding of special municipal or parish diets in the various districts of the land; but they calmed down at once when the king refused their request. Though the new order of things failed to arouse a higher feeling for the state, it at least drew more closely together the population of the separate provinces, and poor old Marwitz was obliged to see a "foreigner," a lower Lusatian, presiding over the first provincial diet of Brandenburg. He grumbled over the nonsense that the bureaucratic demagogues had brought into the legislation of the estates of the realm. Nevertheless he yielded, since he saw his old markish "state" partially restored to its former position, and the inflexible feudalism handed over triumphantly to the new diet the key to the treasury of the old estates, which fourteen years before he had saved from the bureaucrats of Hardenberg.

The interest which greeted the first diet moderated quickly as the new institution gave but little promise of full and free development. The Crown to be sure manifested confidence in the loyal estates by returning to the Kurmark its old estate house and, with some restrictions, also the administration of the poor-laws. In order to confer honour on the provincial diets it made all their marshals members of the council of state, so that Stein was at last exalted to the position due him, being called to the council at the same time as Marwitz—after the king had made careful inquiry through Duke Charles as to whether or not the proud baron would receive such a proof of favour.

The constitutional committee which had created the provincial diets continued to exist with a slight change of organisation under the name of "Immediate (*i.e.* Royal) Commission" for the regulation of all affairs relating to the diets, the endorsement of all legislative proposals to come before them, the decisions of the government on their prorogation, and the examination of elections to them.

The crown prince occupied the chair, while its records were kept by Privy Councillor von Voss-Buch, nephew of the former minister and a believer in the same political faith. He had won the entire confidence of the heir to the throne, and with his ready pen projected the political memorials of the prince. For twenty-three years, until after the convocation of the United Diet, this "Immediate Commission" acted as mediator between the Crown and the diets. It was not deficient in good intentions, for the crown prince dearly loved his German law diets.

But all this could not replace active personal intercourse with the provincial estates, from which the government was cut off; partly because of bureaucratic anxieties; partly because of the unnatural division of the diets themselves. It was impossible for the ministers to appear personally in eight different diets, and it was equally impossible to intrust the provincial authorities with the defence of the proposed legislation, since the laws affected, directly or indirectly, the entire country. Hence the propositions of the Crown were merely laid before the provincial diets at their opening by the royal commissioner, and after that the bodies were left to their own deliberations. By this arrangement the most necessary element in the proceedings of a diet, the free and immediate interchange of thought between crown and estates, was completely lacking. Only at the close of the diet did the Crown announce its decisions, and these announcements were unduly delayed, frequently for a whole year or more, because the king could not give answers to the petitions of his Rhinelanders or Brandenburgians without having listened first to the opinions of his Westphalians or Silesians. Thus did that artificial doctrinarianism avenge itself on those who would destroy the unity of the state by dividing it into eight parts.

And the diets had as little relation with those below as with those above. The short review which the marshal of the diet published at the close of the

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sessions was altogether inadequate; the actual proceedings themselves the members were to keep secret. Even the harmless and indispensable right of a national assembly to receive and to discuss petitions was denied to these provincial diets; evidently it was because it was feared that a storm of petitions in Posen or on the Rhine might be made to serve the ends of subverters of the existing order. Hence the people remained in almost total ignorance of the course pursued by their representatives. The transactions of the diets educated a small nucleus of politically experienced men, but their influence was hardly perceptible over wider circles, and for a long time there existed but a single party in Prussia which had well defined aims—the feudalists.

The Outbreak of Hope in Prussia and Westphalia

In Prussia and Westphalia the good results of the diets were most marked. In the east was once more awakened the proud recollection of the diet at Königsberg and of the active life of the estates during the time of the Teutonic knights. A fresh breath of youthful hope and provincial independence was perceptible in the speeches. Many, like Schön, loved to speak of “the kingdom of Prussia and his majesty’s other states!” The estates rejoiced in having gained once more the old Prussian freedom, and would have liked to hold their meetings in the refectory of Marienburg castle (the sanctuary of the province), instead of alternating in Dantzic or Königsberg. The patriotic disposition of the nobility and the provincial pride that was common to all did not allow any special class spirit to arise. When a delegate of the cities once threatened to resort to the *itio in partes*, all the other delegates became fiercely indignant and silenced him, and the diet declared to the king that the diet of the kingdom of Prussia would never make use of the right to separate, the Prussians being quite able to raise themselves above the interests of the separate estates and districts. On the occasion of its very first sitting the diet proposed—unfortunately without success—the publication of all the transactions, so that the country might learn to know its diets. Schön, the royal commissioner, staked his honour on being able to make the diet of his province a model for the entire country. When the diet was in session at Dantzic the president would move to a country house in Pelonken and cross over daily into the city, that he might by personal threats and admonitions keep the malcontents in check. The remote province held together like one great family. In the diet hall, Count Alexander Dohna (the first militiaman of 1813), was honoured as a patriarch, and the whole land mourned with him when, during the diet of 1827, the news arrived of the death of his sister-in-law, Julie Dohna (Scharnhorst’s daughter). The brave Prussians crowded around him with tears in their eyes when he closed his farewell speech with the words of Paul Gerhardt: “May God give us all a happy heart!”

The dignified behaviour of the Westphalian diet was pre-eminently due to the influence of Stein. Rather than remain in beautiful Nassau where all things reminded him of the loss of his freedom, and where the meddlesomeness of the Rhenish bureaucrats perpetually irritated him, he now resided at Cappenberg, his Prussian estate; here he felt at home. The church of St. Norbert stood in the midst of the court of his lonely castle, and when he strolled over the terrace he could gaze beyond the old oaks of his forests away into the valley of the Lippe, even to the far-off mountains of the land of the red soil to which he had dedicated the powers of his early manhood. On Vincke’s proposal, he was selected, as the first man of the province, to be marshal of the diet. Afflicted with the infirmities of age and blind in one eye, he nevertheless accepted the position and opened the first diet in the magnificent hall of peace in the council house at Münster, with an address wherein he

set forth the moral aim of political freedom. He welcomed the new constitution, because it would help to educate the people in independent activity: "It will unite, educate, upraise; it will bind all hearts, because all will strive towards one aim—the glory of the fatherland, it will impart to the individual a knowledge of his own worth, inasmuch as it will call into activity his nobler and higher powers." It was no easy matter to meet under Stein's presidency, as his vehemence had not softened with years. As soon as he entered all speech was hushed, and woe to him who with useless talk retarded the proceedings. The old leader could also be unjust if he thought any "peasant lawyer" was instigating the people against the approved old Saxon laws. He even got into a dispute with Vincke (the commissioner to the diet), over the keeping of the land-register, and neither one of the two obstinate old men could ever afterwards become quite reconciled to the other.

But the moral stature of the powerful statesman uplifted the entire assembly, and in every word he uttered was expressed the warmest love for his adopted home. In the conduct of affairs he still manifested his former ability. He was acquainted with every detail of the life of the country, and the peasants understood well that in all the world they possessed no better friend than this haughty aristocrat, who now in his old age sometimes expressed himself with the most wounding severity.

There was much intelligence and practical knowledge of life displayed also in the other diets, and their adherence to the king was often expressed with a childlike simplicity that by no means precluded honest candour. The administration of various municipal institutions that were intrusted to them was conducted by the provincial diets with happy enthusiasm. This was ground in which the German ideals of freedom—from which Stein's city ordinances had sprung—had struck deep root. And in how surprisingly short a period had this state drawn the people round its standard! Against compulsory universal military service, which only ten years ago had called forth so much passionate resentment, there was not now raised a single voice in all the diets; indeed, the diets of Brandenburg and Posen begged the king to make the Jews all pass through the school of the army for their own improvement.

CASTE FEELING IN THE PROVINCES

In Posen, however, harmony was impaired by national enmity; and on the Rhine the antagonism between the old and the new society, which manifested itself though with less rancour in the other provinces also, resulted in several serious outbreaks. The division into estates, so artfully contrived by red-tapists, appeared nowhere so unjust as in the entirely modern, bourgeois conditions of life of the Rhine province. It was reckoned that the order of knighthood possessed only about four per cent. of the land of that province; several of the largest landed proprietors found themselves either entirely excluded from elections or obliged to cast in their vote with the cities if, as very frequently happened, they lived in the city and let their scattered estates. The caste spirit of the Rhenish nobles still further increased the discontent. This canonical race, now that the Crown was so favourably disposed towards them, again displayed dynastic tendencies, which to be sure as quickly vanished when afterwards the state became involved in a quarrel with the church. They spoke haughtily of their vocation to protect the throne against a revolution, and took an oath with one another to elect to the diet only nobles of true canonical blood. It can therefore be easily understood why many middle-class landowners strove, in defiance of the law, to enter the rank of knighthood. Adroit jurists lent them the service of their pens, and even during

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the election a violent quarrel arose concerning the prerogatives of the nobles, which broke forth anew in the diet.

Everything considered, the spirit of the Prussian provincial diet was directly opposed to that of the south German chambers of deputies. The contrast between north and south appeared indeed sharper than it really was, because the double-chamber system of south Germany set closer limits to the influence of the nobility than the division into estates of the Prussian diets. In the south the aristocracy possessed, according to law, the full half of the power of the diet; but they carried on their deliberations in the chamber of nobles, and could venture only in exceptional cases opposition to the decision of the other chamber, which was upheld by the will of the people. In Prussia, on the other hand, the nobility could directly control the diets by their influence and their votes. The Prussian system of representation had one great advantage over the diets of south Germany; the peasant class was indeed poorly represented, but it was represented by real peasants, not by officials and citizens as in the south. The indestructible power of what is essentially German rests principally on the sterling qualities of this class, and it might, in the diet of the estates, express itself with a freedom denied it under the general elections of the representative system. Though they had scarcely yet attained to the stature of perfect freedom, the peasants were not in the least backward about asserting their rights: on the contrary, they often opposed with much boldness and characteristic obstinacy any undue pretensions on the part of the knights.

THE SILENTLY GROWING POWER OF THE BOURGEOISIE

On the other hand the learned professions, the officials, lawyers, professors, and writers who preponderated in the south German assemblies, were almost entirely absent from the Prussian provincial diets, and there was a totally inadequate representation of that influential and growing class that was rich in other property than land. Herein lay the worst defect of the new order, for in these strata of society had struck root the new liberalism whose power and rights could no longer be ignored, and it was the opinion of this class that for a long time had been in practical control of the press. This class being excluded from representation, the diet but poorly reflected the true spirit of the nation, and by degrees there grew up outside the diets a dangerous opposition, which, developing in the stillness for years, suddenly burst forth into the light of day, with the majority of the educated *bourgeoisie* on its side.

The great landed proprietors, who alone were allowed to express themselves in the provincial diets, represented in their great majority a strongly conservative spirit. Until the year 1830 not a word was heard in the eight diets of the promise of a national diet. In the press of the smaller states an isolated voice occasionally recalled the old promise; thus the young Heinrich von Gagern in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* warmly greeted the diet of Westphalia, and expressed the expectation and hope that with the Prussian national diet might be ushered in a new period of Prusso-German greatness. But in the provincial diets themselves these hopes found as yet no echo. The freer spirits considered themselves bound by their loyalty to forestall the resolutions of the Crown, but to wait until it could be observed how the provincial delegations would conduct themselves. The great majority, however, scarcely looked beyond their native province. In the first south German diets, liberalism at once declared itself with a long programme of half-ripe measures, but in Prussia the Crown had constantly to fight the tenacious particularism of the provincials and their mistrust of every innovation. Thus was fulfilled what

Humboldt had foreseen, that the diets would always represent the principles of conservatism; the government, those of progress.

The very first diet, that of Brandenburg, vehemently deplored the innovations which the so-called spirit of the bloody, turbulent times had called forth. "Strangers as we are to the theories of both old and new times, we can offer nothing but the truths of experience," declared the Brandenburgers. Experience, however, teaches how thousands are deluded "by the dazzling hope of independence" to demand the abolition of guild restrictions, and how the landowner, "oppressed by the destructive influences of free trade on the frontier," looks in vain for help. Though less loudly expressed, similar complaints were heard in all the diets. The king, however, had effectually checked the accomplishment of such wishes by his directions to the "Immediate (Royal) Commission": that the principles of the legislation of 1810 must not be overthrown, since that would be to disturb "relations which were fashioned as a result of legal obligations, and have more or less taken root." He would consent only to certain isolated alterations if the diets wished them for good reasons, but in no case would he allow a diminution of the newly-acquired revenue from taxes, so long as no compensation could be found. It was thanks to the Crown alone that Hardenberg's reforms were upheld and cautiously introduced into the new provinces. In the small states, the Berlin court was condemned as a reactionary power, because the political dilettantism of the Germans did not consider it worth while to study the conditions of the greatest of German states. In truth, King Frederick William thought and acted more liberally than did his faithful diets.¹

GERMANY AND THE JULY REVOLUTION

Anyone taking a survey of Germany as a whole could not have failed to perceive a certain progress. In its hard fight with the reaction, the popular cause was gaining ground, though slowly. The question of constitutions had originally been brought forward from the west. France had introduced popular representation; and she afterwards also gave a powerful impulse to the demand for it in Germany and in Europe.

For whilst absolutism was labouring with apparent success for the suppression of popular liberty, suddenly, in the year 1830, an event took place in France which from its very nature was bound to exercise an important influence on constitutional life in Germany. This was what is known as the July Revolution. The French government had paid too much heed to the whispers of the Roman Jesuitical party which, there as elsewhere and even in Germany, boldly maintained that the sole salvation for governments lay in their submission to the Roman church; that nations would be most securely led if they were rendered stupid and so held back from that striving towards an ever-greater reasonable perfection which has been implanted in every human breast. The then king of France, Charles X, and his ministers, willingly followed this teaching; they especially sought to limit the freedom of the press and freedom of election: two things which stood in the closest connection with each other. But the French people rose in righteous anger and expelled the king for having infringed the most sacred rights.

The example of the French people had a great effect on the Germans, because the same causes which in France had produced the revolution of July, 1830, also still existed in a greater or less degree in several German states. For many promises still remained unfulfilled; instead of the desired freedom of trade, an unintelligent, harmful tariff system still subsisted in most of the states of the German Confederation, instead of the promised freedom of the press, there was the detested censorship. In many states indignation at

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the maladministration was added to this. The first to rise (September, 1830) were the Brunswickers, who had suffered severely from the insupportable, almost insane rule of violence under Duke Charles: for this man simply mocked at the people. They stormed his castle and set it on fire. Charles fled and his brother William, who recognised the estates (which Charles in his stupid insolence had refused to do), assumed the government. A similar rising of the people took place in Saxony, where in September, 1830, King Anthony was obliged to appoint his nephew, Frederick, co-ruler, and the latter then granted a moderate constitution. The same thing happened in the electoral principality of Hesse, where the people were in the highest degree enraged as much against the elector's mistress as against the customs system. Here, too, the prince had to accept a co-ruler in the person of his son, the electoral prince, and a comparatively liberal constitution was secured (1831). A year later a similar agitation broke out in Hanover, where, to the general dissatisfaction, the minister, Count Munster, attempted to restore obsolete conditions, and in especial the "squirearchy" (*Junkerherrschaft*). The popular commotion resulted everywhere in the erection of a more or less liberal constitution; in the electorate of Hesse Prof. Sylvester Jordan rendered the most essential service towards the introduction of a constitution which was distinguished above the other German fundamental laws by many superior features.

Thus a real advance had been made: the constitutional principle had even penetrated to north Germany; only Prussia and Austria, with a few other states like Mecklenburg, still did homage to the absolute form of government. The states which had already been in possession of a constitution now continued their constitutional development with fresh energy. This was especially so in the grand duchy of Baden, where the grand duke Leopold, a mild prince and one who was well disposed towards the people, had assumed the government in 1830.

In those days, besides their share in the transactions concerning their own constitutional existence, there was another great cause which stirred the hearts of the German people. In the year 1831 Poland had risen against Russia in the hope of winning back her ancient independence, but had succumbed after an heroic struggle; and many Poles now passed through Germany as homeless refugees, everywhere received with the true old German hospitality, with respect for their misfortunes and an enthusiasm which sprang from the interest in the cause for which they had fought—the cause of nationality and freedom.

The Hambach Festival (1832 A.D.)

Then, first in south Germany, the newspaper press spoke out freely and boldly and addressed powerful admonitions to all Germans; in Rhenish Bavaria an association was founded for the liberty of the press; and at the celebration of the grant of the Bavarian constitutional charter a great popular assembly was held on the 24th of May, 1832, at the castle of Hambach near Neustadt on the Hardt, when the black, red, and gold standard was planted and speeches were made which called for the unification of Germany and the erection of a common German constitution, based on the sovereignty of the people. But this democratic movement was confined to Rhenish Bavaria and was easily suppressed by the Bavarian government. The excesses of the small democratic party only furnished the reactionaries with a welcome pretext to cast further reflections on the constitutional principle. Metternich declared with fresh energy that the states were in danger, and again compelled the confederation diet to take steps against the popular cause. Thus not only

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were measures against the movement taken in Rhenish Bavaria, the Press Association prohibited, the boldest orators and newspaper writers put in prison, but, on the 28th of June, 1832, the confederation diet passed several resolutions directed principally against the effectiveness of the estates in south-west Germany, and their privilege of granting taxes, the latter was almost entirely abolished, and the governments were exhorted to permit nothing which might stand in the way of the resolutions of the confederation; it suppressed all unions and popular assemblies, as well as all papers expressive of liberal opinions, and did away with the freedom of the press in the grand duchy of Baden. The wearing of the German colours was forbidden, and a pursuit of all democrats and zealous liberals was instituted.

Frankfurter Attentat (1833 A.D.)

In consequence, many men who entertained the idea of a violent alteration of existing conditions fled from Germany, some to France and some to Switzerland, where they continued to maintain secret communications with their fellows in Germany who shared their opinions. For, to exaggerated reaction, they wished to oppose revolution. Their resources were insignificant; the people were not behind them; they were really merely a few visionaries enraged by the disappointment and persecution which the liberal element had to endure. In the erroneous idea that something might be done against absolutism by conspiracy and sudden action, they drew up a comprehensive plan which came to an insane, ineffective issue in 1833. In the night of April 3rd some seventy democrats, mostly students, made an attempt to get possession of the town of Frankfort-on-the-Main with the intention of dispersing the confederation diet. Of course the attempt failed. A conspiracy in Wurtemberg which was connected with it was also discovered and easily put down. Most of those concerned were seized, and after a long imprisonment pending trial, received severe punishments; but subsequently, of those who did not succeed in making their escape, several individuals were restored to freedom, either unconditionally or with the stipulation that they should emigrate to America.

Metternich eagerly seized the opportunity to incite the German governments still further against the popular spirit. Revolution and constitution were regarded by the retrogressive party as meaning the same thing. The monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria united still more closely to contend against the revolutionary spirit. The Russian emperor Nicholas, who had succeeded Alexander in 1825, stood forward beside Metternich as the pillar of absolutism, and the Russian influence increased in consequence to an extraordinary extent, whilst on the other hand it gave the strongest support to the reaction. Thus it came to pass that Metternich was able to make the confederation diet more and more the instrument of his enmity to the existing constitutions. More and more encroachments were made on the constitutional system. Soon after, reaction won a complete victory in an important secondary state.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN HANOVER (1837 A.D.)

In Hanover, in the year 1833, a new constitution was completed, and on the 26th of September it was confirmed by William IV, king of England, who was also king of Hanover.^k

William IV died on the 20th of June, 1837. The succession to the throne in the female line was valid in England, but the throne of Hanover descended to the younger brother of the dead king, the duke of Cumberland, Ernest

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Augustus. It had been omitted to procure from him as the heir to the throne consent to the fundamental state law established in the year 1833. The duke, an obstinate Tory, and even regarded with disfavour by this party for being more autocrat than aristocrat, had immediately declared that he would never give his consent to this constitutional measure; but these declarations had reached the knowledge of only a few people. On the 28th of June, 1837, Ernest Augustus celebrated his entry into the capital. The estates sent a deputation to welcome him: it was not admitted. Two days later an order was issued to the estates pronouncing their adjournment, but, according to Article 13 of the fundamental state law, the king was obliged on his accession to swear to observe the constitution of the country. This had not been done, and while the first chamber received the announcement of the decree for the adjournment in silence, in the second chamber, after the announcement had been made and the president had put the question whether anybody had any observation to make, a member, Dr. Stuve, Burgomaster of Osnabrück, rose with the words: "I do not believe that his majesty has yet assumed government." The chamber was silent; the speaker seated himself; the president declared the sitting closed.

Tame indeed was the opposition which was raised thus at the beginning of a shameless violation of the law; but it was universally recognised that if in this case the mere non-acquiescence of the successor to the throne in a constitution, united in its aim and legally valid as well as in full working power, was enough to upset such a constitution, then there was not a constitution or a law in Germany that was any longer safe. The king meanwhile went his own way. As cabinet minister he nominated the secret councillor, Von Schele. This man was bound to the constitution by no express oath, and the king made of him a tool in the *coup d'état* which he meditated. In a patent countersigned by Von Schele he informed the country of his accession, further declaring that the fundamental state law which he had never recognised was also not binding on him, but he promised none the less to submit this question to a careful and conscientious examination. For this conscientious examination of a question which was no question, but which like everything in the world could be made into a question by the juristic quibbles of sophists and prince-servers—a question over which the dust of many deductions and clauses could be raised—a commission was appointed with Von Schele as president. Relying on the results brought to light by this commission, Ernest Augustus published a proclamation on the 11th of November, 1837, in which the assembly of the estates was declared to be dissolved; at the same time he issued a patent abolishing the fundamental state law of 1833 and establishing a new constitution which should meet "the true needs of the country," and be assimilated by the estates of 1819. Of the real needs of the country this wily despot, who had never troubled himself about them, knew little; he thought of the more real necessities which lay upon himself in the form of his debts, the solution of which was to be found in the profit accruing from the Hanoverian domains which the constitution of 1833 had declared to be state property and replaced by a civil list.

The shameless violation of law provoked great excitement in the German chambers and even in the German governments, most of which had still preserved a juristic conscience. The national chambers, not only of Baden, but also of Bavaria, Saxony, electoral Hesse, Darmstadt, Brunswick, and Württemberg, declared more or less vigorously and without much opposition from the governments, for the restoration of constitutional law and order in Hanover.

In the country itself, as was to be expected from the phlegmatic nature of a population chiefly of peasants, the excitement was not inordinate. The

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elections were completed without material opposition. Only seven professors of the university of Göttingen, which according to the constitution of 1819 had also to elect a representative—Albrecht, Dahlmann, the two brothers Grimm, Gervinus, Ewald, and Weber—had the courage to declare to the curators of the university that, inasmuch as they were convinced of the legal impossibility of abolishing the constitution of the country by royal patent, they held themselves bound by the oath that they had taken to the constitution; as tutors of youth it would ill befit them to play with oaths; and so they refused to take part in the election of a representative of the university. It was a word spoken at the right time that confronted tyrannical power with the sense of duty belonging to honour, expressed by men whose name was a guarantee that this determination owed its source to pure conviction, without motives of ambition or the thirst for notoriety. For this reason, their decision met everywhere with lively appreciation, and the names of these men were endeared to the remembrance of the nation in later times. The king, who regarded science and scientific conviction with the cynical narrow-mindedness of an ignorant country bumpkin and a rough soldier, made short work; his command, which was preceded by no inquiry, dispossessed the seven of their offices, and banished three of them, Dahlmann, Jacob Grimm, and Gervinus, from the country, for having "published" the protest and thereby made themselves peculiarly responsible for the crime of incitement to rebellion.

THE DIET OF THE CONFEDERATION

On the 20th of February, 1838, the new assembly met; a few towns, like Osnabruck, had refused to elect, or had elected under protest. The assembly conducted itself in a vacillating manner, sought to evade a discussion of the new constitutional scheme, and, after the opposition had been strengthened by the elections of those corporations which until now had refused to avail themselves of election, determined, on the 25th of June, at the motion of Conradi, the member for Göttingen, that "the constitution which had subsisted legally before the accession of his majesty could be neither satisfactorily abolished nor amended, otherwise than with the consent of the electorate established according to the fundamental state law." This was decided by thirty-four against twenty-four votes. On the 29th twenty-eight of the majority handed in a petition to the assembly of the confederation, to which several corporations of the country, amongst others the magistrate of Osnabruck, had already lent their sanction, with a deduction drawn up by Von Stuve.

On the 6th of September, 1838, the diet of the confederation decided to return this document on account of a deficiency in the legal basis of the petitioners, but challenged the Hanoverian government to make a declaration on the subject. This, together with the repeated declarations of the German chambers, encouraged the constitutional party in Hanover, which could not find such encouragement in the masses of their own people—the peasantry being of opinion that the king understood everything best and should be allowed to go his own way; the isolated attempts to refuse to pay the taxes failed miserably. On the 15th of February, 1839, the king simply declared the legal conditions of 1819 to be re-established, wiping away the progress of twenty years with a stroke of the pen. But the estates which had been summoned on this day had lacked a quorum wherewith to make decisions; the absent members protested, and, on the 29th of March, handed in a new petition to the diet of the confederation. But it was idle to hope for simple justice from this assembly which had two standards. Certainly the Bavarian ambassador moved on the 26th of April that the diet of the confederation should declare that in the conduct of the royal government it missed the ob-

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servation of Article 56 in the Final Act of Vienna—according to which parliamentary constitutions could be altered only in a constitutional way, and that it recommended that government to preserve the existing constitutional forms and to introduce changes only in a way agreeable to those forms; but when finally, after the requisite time had elapsed, a division was taken on the 5th of September, it was determined by nine votes against eight not to yield to the proposal for the interference of the confederation, “as in the existing state of affairs there was present no adequate motive for the interference of the confederation in this internal difficulty.” In the majority were the two great courts and the votes for Holstein and for Luxemburg, that is, Denmark and Holland. In this voting crisis the scale was turned by none other than the miserable government itself, that is to say, the vote of Hanover—not the least shameful episode in this shameless transaction. The satisfaction was not universal; there were some princes acute enough to see that in this instance monarchy in Germany was digging its own grave.

With this vote the last support of the opposition in Hanover fell to the ground. The king carried his point. On the 19th of March, 1840, the quorum assembly of the estates took place, and after much deliberation a new constitutional law was established of which the publication followed on the 6th of August, 1840.^m

LAST YEARS OF FREDERICK WILLIAM III. (1834-1840 A.D.)

The misguided men who, mistaking the temper of the times, undertook to bring about a national rising in Germany in 1834, drew down unspeakable misery upon those who shared their opinions and upon the whole of Germany. The diet of the confederation immediately (June 20th) nominated a fresh commission of inquiry, gave orders for the suppression of all liberal papers in south Germany, and subjected the universities to the most rigid supervision. In the fury of their persecuting zeal the assembly did not hesitate to trample on the most obvious juridical principles which commonly obtain among civilised nations. They were not satisfied with prohibiting countless works, most of them perfectly harmless. Whole publishing firms were laid under an interdict, and not only were such of their publications suppressed as had already seen the light, but an embargo was laid on all those they might publish for years to come, and thus a massacre of the innocents wholly without precedent was perpetrated upon these unborn works. The practical results in this as in all similar cases was to double the demand for the prohibited books, which were far more greedily devoured than they would otherwise have been. The persecuted publishers made an enormous profit. So high did public indignation rise against this intellectual tutelage that reading circles were formed for the express purpose of studying the prohibited books.

But it was not only or chiefly against the literary world that the effort to suppress free speech of any description was directed; representative bodies were even more hardly dealt with. The diet of the confederation, acting on the advice of the ministerial conferences held at Vienna, appointed a confederation court of arbitration on October 20th, 1834, consisting of thirty-four assessors nominated by the sovereigns, who were to decide all disputes between governments and representative assemblies—invariably, of course, in favour of the latter. By keeping their forces on a war footing and by the ruthless exercise of the censorship the ruling powers contrived to prevent any open resistance to their decrees; but thousands of hearts were seething with silent resentment of the oppressive measures which were more arbitrarily enforced from day to day, and day by day the conviction that no good could come of the confederation diet at Frankfort as long as it represented the

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sovereigns only to the exclusion of the people, gained ground and gathered strength.

In Prussia the legal proceedings at Frankfort had awakened no apprehensions. The people were quiet in all parts of the kingdom, and the friendly relations between the king and his subjects remained undisturbed. In spite of this, the Kamptz crew succeeded in inspiring the monarch with such a terror of secret societies, student associations, and the like, that he revived the old persecution of demagogues. It is a dark blot on the history of the reign of Frederick William III that after having had ample opportunities of assuring himself that exaggerated importance had been ascribed to the youthful follies of 1819, he again allowed a large number of persons, most of them excellent men of great intellectual ability, to fall into the hands of such scoundrels as Kamptz, Dambach, and Von Ischoppe, who treated their unfortunate victims with ruthless severity, partly out of pure malice and partly in the hope of gaining favour and consequence for themselves.

Legislation was entirely in the king's hands, and as the exercise of this supreme prerogative was delegated in part to the minister of justice, there were ways of forcing the law courts to obey the instructions and rescripts of the Kamptz party. The interpretations and perversions of the law they put forward were absolutely revolting. Certain unfortunately indefinite terms in the criminal code were so interpreted as to allow of the infliction of the heaviest penalties of imprisonment and death on the "suspicion of attempted high treason." Confessions were again extorted from accused persons by false promises of future pardon; young men were sentenced to twenty or thirty years' imprisonment and loss of civil rights—some of them even to death—of whom it was literally true that (as Fritz Reuter, who was condemned to thirty years' imprisonment, says of himself) they had been guilty of nothing but having once been seen wearing a tricolor ribbon in the streets of a university town. The wearing of this symbol of rebellion was enough to give rise to the "suspicion" which furnished sufficient grounds for the infliction of the heaviest penalties. It is absolutely incomprehensible that there should have been no one about the king to open his eyes to this abominable abuse of the criminal law. To the day of his death he regarded these unhappy young men as persons who had plotted to rob him of his people's love, which in his eyes was rightly adjudged the worst of crimes.

All prisoners who did not succeed in effecting their escape remained in custody, more or less strict according to the temper of the commandant of the fortress, until Frederick William IV, shortly after his accession, published a general amnesty for political offences. Fritz Reuter, whose liberation the Mecklenburg government had with difficulty obtained a short time before, had to wait four weeks before he was set at liberty through the personal intervention of the grand duke Frederick Paul.

In all these melancholy incidents it was Frederick William III's good fortune that public indignation was not directed against him personally, but against his advisers. He himself remained the darling of his people. The 3rd of August, the anniversary of the day on which he first saw the light in 1770, was kept as a holiday now no less than before, and with such warmth of feeling that it seemed a family festival to every one of his subjects. The streets of Berlin and many other towns were illuminated on "the king's birthday," wealthy citizens feasted their poor neighbours, especially the invalid soldiers of the war of Liberation. Everyone was pleased to see the erect and vigorous figure of the aged monarch as he took his daily drive in simple state through the streets of the capital.

After the spring of 1840, marked symptoms of declining strength conveyed to all men's minds the presage of the sovereign's approaching end. When,

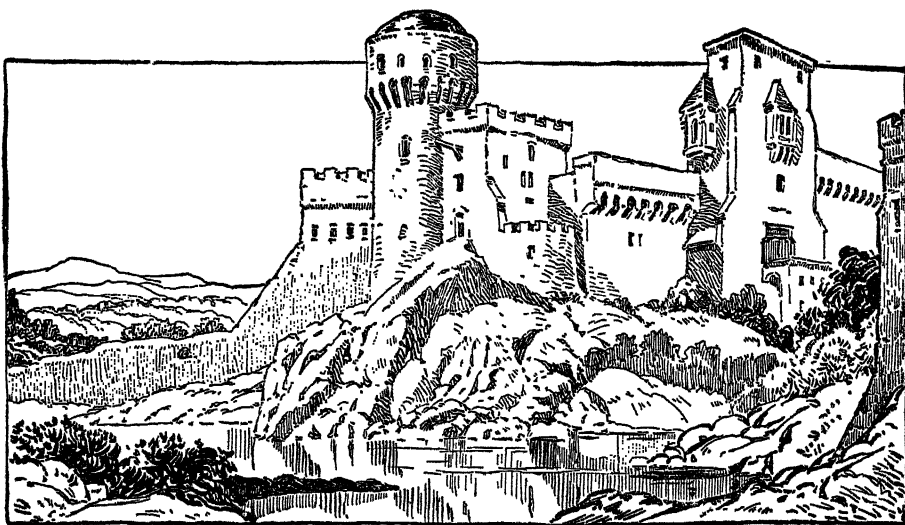
[1840 A D]

on May 30th, the foundation stone of the monument to Frederick the Great was laid, the king could only watch the scene from his window. A malady which was not at first thought dangerous consumed his vital forces, and on the 7th of June death set a term to his troublous days. The fortieth year of the century, ever big with fate for the Hohenzollerns, was again to witness the opening of a new reign in Prussia.

The full extent of the unexampled popularity of Frederick William III was manifested when the news of his approaching end was bruited abroad. For three long days, from early morning till night, the wide space between the palace and the arsenal opposite was crowded by a silent throng of thousands upon thousands of men and women with anxious eyes all fixed upon the windows where the king was wont to be seen. They were as children awaiting in dismay the moment that was to deprive them of a father.

One touching incident of those days must not be passed over without mention. The entrances to the royal residence were absolutely blocked by the dense throng, when a servant appeared at the foot of the staircase, and, being unable to get any farther, informed those nearest him that the king was asking for an orange. The message passed from mouth to mouth to the outskirts of the crowd. One of the hindmost hastened to buy the fruit the king wished for, and it was handed over the heads of the silent multitude to the palace and taken to the king, who was profoundly touched by this simple token of his people's affection.

On June 7th, 1840, the king passed away at the age of seventy, surrounded by his children and his sons- and daughters-in-law. The emperor of Russia and his consort had also come to him from St. Petersburg. Well might they gather with reverence round that deathbed, for he who lay there was the last of the kings. Since that day nations have ceased to look upon the ruler as a father, to pride themselves upon his virtues and talents, and to treat his weaknesses and defects with reverential indulgence. Frederick William III had been one with his people in great sorrow and great joy, and there was none, no, not the least among them, who forgot it. Since his eyes were closed [concludes Ebert] the word of Frederick the Great has been fulfilled, and kings are henceforth only the first servants of the state."



CHAPTER IX

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV

[1840-1857 A.D.]

THE accession of Frederick William IV was an event of serious consequence. It was generally and rightly felt to mean more than an ordinary change of sovereign, but none could guess what it might bring forth.

To his people the new monarch was an unsolved riddle, a figure which enticed them to the boldest hopes and gave cause for grave apprehensions. No one doubted that he was a man of lofty soul, inspired by noble ideals, animated by passionate enthusiasm for religion, science, and art; that in tractability and suppleness of mind, as in intellectual gifts, he was greatly superior to his father, and far more finely susceptible to great ideas; that he cherished the ambition of taking a glorious place in the line of Hohenzollern kings by a vigorous constructive policy and the virtues befitting his great office.

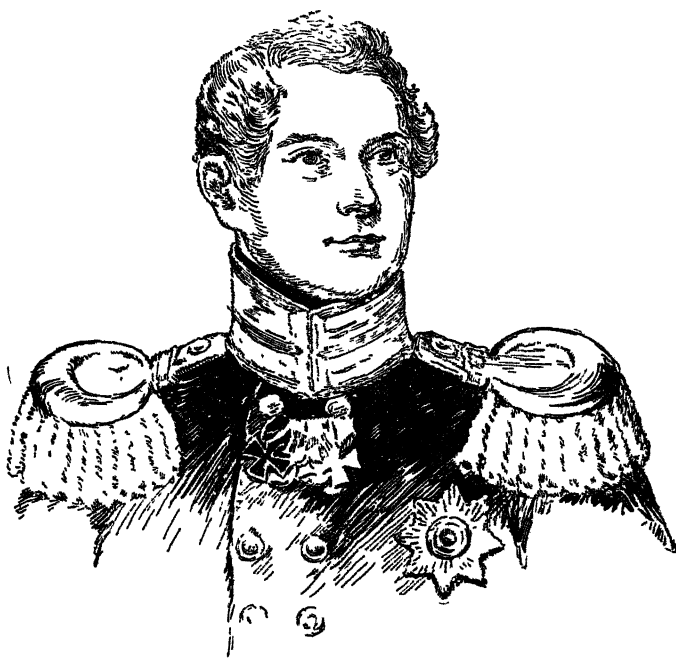
On the other hand, whether he possessed sufficient firmness of character to tread unflinching a path on which he had once entered, whether the effervescent fancy and jovial temper of the prince might not stifle the ardour and conscientiousness that became the sovereign, whether his lively imagination, his extravagant notions of the royal office, and his romantic tastes had not clouded his clear vision of present necessities, were questions which only time could answer. One thing alone was certain: many changes were to come. Even if they had not been so imperatively called for by the condition of the whole body politic, as was in fact the case, even if the dilatory old age of a ruler by nature cautious, and the reverent consideration which public opinion had rendered to the late sovereign, had not retarded so many inevitable reforms which must now necessarily occupy the forefront of affairs, the mere contrast between father and son would have brought about a significant revolution. The precision of a rigid sense of order yielded place to the capricious turns of a gifted temperament; prosaic and economical utilitarianism to an

[1840 A.D.]

idealism warmed by poetry and tinged with philosophy; a simple and reasonable piety to a fervid religiousness, mystic and mystery-loving; while the reserved and monosyllabic manner which covered genuine kindness of heart was replaced by a flow of conversation fascinating in its careless ease, and the strict temper of a martinet by the susceptible and cultured spirit of an artist.

THE PERSONALITY OF FREDERICK WILLIAM IV

The attractive personality of the sovereign was of the utmost service in the first weeks of his reign; his speeches to the deputations to which he gave audience, the written communications he had several times occasion to make, displayed the soaring flight of his sentiments, and his skill in expressing them, in the splendid promise of dawn. The words in which he made known the contents of his father's will evoked a burst of enthusiasm. The will consisted



FREDERICK WILLIAM IV
(1795-1861)

of two documents: the one a retrospective survey of the reign of the deceased, the other, which bore the superscription "*An meinen lieben Fritz*" (to my dear Fritz), exhorting him particularly, among other precepts, to be on his guard against the prevailing lust of novelty as well as against an exaggerated preference for the old ways. The king had these writings communicated to the nation, saying that it was worthy to hear such words, and in this enactment expressed himself with a warmth and cordiality which could not but charm. "No secretary would write so," men said, one to another, "no minister would venture to adopt such a style; these vigorous and noble words were the outpouring of the grief of a son and the pride of a king."

The same spirit inspired the monarch's first acts. Arndt, who had been suspended since 1820, was reinstated in his professorship; Boyen, who had

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gone out of office with Humboldt and Beyme in 1819, once more received an appointment to the privy council, and subsequently became minister of war; Jahn, the aged father of gymnastics, was allowed to leave his place of exile at Freiburg; the two brothers Grimm, the victims of the arbitrary measures at Gottingen, were appointed to posts at Berlin; and the appointment of other men whose reputation stood high in science and art followed by degrees—Tieck, Ruckert, Schelling, Cornelius, Felix Mendelssohn. Some of these were by no means popular with the general public—to say nothing of such men as Stahl and Hassenpflug.

*Wir wollen ihn nicht haben,
Den Herrn von Hass und Fluch,
Wenn gleich die Schaar der Raben
Zum Adlernest ihn trug—*

(We will not have him, the man of hatred and cursing, no, not though the whole crew of ravens should carry him to the eagle's nest.)

So the song went in the streets of Berlin, and by the king's own confession he owed to these verses the first sorrowful day of his reign. For not even the elder men who shared his confidence were spared in them; Alexander von Humboldt was the only one who found favour in the eyes of the populace, for the Bunsens, Radowitz, Thale, Rochow, and the rest were regarded as men full of mediæval notions, and their very piety was impugned as dishonest and worn only for show.



A. VON HUMBOLDT
(1769-1859)

However great the injustice thus done to individuals may have been, the public soon learned to form a correct judgment of the position and person of the king, though they fell into the pardonable and even creditable error of trying to exonerate Frederick William himself from the unlovely sides of his character and to lay the blame of them upon his favourites. Every good thing was imputed to him and to him alone, more especially the pardon of the 10th of August, which restored to life, among other political offenders, the unlucky students who had fallen victims to the commission of inquiry of 1834. The animated, cordial, and direct manner in which the king addressed his people at the ceremony of homage at Königsberg and Berlin was received with great jubilation, the hearts of his audience were irresistibly drawn to him, and filled with amazement and

hope at this new and unprecedented line of action; even those who could not hear were carried away by enthusiasm, for his very gestures were impressive and the spectator could not but imagine them accompanied by heartfelt and

[1840 A D]

vigorous speech. And yet upon an acute observer the question would obtrude itself whether this effective manner of speech could be maintained; whether affairs of state did not demand a different tone.

THE CONSTITUTION

In any case such exciting and animating eloquence, with all the hopes it aroused, could act beneficially only if followed up by act. And the act required of Frederick William was the fulfilment of the promise of 1815 and 1820—the grant of a constitution to the whole state. The king was first seriously confronted with this demand in the diet of Königsberg which he had convoked to receive there the homage of the provinces of Prussia and Posen. On the motion of a Königsberg merchant named Heinrich the Prussian estates resolved, by a majority of ninety votes against five, to submit to the king the request for a constitution. His answer, which was given in writing on the 9th of September, was kind and conciliatory in tone, but contained nothing that could be construed into a definite promise; for all that it made a good impression and nourished the hopes that had already been conceived. But a perfect fury of enthusiasm was evoked by the words which the king uttered next day. The estates had done homage to him, the courtyard of the Schloss was packed with a throng of fifteen thousand souls, a solemn silence reigned over all. Then, rising suddenly from his throne, he advanced to the edge of the platform, raised his right hand as if taking an oath, and swore before God and the well-beloved witnesses there assembled that he would be a just judge, a faithful, watchful, and merciful prince, and a Christian king, as his father of never-to-be-forgotten memory had been. He prayed that God would bestow upon him the blessing of princes, whereby the hearts of men are inclined to him whom he has blessed, and would make of him a man after his own heart; he implored the divine blessing upon his beloved country. “Among us,” he exclaimed enthusiastically, “there is unity among the head and members, sovereign and people; broadly speaking, a glorious unity in the common striving of all estates for noble ends, for the common weal, in sacred loyalty and true honour. Thus may God preserve our native land of Prussia, Germany, and the whole world; manifold and yet one, like that precious metal, which, made by the fusion of many, is but one and that precious—subject to no other rust than that of the centuries which renders it fairer still!”

There was not a word of the constitution in all this, and yet men still pinned their faith to it. The disappointment was all the greater when a royal decree of the 4th of October explicitly repudiated this misconception. The mood of the nation grew bitter; the homage at Berlin which took place on October 15th was looked forward to without pleasure. The king was expected to make a speech, but what was there to say now that the first serious demand had been rejected by anticipation? The loftier its phrases, the sharper would be the contrast between word and deed. This time the solemn act was divided into two parts; the knights and clergy first did homage within the castle, the cities and provinces in the courtyard. Before the oath was administered the king, bareheaded in spite of the wind and rain, took up the word. As he had already told the knights within doors that they were to expect from him no so-called glorious reign with thunder of cannon and blare of trumpets, but a simple, paternal, true German and Christian rule, so he vowed to the people without that, so far as in him lay, he would maintain peace in his time. He sued for the love of his people, which he could not do without, for the path of kings was lamentable and full of lamentation (*thränenreich und thränenwerth*) if the hearts and minds of their people did not helpfully keep pace with them. By the sweetest, simplest sound in their mother tongue, by an honest honour-

[1840-1842 A.D.]

able "*Ja!*" (Yes) he prayed them to promise that they would loyally hold with him through good and evil days, and with uplifted right hand he repeated—as God was his help—his vow of Königsberg. "It is for you to consummate this solemn act," he said, "and may the rain of God fructifyingly descend upon this hour!"

The deeper the impression which the king made by his presence and manner, the greater waxed the dissatisfaction that on the great question of the hour he was so completely out of accord with public opinion, which held tenaciously to its demand for a constitution—and a constitution, moreover, after the French model. Frederick William, as it happened, was by no means averse to a further development of the system of provincial estates; on the contrary, in 1842, he summoned deputies from them to Berlin to consult them in the capacity of combined committees (*Vereinigte Ausschüsse*) upon laws which were to obtain throughout the whole monarchy. Nor did the matter rest there, for he was constantly turning over in his mind the scheme of a united diet (*Vereinigter Landtag*). But, on the one hand, he was incapable of arriving at any steadfast resolution, exhausted himself in disputes with the adverse elements about him, among which the influence of his brothers must be reckoned, and frittered away his interest on subordinate and sometimes ridiculous questions—such as the place of assembly, the division of the diet into *curiæ*, the uniform to be worn by the members, and so forth; and, on the other hand, he got stuck fast in an imaginary contradiction between national estates of historic growth and an un-German representative assembly imported from France. In his eyes the estates of 1823, arbitrary, unhistoric, and barren of memories as they were, seemed to furnish an organic and therefore conservative basis; while he was incapable of understanding that the French representative system was something more than French; that it was, in fact, the expression of modern political consciousness. Hence he fought for his idea and against the constitutionalists with firm conviction, but he lacked courage to put his views promptly and fully into practice and so to form a party in their favour.

The Press and Frederick William IV

It was therefore more excusable if there gradually grew up a doubt whether the king were absolutely serious in his scheme for the estates, or whether his interest in the subject were not really feigned. Still more excusable was the view that pressure must be brought to bear upon him, and that, possibly by means of the press, sufficient influence might be exerted over a man so sensitive and excitable, to thrust him into the sphere of liberal ideas. Two pamphlets in particular were intended to have this effect upon him, and they produced a profound impression on the educated public, though not upon the sovereign. The author of one, entitled *Woher und Wohin?* (*Whence and Whither?*) was the venerable *Oberpräsident* von Schön; the author of the other, *Four Questions: Answered by an East Prussian*, was a Jewish physician from Königsberg, Johann Jacoby by name. Besides being circulated far and wide, discussed, and treated of in the newspapers, they evoked rejoinders and corroborations, and Jacoby's pamphlet in particular proved a veritable arsenal to the constitutional opposition in years immediately following.

The longer this went on the more convinced must the king and his ministers have become of the need of creating a powerful weapon on their own side by means of the press; but they stopped short of carrying the conviction into effect. In August of 1834 a *Deutsche Zeitung* was projected, to be managed by Dahlmann and to champion the cause of the government in grand style; but at the last moment the dread of Dahlmann's iron independence of spirit overcame them, and they refused to give him unrestricted freedom from cen-

[1842 A.D.]

sorship. The blunder was all the more foolish since they were well aware that it was impossible to gag the press to the same extent as before, and that by the relaxation of the censorship introduced in 1842 they increased the virulence of the opposition, without providing any sufficient counterbalancing force. Their adversaries had no lack of subjects for attack, even if the person of the king offered vulnerable points enough, which were beyond the reach of the Prussian police. It was not enough that Heinrich Heine should launch forth with genuine delight into biting and scornful satire upon this—

Mittelding,
Das weder Fleisch noch Fisch ist,
Und von den Extremen unsere Zeit
Ein narrisches Gemisch ist—

[This hybrid thing, which is neither flesh nor fish, but a foolish mixture of the extremes of our time]—

or, looking back upon the promises of 1815 and 1820, should mockingly exclaim

Ja, Königsworte, das sind Schätze
Wie tief im Rhein der Nibelungshort—

[The words of kings! they are treasures indeed! Such is the Nibelung treasure at the bottom of the Rhine]—

even the king's childlessness, the taste for drink which was attributed to him, and similar matters were treated with the grossest freedom.

The literary world of Prussia was of course obliged to refrain from such personalities, but it did not fail to aim many more or less covert hits at the "romanticist." And what could not be said in Berlin was said abroad; Swiss publishers printed and published whatever would not pass the Prussian censorship; and they were sure of a ready sale. Even in Germany more than four hundred journals catered for the requirements of the reading public; some scientific papers—more especially the *Hallische Jahrbücher* of Ruge and Echtermeyer—set the fashion of liberal politics; they waxed wroth over Schelling's philosophy and struck at the royal patron through the protégé; they issued a manifesto against romanticism, and in romanticism branded the policy of Prussia. The political lyrists exercised a great ascendancy over public opinion, Herwegh first of all, with his daring method and eloquent language, and next to him Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Robert Prutz, Dingelstedt, and Freiligrath.

For a long while the attitude they took up was by no means hostile to the king, and they sang to him many words of encouragement and incitement. But one after another grew weary of fruitless speech, and it was not long before Herwegh turned against him. *Du konntest deiner Zeit die Banner tragen, und trägst ihr nur die Schleppe nach!* ["Thou mightest bear the banner of thy age," he cried to the king in his disappointment, "and art content to be its train bearer!"] Hoffmann, Prutz, and others followed his example, some of them wounded by personal affronts; and even Freiligrath recanted the statement which had once moved Herwegh to anger, "*Der Dichter steht auf einer höhern Warte als die Zinne der Partei*" [The poet stands upon a loftier watchtower than the battlement of a party], and allowed his laurel wreath to be woven by the party which did indeed represent an overwhelming majority of the educated classes of the country.

ECCLIASTICAL ENTANGLEMENTS

A very large number of points obnoxious to attack were presented by ecclesiastical affairs, over which a singularly unlucky star was certainly in the ascendant, whether the king managed them himself or left them to his favourites, or to Eichhorn, the minister of public worship (*Cultus-minister*). Two of the king's enterprises, in particular, were a godsend to mockers, though by no means devoid of serious meaning—the bishopric of Jerusalem and the completion of Cologne cathedral. The idea of founding an episcopal see at Jerusalem in conjunction with England was suggested by the oriental crisis of 1840. If it inspired such a fantastic visionary as that enthusiastic Phil-Hellene Ey-nard with the desire that King Ludwig of Bavaria in concert with other Christian rulers should command the Porte to deliver up the Holy Sepulchre on pain of a fresh crusade, and if Ludwig undertook to press this desire upon his well-beloved brother-in-law, whose soul he knew to be open to all great and noble ideas, we must allow that it was a sign of good sense in the latter that he curtailed the extravagant project as he did.

The desire that Protestantism, no less than Roman Catholicism and the Greek church, should be represented in the holy places by a dignitary of high rank, could not but appeal to a devout Christian, and the fact that the king endeavoured to associate the Anglican church with his project is explained not only by his own predilections and those of his confidential adviser, Bunsen, but by the very reasonable consideration that without the assistance of England he would find his object hard to attain.

There was no question, however, that the whole scheme would appear singular and visionary in the eyes of his sceptical contemporaries. The same was the case, with a difference, in the matter of the completion of the cathedral. Regarded as a purely artistic work it could hardly have failed to command the approval of the nation; what displeased them was the fact that the king looked upon it as an act of piety, and intended it as a symbol of the harmony of all confessions and the unbiassed good-will of the sovereign towards the Roman Catholic church. The ceremony of laying the foundation stone, which took place on the 4th of September, 1842, nevertheless assumed something of the character of a national festival. In glowing language the monarch hailed the doors of which he laid the foundation as doorways of a new and better time, through which dishonourable endeavours to undermine the concord of German princes and peoples and to disturb the peace of religious confessions might never pass. "Through ages of peace among men, rich in the peace of God," he cried, "may the cathedral of Cologne tower above this city and above Germany to the end of time." At the banquet one of the German sovereigns who were about him on that occasion, the king of Wurtemberg, called for a cheer for the great common fatherland of them all, and Archduke John of Austria foisted upon popular parlance the toast, "No Austria, no Prussia! A great united Germany, firm-set as her own mountains!"

The nation, no less than the king, flattered itself with pleasing dreams when it talked of peace among the religious confessions. The various sects could not keep the peace among their own members, to say nothing of keeping it with one another; in the Roman Catholic as in the Protestant camp tendencies pertinacious and irreconcilable were gathering force and gaining ascendancy; and in the coming years quarrels were to run higher over religion than over politics.

In the Roman Catholic church the signal for combat was given by Arnoldi, the new bishop of Treves. In the August of 1844 he ordained that the seamless coat of Christ, which was one of the treasures of his cathedral, should be

[1844-1845 A.D.]

solemnly exhibited. From the Roman Catholic districts on the Rhine, from Belgium and France, there at once began a monster pilgrimage to Treves, swelling to vaster dimensions still when Freifrau von Droste-Vischering, a niece of the archbishop's, who had gone thither on crutches to adore the holy coat, came back without them. More than a million pilgrims poured into the ancient city on the Moselle within a period of six weeks, and some of them, at least, maintained that they likewise had found healing for physical ailments.

CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC CONGREGATIONS

The loud rejoicings of the clericals over these miracles of divine grace naturally gave rise to contradictions from the enlightened. The fable of the seamless coat was exposed in all its absurdity by Protestant scholars; they demonstrated that there were twenty specimens or more of this miraculous garment; they lashed the superstition which made sport with it. Contradiction even arose from the bosom of the Romish church. A Catholic priest Johannes Ronge by name—suspended, it is true, and enjoying by no means the best of reputations—declaimed fervidly against the idolatry at Treves in an open letter addressed to Bishop Arnoldi, the Tetzels of the nineteenth century. Driven to extremities by the excommunication pronounced upon him by the prince-bishop of Breslau, he began to agitate in a series of pamphlets the reform of the church and a German-Catholic national church. The loud applause with which he was greeted by Protestants, as well as his own co-religionists, gave him fresh courage, and it seemed as though the exorbitance of the claims of Rome, which had steadily increased ever since the year 1830, was about to lead to an absolute breach and a new reformation. The path which Ronge was to tread had already been pointed out to him. In August of 1844 another priest—likewise suspended it is fair to say—Czerski, of Schneidemühl in the province of Posen, had seceded from Rome with his whole congregation, not because he rejected the dogmas of the church, but because he repudiated her constitution and the celibacy of the clergy.

Following the precedent set by Czerski, Ronge founded a "Christian Catholic" (*Christ-Katholisch*) congregation at Breslau at the beginning of March, 1845, and within a few weeks the same thing was done in about twenty north German towns. At a council held at Leipsic about Easter deputies appeared from fifteen different places. Ronge undertook great progresses through the whole of Germany, and increased the number of his adherents, especially in the south; men whose opinion carried weight like Duller and Gervinus rallied to him, court and government circles were not ill-disposed towards the movement; he had the honour of a long audience with the prince of Prussia, and the king himself seemed determined to place the new sect on an equal footing with the old Lutherans. Austria and Bavaria, indeed, would tolerate no German-Catholic congregations within their borders, and in other states, such as Saxony, the electorate of Hesse, and Würtemberg, restrictions were placed upon their public action. At Leipsic, where Robert Blum had founded a congregation of quite respectable numbers, a sanguinary riot arose out of the question in 1845.

Prince John, afterwards king of Saxony, who in spite of his great learning and artistic accomplishments had the reputation of being narrow-minded in religious matters, was regarded as the soul of the prohibition issued in July of that year. On the 12th of August he came to Leipsic to review the militia (*Bürgerwehr*). He was everywhere pursued by the liveliest demonstrations in favour of the German-Catholics, hurrahs for Ronge alternated with the cry of "Down with the Jesuits!" In the evening the prince seemed to be in actual personal danger from the crowds in front of his residence, the

[1845-1850 A.D.]

stones thrown at the windows, and the pressure of the throng against the doors; the soldiers therefore appeared on the scene and made use of their weapons. More violent scenes were prevented only by the speedy flight of the prince, the withdrawal of the troops from the town, and, above all, by the moderation displayed by Robert Blum, who practically held the mob in his hand; then the prestige of the government was gradually re-established.

But internal dissensions were a far more serious danger to the German-Catholic cause than the enmity of the Saxon government and like-minded persons in authority. While Czerski's followers refrained from any great divergence from Roman Catholic dogma, and so fully secured the approval of orthodox Protestants, mainly by their acceptance of the divinity of Christ, that they were in many cases allowed to hold their services in Protestant churches, the followers of Ronge took up the standpoint of modern theological criticism, rejected the Apostles' Creed as the freethinking party among Protestants had done, and thereby drew upon themselves the same persecution.

The new sect maintained its outward unity with difficulty in its synods and councils, and more than once had to smooth over or hush up quarrels that could not be kept from public knowledge. Moreover, before long it became evident that this new religious community was animated by no genuine religious force, but that, on the contrary, it was to a great extent maintained by political malcontents who used it to cloak democratic and socialistic aspirations. When the events of the year 1848 made such a cloak superfluous, many of the leaders appeared in their true colours, and German-Catholicism (*Deutschkatholicismus*), instead of profiting by the liberty it now enjoyed, began gradually to decline. It reached its zenith at the end of 1846, when its adherents numbered about sixty thousand, half of whom were in Silesia, and one hundred and fifty-one congregations sent representatives to the council of Berlin held at Whitsuntide, 1847. During the next few years, though it may have increased numerically by extending its sphere into Austria and Bavaria, it completely lost its distinctive character, and confessed the fact by attempting to amalgamate with the free Protestant congregations at the councils of Leipsic and Kothen, in 1850, thereby undermining still more its own vitality and that of its confederates.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM OF CHRISTIANITY

Nevertheless German-Catholicism and the free congregations were analogous phenomena, inasmuch as both were impelled by the spirit of the age to secede from their mother church, and the strength of both lay in negation rather than in creation. In the preceding generation Protestantism had passed through a great crisis. The older rationalism, which had endeavoured to arrive at a rational comprehension of the Biblical narratives of Old and New Testament alike, and to interpret them with prosaic baldness in a sense accordant with the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, had spent its force. It was so absolutely devoid of religious vitality, and at the same time offered so many weak points to dispassionate critical reasoning, that its adherents split up continually into smaller parties; on the one hand the devout acceptance of divine mysteries, even when they consisted of miracles or incomprehensible dogmas, regained its lost ascendancy; while on the other the historical criticism of the younger generation began to treat the Bible like any other book and to try to extricate the historical facts of Christianity from the extraneous matter in which the first centuries had embedded them, a task which called for years upon years of laborious study. But from the very fact that study of this sort was no child's-play, that it could not all at once produce definite results, because, amongst the many pros and cons, criticism itself was

[1846 A.D.]

frequently contradictory and nugatory, it had no power to attract the crowd, which had been open enough to the influence of rationalism. But rationalism found itself abandoned in favour of orthodoxy, which grew bolder from year to year and developed a combative and persecuting temper.

It is true that among those who held fast to the supernatural dogmas of Christianity there were men who combined with them the spirit of toleration and unbiassed inquiry, and, as theologians of moderate views, maintained a conciliatory attitude. But desirable as it was, in view of the state at which both the evangelical church and scientific theology had arrived, that such should come forward as leaders, the pacific temperament of the most distinguished among them fitted them ill to wrest the ascendancy from the combative chiefs of aggressive orthodoxy, especially when they had to deal with such a man as Frederick William IV.

The king, although Bunsen, one of the moderate party, was among his intimate friends, was personally too much inclined to the rigidly orthodox view to concede the right of free inquiry within the Protestant church. He was not blind to the necessity of remodelling the constitution of that body, and would gladly have witnessed a transformation which should intrust its management to more competent hands than those of the sovereign; but until this came to pass he did not feel justified in permitting any derogation from the binding character of the old religious formulæ by the exercise of such toleration as his father had extended to more liberal opinions, and therefore drew the rein tight.

Eichhorn's Measures

The fanatical adherents of orthodoxy baited their opponents to the best of their ability—Professor Hengstenberg being much to the fore with his *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* [*Protestant Church Times*], and Eichhorn, minister of education and public worship, in earlier days a friend and disciple of Schleiermacher's, promoted the interests of the party, unembarrassed by his own past, and zealously favoured pietism and outward conformity to the church—acting in this matter in harmony with the king's personal sentiments. It was not enough that the theological professorships at the universities should be occupied more and more exclusively by adherents of the new school of orthodoxy; their very method of teaching was to be altered; scholastic instruction and regular examination were to be substituted for open lectures, and the German institution of *Privatdozenten* [teachers who hold no professorship] thus undermined. By this measure the minister incurred boundless unpopularity, which was all the more furious and the more certain to culminate in the charge of hypocrisy, because he was the last man from whom anything of the kind was expected, and his appointment had been hailed with joy by the liberals. In a little while everyone was against him; even his friends accused him of dissimulation, while the so-called "pious party" did not consider him trustworthy, holding that, though he promoted the well-being of the church, he did so out of "weakness." His plans for reforming the constitution of the church were a perpetual stumbling-block to them, and yet they did not go far enough to satisfy the liberals.

None the less what he did was by no means deserving of reprobation. He began by instituting synods in the various provinces and circles, consisting of clerical and lay members, and in 1846 he convened a general synod, in which, as was to be expected, the moderates had the advantage. It repudiated the binding authority of the ancient symbols by a large majority (forty-eight to fourteen), and drew up a confession of faith involving no dogmatic definition.

THE EDICT OF TOLERATION

This, however, was its undoing as far as the king and his minister were concerned; its decrees were not ratified nor was a new synod convoked.

Frederick William was of the opinion that he who either could or would not reconcile the binding authority of the symbols with his conscience was bound to secede from the national church, and as such secession had not hitherto been sanctioned by law he made it possible by the so-called "*Toleranz-Edict*" [Edict of Toleration], which merely required a declaration before a magistrate. As matters stood, he certainly rendered a service, though a bad one, to the freethinkers. They were now at liberty to form religious societies of their own whenever they chose to resign their rights in the great national church. If they had unanimously availed themselves of this opportunity, the national church would have suffered most in the long run; for it would have shrunk more and more into a rigid sect within which there would year by year have been less room for any form of belief except the literal acceptance of doctrine.

This was not what actually happened; the future of the church was not imperilled, for the great majority of the clergy resolved to hold by their just rights and not to secede voluntarily. None but those who were forcibly ejected by the ecclesiastical authorities availed themselves of the edict of toleration, after having, in some cases, previously gathered their adherents into congregations, which, however, were not as yet recognised by the law. Rupp was the first to do so, at Königsberg in January, 1846; a few months later his example was followed at Halle by Wislicenus, and at the end of 1847 at Magdeburg by Uhlich, whose congregation numbered five thousand. Liberal opinions were strongly represented among the clergy of Saxony, and that province took the lead in the movement in all things. Uhlich, Wislicenus, and others had held assemblies of preachers and laymen, more especially at Köthen, since 1841, and had provided themselves with a widely circulated organ in the *Papers for Protestant Friends* (or Friends of Light, as they were afterwards called). Even in these circles there were great divergencies of opinion; for many of the free congregations, such as those of Marburg and Halle, were prepared to give up even the name of Christian, while the Magdeburgers in their *Document of Foundation* expressly declared—"We remain what we are and have been, evangelical Christians; and we are prepared to rejoin the established church of our country when it returns to the liberty of the Gospel."

But with them, as with the German-Catholics, the old experience was repeated; in course of time the more advanced and negative elements grew stronger and stronger, and completely undermined the attractive force and power of development in the free congregations. In the years of revolution, being then about forty in number, these congregations meddled in political affairs and were consequently treated as political associations and dissolved in the period of reaction. The revivals in subsequent years are wholly insignificant.

German-Catholicism and the free congregations bear striking testimony to the endeavours of public opinion in the forties to employ itself in religious matters, since it was excluded from the domain of politics. But there is no lack of other tokens to demonstrate the same thing. The struggle against the Prussian union was zealously taken up by the strict Lutheran party, some of them seceded from the national church and gathered together at Breslau to form, in 1841, a separate congregation, unrecognised by the state. Others remained in the union and strove to destroy it from within.

A more pleasing event was the founding of the "Gustav-Adolf-Verein,"

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which, without narrow-minded insistence on points of doctrine, endeavoured to support Protestantism by building schools and churches wherever it was endangered by the neighbourhood of Roman Catholicism.

It originated from small beginnings in the kingdom of Saxony, and after 1842 spread into Protestant non-Prussian Germany; in 1844 it amalgamated with itself the separate association which the king had wished to found for Prussia only; and in 1848 penetrated into Bavaria, where King Ludwig had begun by taking the lead in a counter-demonstration and founding a "Tilly-Verein."

In 1846 the exclusion of Prediger Eupp, who had been sent to the general assembly as a deputy from Königsberg in spite of his suspension, threatened to impair the peaceful co-operation of the various schools of thought, but had no permanent ill effect. Even the Protestant governments were ambitious of displaying their activity in the department of the church, and in 1846 instituted the Protestant church conference, an assembly of plenipotentiaries which met every two years to prepare or pass common ordinances for all the national churches of Germany, but brought forth no results of any importance.

THE PROJECT OF A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

All these things, however, could not expunge from the orders of the day the real problem which that decade had to solve, the question, to wit, whether the Prussian constitution of estates should be reduced to a form more suitable to the requirements of the times or not. There was no doubt that the king himself was resolved in the main to answer this question in the affirmative, but it was no less certain that the form which he had in mind did not answer to the demands of the liberals. What they wished for was a representative constitution, a parliament selected by the free choice of the people; the king could not shake himself free of his fancy for class representation, and therefore wished for a national assembly consisting, like the provincial diets, of representatives of the gentry, commonalty, and peasantry.

If he were to grant such a constitution the inevitable result would be a conflict between himself and the diet, a prospect sufficiently deplorable for members of the government and court to make them hostile to any innovation; for they knew the king's character well enough to be aware that he lacked the balance and tenacity required to carry such a conflict to a successful issue. The leader of the opposition was no less a man than his brother and heir-apparent the prince of Prussia, who, though he did not disguise his conviction that Prussia, like other nations, must enter on the path of constitutional government, thought the king so little fitted to take the first step therein that he implored him to leave it to himself, the prince, or to his son, and threatened to enter a solemn protest when his expostulations proved of no avail.

The year 1844 witnessed the most animated discussions on this point. The king had made Bunsen, Radowitz, Canitz—the ambassador to Vienna—and others submit to him schemes and opinions on the subject of a constitution; he declared that he felt himself bound by his father's promises, that his brother's opposition wounded him to the heart, but could not have the slightest effect upon his judgment; he had already confidentially communicated his intentions to the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, and yet he was once again unnerved by the general opposition, and postponed the question. Fresh negotiations, interrupted at times, and then taken up with renewed vigour, ultimately led to a kind of compromise; the prince withdrew his opposition, and in return the king took his wishes into consideration on some of the chief points at issue.

The Patent of February, 1847

The necessity for raising a great loan for the promotion of railway construction was mainly instrumental in breaking down the opposition of the king's opponents. By the edict of Frederick William III, 1820, this could be done only on the security of the estates of the kingdom. The united committees of the provincial diets could not possibly be regarded in that light, and would probably have refused to take any such responsibility upon themselves. Consequently, to everybody's surprise on the 3rd of February, 1847, a royal patent appeared, convoking the United Diet of the Kingdom to meet at Berlin on the 11th of April. This, as its name proves, was not a new creation, but merely a combination of the provincial diets. All the members were to sit in one chamber when taxation and loans were under consideration; in deliberations on other matters they were to be divided into two *curiæ* (an innovation for which the prince of Prussia was responsible), one of which, the *Herren-curia*, was to consist of princes of the blood-royal, noblemen, and certain other classes; the second, the *Dreistandecurie* (*Trois-États*), of representatives of the knighthood, municipalities, and peasantry. In legislative affairs the united diet had only a consultative voice, in domestic policy it had the right of petition. Its meetings were to be determined by circumstances, and to take place only when called for by fresh loans or increased taxation. The united committees, on the contrary, were to meet regularly every four years, and a special commission was to be convoked annually to deal with the debt.

Such were the pledges given by the patent of February 3rd. They marked an advance upon previous conditions, but lagged sorely behind the needs of the time. Apart from the strong disfavour with which the composition of the diet and many separate provisions were received, public opinion felt justified in requiring regularly recurring sessions and the right of deliberation, instead of the bare right of consultation. The publication of the patent was therefore the signal for a public debate upon the worth of the royal concessions, which was brought to a head by Heinrich Simon in his *Annehmen oder Ablehnen?* [*Acceptance or Rejection?*] Although this "bad" book with its "malignant" preface was seized by order of the king and a prosecution instituted against its author, it produced the effect intended and was supported by a whole literature of similar pamphlets (by Gervinus, Bulow-Cummerow, Jacoby, amongst others). Amongst liberal members of the estates the question was vehemently discussed in word and writing; there was no lack of adherents to Simon's opinion that the concessions ought to be declined; and the opening of the diet was looked for with the utmost excitement.

After a solemn religious service, the king opened it on April 11th with the first speech from the throne ever made by a king of Prussia. He spoke extempore, according to his usual custom, Minister von Thile behind him with notes of his speech, and he spoke for more than half an hour. There was no lack of high-flown passages, but the impression they made was not that of 1840 and 1842, and his hearers listened not for good things only, but also for evil. The estates were convoked—so the king declared—not to champion the opinions of the age or of the schools, but to maintain the rights of their constituents; his own independent judgment, not the will of majorities, should be his rule of conduct; he would never change his relation to his people for that of a constitutional sovereign; never should a written paper be interposed as a providence, so to speak, between the Almighty and this country. He referred to that happy country whose constitution had been the work of centuries and of a hereditary wisdom without parallel, as a shining example; and, after a violent attack upon the spirit of destruction and unbelief which dominated a

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portion of the press, he rose from his throne, and, standing erect, he made the passionate affirmation: "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord!"

The United Diet in Prussia (1847 A.D.)

The whole tenor of the speech from the throne practically cut off all hope of an understanding with the constitutionally-minded deputies. Hermann Beckerath wrote: "In profound grief we went down the stairs of the Schloss, and the question that now arises is what we ought to do as men of honour, representing the sacred rights of the people." A great many deputies, especially among those from Prussia and the Rhine, were inclined to take their departure instantly as a protest, but this unparliamentary ebullition of annoyance and immature political feeling was fortunately prevented. Numerous private meetings took place the same day in the houses of prominent members, and it was resolved to reply to the speech from the throne by an address.

Count Schwerin undertook to request permission to move an address: they desired, he said, besides expressing their thanks for the step the king had taken, respectfully to explain their objections to certain points in the patent of February 3rd. Although this patent did not grant the estates the privilege of moving an address, the *Landtagsmarschall* [Marshal of the diet], Prince von Solms-Lich, acceded to the request; the motion was adopted and a commission appointed, which deputed Beckerath to draw up the address.

A two days' consultation led to the first brilliant debate, in which, beside Beckerath, Hansemann, Camphausen, and Mevissen from the Rhine province, Vincke from Westphalia, and Auerswald and Saucken from east Prussia, took a prominent part. They insisted again and again that everything depended upon their acquiring a juridical basis, that they could no longer live upon favour and confidence, and that the assembly had an inalienable right to all the privileges which Frederick William III had promised to the estates in future. They were opposed by Bodelschwingh, the minister, who maintained that the juridical basis of the assembly was the patent of February 3rd and that alone, denied that the convocation had anything to do with the late king's promises, and moved as an amendment the address of his former colleague, Count Arnim-Boitzenburg, which simply struck out all the promises which Beckerath had enumerated in his address. Ultimately a kind of compromise was arrived at, Beckerath's list being abandoned, on the motion of Alfred von Auerswald, and replaced by a proviso maintaining all privileges up to that time acquired.

In this form the address secured a majority of four hundred and eighty-four against one hundred and seven, even the princes of the blood-royal voting in its favour, with the single exception of the heir-apparent.

The king's reply was moderate in tone; he held to the patent as the only juridical basis of their privileges, but promised further improvements in the constitution and another session of the diet within the next four years. In other respects likewise the opposition gained many desirable concessions, such as the promise of freedom of the press.

The government was obviously in a very difficult position; it was not clear as to its own standpoint and was frequently convicted of self-contradiction in debate. On its two most important proposals it was completely defeated. In the first place it asked that the diet should warrant the interest of about one hundred million thalers for a *Rentenbank* [rent-bank], which was to advance money to peasants who still owed their landlords the money for their redemption for forced labour and other burdens. The project deserved every encouragement, especially from the liberal point of view. But unfortunately the ministers declared that they did not seek the permission, but only the ad-

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vice of the diet, as a warrant for interest was not a loan, and it was only to the latter that their assent was required. The consequence was that the diet not only rejected this proposal by an immense majority, but refused to vote the thirty millions needed for railway construction; for, as Georg von Vincke explained, as long as the rights of the assembly were called in question, it could protect them only by exercising them and refusing every demand for money. The more protracted the debates were, the bitterer they became. The diet passed more and more beyond the control of the government, and still neither it nor the king had any thought of yielding. All the talents were undoubtedly in the ranks of the opposition; there was hardly an orator of any distinction on the ministerial side except Arnim-Boitzenburg, and the attitude of the ministers themselves was awkward and unconciliatory. The opposition itself could take up no strong position, could not be really sure of itself; it remained in the diet because it had political insight enough to know that it ought not to abandon its post; and yet it could not but confess that it thereby recognised the diet under its present conditions, while at the same time holding fast to the conviction that, without the rights which were withheld from it, it had no claim to be regarded as the assembly of estates promised by Frederick William III. Its whole previous conduct was put to the severest test immediately before the close of the session.

The United Committees

On the 24th of June three royal messages were sent to the diet, refusing the request that the government would refrain from forming united committees, such committees being prejudicial to the rights of the diet, and requiring them to proceed to the election of the committees and of the commission for the national debt. The question then was, should they elect or not? After long discussions at party meetings only a few of the opposition, fifty-eight in all, among whom were Hansemann, Mevissen, and Vincke, summoned up courage to refuse to elect; several chose the easier middle course, and proposed to proceed to the election with the proviso that the committees should take no steps detrimental to the rights of the diet. Camphausen and Beckenrath were the leaders of these protesting electors, who amounted to one hundred and fifty-six in all and included almost the whole of East Prussia. The great majority, to the number of two hundred and forty-eight, elected without reservation. There is no doubt that the method adopted by the one hundred and fifty-six was most in accordance with public opinion; unconditional election seemed cowardice in the eyes of the people, but refusal was regarded almost as a revolutionary measure.

The king had no better opinion of the protest, and dismissed the diet very ungraciously. He did not pronounce the closing speech himself, but was represented by a deputy in the person of Bodelschwingh, while he himself took a journey to Breslau. In his contradictory fashion he had let it be understood before the election that he should insist upon having his own way in this matter, but was prepared to meet the wishes of the diet in other respects, and, in particular, contemplated regularly recurring sessions. Bodelschwingh might therefore have sweetened the bitter words he had to say to the opposition with this concession, and so softened by a note of conciliation the discord in which the first parliamentary assembly of Prussia broke up on June 26th, 1847. But the desired word remained unspoken, and the members went their several ways under the mournful conviction that the king regarded as his enemies the men who unquestionably had the majority of the nation behind them, and who alone could render him support in great stress of circumstances.^e

On the 17th of January, 1848, the king summoned the elected committees

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to Berlin, where the scheme of a new penal code was laid before them. But it contained so many severe and cruel provisions that the estates almost universally demanded vital ameliorations. On the 6th of March, 1848, the king in person closed the assembly of the committees of the estates. His speech already betokened the influence of the rolling thunder that, rumbling from France, announced those violent shocks which were to overthrow the political constitution of Europe. Its words were conciliatory enough. "I gladly make use of the present opportunity," he said, "to declare to you that in accordance with the almost unanimous request of both curiæ I will transfer the periodicity conferred on the committees to the united diet, and will limit the sphere of the committees in corresponding fashion."

Had Frederick William IV, even on this 6th of March, made up his mind to really magnanimous and liberal concessions, had he created popular representation, furnished with rights and full powers, which would have answered to the general wishes—who can say whether the king of Prussia, surrounded by a faithful and attached people, might not have been able in the midst of the confusion which was increasing about him to stand unshaken as the most powerful prince in Germany, a firm refuge round which the other races would willingly have sought safety? It was not to be. His reluctance to abandon the smallest portion of the unlimited power which, according to his own conviction, he had received directly from God, was too deeply rooted.

"Bending low, with outstretched hand," as the deputy Camphausen expressed it, "the estates had met him. He had repulsed them."

When Tarquinius Priscus refused to buy the nine books of the Cumæan Sibyl for a high price, and then, after three of them had been burned, was still less willing to grant the same sum for the other six, he was yet wise enough to pay just as much for the last three as the whole collection would have cost at the beginning. But Frederick William IV refused his people when they came to him for the last time with what were really very modest requests. Twelve days later he was compelled to pay the hundredfold, yea the thousandfold, of what had been demanded of him, and he received nothing for it. Of the supreme royal power to which he had so obstinately clung, one precious fragment after another was torn from him.^d

POLITICAL SITUATION OF GERMANY AT THE BEGINNING OF 1848

The German revolutionary year of 1848 has been dealt with in a step-motherly way in the literature of history; hence it lives only in the vague reminiscences of contemporaries, according to their various political standpoints, either as a time of humiliation and disgrace or of bitter disappointment and the destruction of the brilliant hopes which were entertained of the "glorious" rising of the people. The most interested parties, the royalists and the democrats, have reason enough for this one-sided conception of the events of that year, and indeed neither of these two parties can acquit itself of active or passive complicity in those events. Accordingly it seems that it has been preferred to throw the veil of forgetfulness over the true course of affairs, rather than to subject it to a close examination. Historians have confined themselves to a registration of general facts, and even the moderate party quietly submitted to the general condemnation.

No matter what one may think concerning the inner justification or necessity as well as concerning the immediate results of that stormy time, it is nevertheless bound to remain for all future times one of the most significant, and when rightly acknowledged and valued, one of the most instructive epochs of modern history, inasmuch as it forms a decided turning point and landmark between the past and the future of German political life. The year 1848 set

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up a warning tablet for the governments as well as the peoples, on which were engraved in concise style the words: "Wisdom, Moderation, Order!" Never before, in so short a space of time and with so small an expenditure of force, had governments so great and seemingly so firmly established, been overthrown, and never before had the popular zeal for unbridled liberty proved itself more powerless to form healthy and lasting creations out of its own sheer force.

First of all, this year with the voice of a great nation in thousandfold echo proclaims to the governments immediately responsible the truth that all outward political power, however strongly intrenched behind a well-drilled bureaucracy and a numerous army, refuses at the decisive moment to do service unless backed up by a heartily satisfied and therefore reliable people. This simple truth has been stated long ago in the Prussian song, and has only too often been ignored in responsible places:

Neither steed nor horseman
Do the steep heights insure
Where princes stand.

But this year proclaims a no less earnest truth to the people: that true manly freedom has no more dangerous enemy than the prostitute usurping its name, licentiousness; and also the further truth, that the highest benefit of this freedom is not to be seized in a frenzied onset, but must be won in earnest labour, in the patient and continuous exertion of all good elements, and in the moral regeneration of the people. This truth had long ago been recognised by the great leader and founder of the Jewish nation, inasmuch as he trained the latter to freedom by the forty years' journey through the desert; but in Germany this record of Holy Scripture, as well as many another, was long forgotten and lost in vain presumption. It was only necessary for a large number of horny-handed political philosophers to trumpet forth freedom, and again freedom, from the barricades; and the magic rightly belonging to this word did not fail, even in its abuse, to rouse the great masses and carry them away with it. They became simply the plaything of the demagogues, after they had become tired of being the plaything of the governments.

But this was not the case with the masses only, but largely also with those extensive circles who with great self-assertion style themselves the "educated classes," because they have studied some science, without—to use Bacon's expression—having tasted or kept the salt of it—religion. These educated classes also revelled "with little wit and much comfort" in the new possession of freedom, like unto the beggar who comes into an Indian inheritance or wins a lottery. And, indeed, this new German freedom of 1848 was far more the work of chance and the weakness of the enemy than the result of earnest work and noble endeavour, which, according to the Greeks, has precedence over every virtue. Certainly here and there, especially in the capital of Prussia, there had been fighting in the streets and behind the barricades for some hours; but this fight was entirely out of proportion to the results striven for and did not even lead to an apparent victory. The troops stormed the barricades soon enough, and after obtaining the victory were commanded out of the capital—at whose order, is not known to this day—so that the conquered revolution remained alone on the spot and could consider itself conqueror. Then it not only shook the state to its foundations, but, as we shall see, subjected the unfortunate and noble monarch to the roughest ill-usage. And this humiliation of royalty was not brought about by the malice or treachery of its servants and counsellors, but simply through their complete bewilderment by a distant event, which event had quite the opposite effect on the people, elec-

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trifling it and filling it with a lively enthusiasm and the hope of a better future. The inner psychological explanation of these phenomena on both sides is by no means wanting. The mere sight of the Gorgon head of the revolution had benumbed and paralysed the governments lulled in the supposed possession of power, because the voice of their long-suppressed conscience suddenly brought before them that chain of political sins of commission and omission which weighed too heavy even on the patience of the most patient of peoples. In the place of this proverbial German forbearance, there now came, as if urged on by a natural force, not only an impatient impulse for the definitive improvement of matters, but also that "*furor teutonicus*" to which many an old page of German history, especially during the Peasants' War, bears witness.

The fatal catastrophe thus brought about may be greatly deplored, since every excess of passion is only able to destroy, but not to produce, vigorous and enduring creations; but at the same time it must be acknowledged that in the normal ways of reform improvement could hardly be hoped for. The state in Germany was benumbed and hardened throughout, and estranged from the spirit of the people. Little was to be perceived of that living organism which alone coincides with and fills the conception and being of the state, so that even the official language could speak only of the "state machinery" (*Staatsmaschine*). As soon as one wheel stopped or one stone fell in between its cogs the whole machine had to stand still or break. The chief responsibility for these conditions weighs therefore less heavily on the people than on the governments, who, ignoring their sacred duties as well as their own interests, had omitted to educate their citizens to political activity and responsibility, and to grant at the right time those reforms which had become necessary or admissible; had they done this they would have been enabled to oppose the excessive demands of political fanatics by the help of all well-intentioned citizens. To understand this complete and staggering transformation of things, and to explain the German revolution, it will be necessary to present a short sketch of the history that preceded them.

Causes which had Produced Discontent

In the glorious Wars of Liberation of 1813 and 1814 the German people had, indeed, thrown off the disgrace and oppression of foreign rule; but the wishes and hopes, under which the leadership of patriotic men such as Stein and Gorres gave the irresistible impetus of enthusiasm and success to that gigantic struggle, were not realised even in the most moderate measure. After the victory, there was no thought in authoritative circles of achieving the promised and confidently expected re-foundation of national unity and political freedom. Every advantage of this victory was pocketed by the princes, who through the German Act of Confederation of June 8th, 1815, were united in a "permanent" confederation, and who in Clause 11 bound themselves "not to wage war against one another under any pretext." They also had the graciousness, in Clause 13, to announce to their faithful subjects that, "in all states belonging to the confederation a representative assembly, consisting of the estates of the realm, would be established."

From the very beginning this German Confederation, on account of its one-sided dynastical character, could not gain the sympathies of the nation and could not fail to provide ever new occasions for the general discontent. But it is with injustice that invective and abuse alone have been hurled against it, while its relative value has been scarcely considered. This value indisputably consisted in this: that it put under restraint the lust for aggrandisement of both the great German powers as well as the conquest-seeking neighbours in

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the west and east, and thereby made possible for the first time a thirty years' peace both within and without, the blessings of which stood out prominently in all branches of economic activity, and were increased and multiplied by the ever-extending Prussian Zollverein (Customs Union).

Nevertheless, the ideal strivings of the nation could find no satisfaction in the confederation, inasmuch as the idea of German unity lived not in it, but alongside of it, and even struggled for external representative realisation in antagonism to it. To this was added that this German Confederation, excused to some extent by the unripe chimeras of students and professors which led to isolated deeds of violence and vengeance, developed ever more into the actual seat and fortress of every reactionary and tyrannical policy of the government, and that it did not at all intend to execute the terms of Clause 13 of the Act of Confederation in a magnanimous or even a conscientious way. This draft on the future, which, moreover, did not even imply a national representation in the German Confederation itself, was cashed by the governments only after long delays—in Prussia not until 1847, and even then in an unsatisfactory manner. In the last-mentioned country the ordinance of the 22nd of May, 1815, had promised even before the adoption of Clause 13 of the Act of Confederation that a representation of the people should be formed from the present or future provincial legislative assemblies, whose efficaciousness, however, was to be confined to the right of "deliberation" on subjects of legislation which concerned the personal and property rights of citizens, including taxation. By the ordinance of the 17th of January, 1820, this merely deliberative representation of the people to be called into life at some future time was at least awarded a real right, inasmuch as it was irrevocably ordained—not in acknowledgment of the political rights of the people, but "in order to strengthen confidence in the state and its administration"—that a new national loan could be contracted only with the advice and guarantee of the future assembly of the estates of the realm. The law of the 5th of June, 1823, first brought to life those provincial diets from which this representation of the people was to issue, and it was not until the patent of the 3rd of February, 1847, that the provincial diets, under the name of the United Diet, were given the character of a representation of the whole land, inasmuch as the patent provided that new loans could be raised or new and higher taxes introduced only with their consent. With regard to legislation the United Diet was given only the right to advise, and a periodical meeting every four years was assured, not to this body as a whole, but to a committee of the diets to be formed for the purpose of advising the government.

It was not to be wondered at that this patent little satisfied public opinion. According to rumour it was dictated less by the acknowledgment of a political necessity than by the desire of the government to obtain a loan for the construction of the eastern railway; and the subsequent bearing of the government towards this amalgamated diet must have increased the dissatisfaction. Even the most modest proposals and petitions met only with a cold and often an insulting refusal, from the government as well as from the crown.

In the first session of the United Committees on January 18th, 1848, the deputy, Ludolph Camphausen, gave an eloquent and almost prophetic expression to these feelings of the Prussian people. He said: "The government will yet know that the discord which exists between the actual circumstances and the legislation of former days is not settled—notwithstanding the protestations of its organ. All the more, therefore, do I consider it my duty not to leave the government in doubt concerning this, as the course which it took at the conclusion of the United Diet and after it filled me with deep sorrow and anxiety for the future. A great deed had been accomplished: after thirty years of delay, the representatives of the whole land had assembled in one

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hall, and all who know how rarely and with what difficulty great assemblies succeed in self-mastery, looked forward to its doings in suspense and anxiety. What was the result? In foreign lands they were astonished and surprised at the moderation of the assembly, at its true devotion to the prince; they did not know whether to praise its reserve or to blame its weakness; they found enviable the lot of a king who could under such circumstances convoke such an assembly, who could present such a brilliant manifestation of the fidelity and devotion of his subjects before the eyes of the world. In Prussia, however, where the estates advanced to the extreme verge of the admissible, and bending far forward held out a reconciliatory hand, this hand was rejected with anger. In Prussia the estates met with reproach and disrespect from the side of the government and with expressions of dissatisfaction and anger, which are little in accordance with a monarchical state that asks the estates only for advice and concedes to them only the right of giving advice. One word would have sufficed to put an end for all time to the constitutional strife in Prussia; that word was not spoken, but history will judge between the government and us!"

Yes, history very soon passed a fearful judgment; after a few weeks Camp-hausen was called to be the head of the government and to save the state. But he could not stay the avalanche in motion.

In the rest of Germany, Clause 13 of the Act of Confederation was carried out in a somewhat better spirit. In the south German states especially constitutions based on the principle of representation had been introduced, and they answered more or less to the liberal doctrine. Nevertheless, they were far from creating satisfactory conditions. They left much to be desired in the political sphere and everything in the national sphere.

What wonder that dissatisfaction should have grown everywhere, since, in spite of all zeal on the part of the censorship, it continually received fresh support and vigour not only from the daily press, which had taught their public to read between the lines, but also from the official proceedings of the diet of the various states, which were struggling for extension of power. This deep-seated dissatisfaction, which had already become apparent in 1830 after the fall of the Bourbons, had been outwardly kept down by some shedding of blood and by the cold-water stream of the Karlsbad Resolutions; but the embitterment of the minds, the striving for political and national reform, could not be abolished by such means, and in the course of the following years became deeper and wider.

The governments of the various states did not understand how to direct this new wave of thought into the right channel, although they did not quite overlook the ever increasing and ever more threatening movement. The Prussian government, which knew itself to be most in arrears in the payment of the popular debt, resolved to open the United Assembly of the provincial diets in Berlin on the 11th of April, 1847. But even this representation of the people, based as it was on the highly conservative estates, bore loud witness to the untenableness of the existing conditions. This was made evident not only in the vigorous speeches of the liberal speakers; it made itself felt even more forcibly in the refusal of the proposed national loan of twenty-six million thalers for the construction of the eastern railway by three hundred and sixty votes against one hundred and seventy-nine, inasmuch as the avowed reason for this refusal was that the United Diet must, before all, come into possession of the fundamental constitutional rights, and especially the quadrennial periodicity of its meetings. It was not until the 5th of March, 1848, when the revolutionary flood was beginning to rise visibly, that this quadrennial periodicity was granted. In the grand duchy of Baden, that so-called model of a constitutional state, there was beside the liberal also a radical

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party, which, under the leadership of Hecker and Struve and in defiance of the censorship, published the *Zuschauer* (*Spectator*) in a revolutionary spirit. In September, 1847, a meeting of this party at Offenburg proclaimed "the self-rule of the people, the right of all to bear arms, progressive income taxation, and the guarantee of work by the state." At a meeting of liberal opposition, members of various chambers which the Baden deputy, Von Itzstein, had called at Heppenheim, the representation of the German people at the confederation diet was discussed, and on the 12th of February, 1848, fourteen days before the Parisian February revolution, Basserman formally made a motion to this effect in the Baden chamber. Foreseeing the approach of the destructive storm, he closed the address in support of his motion with the words, only too soon to be fulfilled: "On the Seine and on the Danube the day is approaching its close."

The expansive power of these political movements was greatly enhanced amongst the most patient sections of the people by the unbearable pressure of a severe agrarian legislation; while in the middle classes, who had found their intellectual food in the disintegrating literature of Young Germany, both of Christian and Jewish extraction (Borne, Heine, and others), as well as in the pantheistic philosophy of Hegel, it was augmented by the immeasurable presumption of the bureaucracy, which embittered all the more, because the higher offices of the state were treated as the private property of the poorer nobility. This bureaucracy had long since accustomed itself to consider the citizen not as the bearer of public rights, but, according to the scornful language of Rochow, only as the ratepayer with the "limited understanding of the subject," whose sole duty it was to obey. It thus violated the feeling of right and honour as well as the real interests of all classes of society, without distinction.

The serious effects of this system, in spite of the ligature of the press by the censorship, could not altogether escape those in power. But instead of remedying this condition or at least reconciling the moderates, they knew no better counsel than to draw in the reins ever more tightly and to suppress the symptoms of the evil. The warning motto which is to be read on the wooden bridge at Lucerne under the statue of the shooting Tell, *Tensus rumpitur arcus!* never occurred to them. The natural, the inevitable result of this shortsighted, cynical policy was that the long-existing discontent was transformed ever more into a hostile and desperate bitterness, combined with a sinister longing for an all-destroying catastrophe, and that the governments were not only held responsible for their real faults, but also for all the troubles of this world, for the fact is the earth is no paradise and men are no angels.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

Thus over town and country, north and south, there lay a portentous and oppressive calm, as before the burst of a hurricane. Nor was the catastrophe slow in arriving, although it did not immediately follow in Germany, but in France, that luxuriant breeding place of revolutions. Certainly, in France there could be no question of the chief complaints which were raised against the governments in Germany; nevertheless the ruling bourgeois liberalism had long turned its sympathies from the bourgeois monarchy, its own revolutionary botchwork, because the citizen king Louis Philippe could not satisfy all the inordinate desires of the various party leaders, and even thought of opposing a dam to the destructive revolutionary under-current in the person of his energetic minister, Guizot. The party of this minister bore the name of "the doctrinaires," but in its whole policy scarcely a trace of earnest political doctrine was to be recognised. It only provoked by petty measures, while it

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gave fresh support to the general corruption instead of undertaking the moral and religious regeneration of the deeply disordered popular mind. The party of Guizot's opponents, who aimed only at the capture of the ministerial bureaux, had not to look far for the lever which would suffice to overthrow the ministry. Owing to the high property qualification of the electorates there were only two hundred thousand electors who exercised the solemnly proclaimed sovereignty of the people and received their share of the booty in the distribution of places and orders. The reform of the elective law was therefore demanded, and this called forth a stormy agitation which was sure to find the requisite energy in the so-called Fourth Estate of the politically disinherited. Guizot thought he could spoil a petty ephemeral triumph of the liberal opposition by prohibiting the arranged reform banquets; but a comparatively unimportant collision of a mob with a commando of troops sufficed, to the utter dismay of both the men of the opposition and the doctrinaires, to open up the abyss of the revolution, which engulfed the ambitious rivals, together with the throne and the monarchical constitution. It is true that as a measure of precaution an army of eighty thousand men and four hundred cannon had been gathered together in the capital; but the Parisian National Guard interposed between the insurrection and the army "*pour donner une leçon au gouvernement*," in spite of the oath of allegiance, as not disposed to direct its weapons against the "sovereign people." The terrified king in vain sought to stay the storm by a change of ministry; he first called the intriguing Thiers, then the witty Dupin, who was paid in his own coin by the people when they shouted, "*Nous ne voulons pas Dupin, nous voulons du pain*," and finally the originator of the reform banquets, Odilon Barrot himself, to form a completely liberal ministry. But all these announcements were received with shouts of scorn against the swindlers "who would lull the people to sleep" by the true sons of the convention arisen from the depths, who, encouraged by the jubilant shouts of the "people," first demanded the abdication of the king: then the proclamation of the republic; and finally a few more trifles, which, however, were not at all respectably bourgeois, such as the organisation of work, the equalisation of capital and labour, more wages and shorter hours.

In virtue of this almost inconceivable proceeding and almost without a blow, the citizen king was in February, 1848, swept away from a throne won by faithlessness and supported by corruption. With the indispensable umbrella he fled in a hackney coach and thus acquired the leisure to reflect on the old truth that every revolution, like Saturn, devours its own children. Without any real conflict and without any expression of will on the part of the "sovereign nation" *La belle France* was suddenly transformed into a republic at the command of the Parisian populace and under the leadership of a fantastic poet—Lamartine, a naturalist—Arago, a workman—Albert, a few turbulent advocates—and a journalist, Louis Blanc, who was to be the chief of the national workshops to be organised.

It might have been expected that a revolution called forth by such petty causes and carried through by means so utterly devoid of glory or dignity, which was only a loathsome caricature of that of July, 1830, would everywhere, especially in Germany, have aroused antipathy rather than sympathy—notwithstanding the empty phrases of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which, of course, were trotted out in order to furnish the required halo. But the very opposite took place in Germany, for people longed for a revolution, and were glad to receive the impulse to it from outside. Thus the revolutionary hurricane swept unimpeded over the whole continent and shook the thrones and states even to their foundations. The unchained demon of the revolution especially seized the most patient and contemplative nation on the

face of the earth, for the latter was equally prepared for it by the governments and the demagogues. Those in possession of political power, hitherto so secure, were transfixed by this new apparition and gave no sign of life—scarcely in conscious imitation of the wanderer, surprised by a bear, who holds his breath because the latter disdains a corpse, but because they were in fear and perplexity.

SUCCESES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

In striking contrast to the inertia of the governments was the activity of the revolutionary party, which was clearly aware of its purpose, and struck the iron while it was hot. On the 27th of February Itzstein held on the open field at Mannheim a meeting of the people, which in an address to the grand duke demanded a German parliament, freedom of the press, trial by jury, and especially the institution of a popular militia. Struve, who on this occasion produced his programme of the equal right of all to well-being, education, and freedom, arranged a popular procession to Karlsruhe for the presentation of a petition *en masse* to the grand duke. The ministry granted all the demands of the petitioners with the exception of the German parliament, the granting of which lay beyond its power, and in opposition to the still-existing confederation law promised the immediate abolition of the censorship. Similar developments took place in Wurtemberg and Bavaria, in the grand duchy of Hesse, in Oldenburg, in Nassau, in Hohenzollern, where the republic was not only proclaimed but actually introduced, in free cities, and also in the electorate of Hesse, after some faint resistance on the part of the government.

Even the confederation diet was awakened from a long sleep by the raging storm, and considered it its duty, if not to act, at least to speak in such a manner as might have stirred some human feelings, had the evil days on which it had fallen been susceptible of such. On the 1st of March it issued an address to the German people in which it was declared that the maintenance of the internal and external security of Germany depended on the unanimous co-operation of the governments and the people. "The German Confederation Diet," so it said, "therefore urgently calls upon all Germans who have the welfare of Germany at heart—and there are no other Germans (!)—in the name of the united Fatherland, to exert each one his strength in his circle, so that this concord may be maintained and that legal order be nowhere violated. Germany shall and must be raised to the rank due to it among the nations of Europe; but it is only concord and legal progress and uniform development which lead to this. The confederation diet confidently trusts in that respect for law which was never lost sight of in times of trouble, and in the traditional fidelity and discernment of the German people." Thus the diet, whose thirty years' work was known to all, ventured to speak to the ill-used German people! It is indeed difficult to think of a more crushing self-condemnation and, at the same time, a more unfortunate formula for appeasing the just wrath of the German people.

On the 3rd of March, 1848, the diet resolved that every German confederate state was free to raise the censorship and to introduce the liberty of the press, but only "under guarantees which would secure the other states of the German Confederation and the whole confederation against the abuse of the liberty of the press." Another resolution of the 9th of March designated the German Imperial Eagle as the escutcheon of the confederation, and black, red, and gold—the colours hitherto so much persecuted—as the colours of the confederation. On the 18th of March the confederation diet further resolved that "the necessary revision of the constitution of the confederation" should immediately be taken in hand, and that the governments should be called on

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to send men who commanded general confidence to Frankfort to take part in the deliberations concerning this revision. On the 25th of March the diet renewed its invitation for an "immediate" delegation of men enjoying the public confidence to deliberate on the revision of the constitution of the confederation "on a truly opportune and national basis."

All these tardy views and attempts, by which the diet, in breathless haste, sought to overtake the agitation, were outstripped by the terrible logic of facts. In the small and secondary states the ever-increasing storm had already landed the chiefs of the liberal party in the ministerial bureaus; yet the movement was not thereby abated. In Munich the clamorous popular anger at the mere rumour of the reappearance of the notorious Spanish dancer, Lola Montez, caused King Ludwig to abdicate. But even in both the great German states the authority of the government succumbed miserably to the first attack of a comparatively weak insurrection of the people. In the kingdom of Prussia, this time as in former years, the first cry for a reconstruction of the state and of the German Confederation was raised in the Rhenish provinces, but it must be said to their honour that the procedure there was comparatively prudent and statesmanlike. The address presented to the king by a Cologne deputation under the leadership of the chief burgo-master, Von Wittgenstein, on the morning of the 18th of March, received his approval in its essential purport and secured the fulfilment of all just demands without any violent revolt having taken place. In the other provinces, just as in Austria, the storm signals appeared even more pronounced and violent; but the reform agitation first received its true revolutionary character only through the subsequent events in both capitals. "Good-natured" and "easy-going" Vienna led the procession in a manner that altogether belied its reputation. On the 14th of March the inhabitants of that city, with the prominent co-operation of the Anla (that is to say, the professors and students of the university), destroyed the assembly house of the estates and the villa of Prince Metternich, and, not without the shedding of blood, compelled the retirement of that statesman, whose policy was comprehended in the words, "It will last my time!" On the 15th of March the well-meaning but sick and weak emperor Ferdinand was "moved" to proclaim the introduction of the liberty of the press and of a rational guard, as well as the convocation of the estates for the adoption of a constitution. To characterise the misery of the times it may here be noted that the official Prussian *State Recorder*, which had only a short while previously announced the meeting of Austria and Prussia for the orderly settlement of German affairs, announced the Viennese revolution and the flight of Metternich in these words: "To judge from this, Austria has now joined the reform movement which it had obstructed for so long!"

These Viennese laurels deprived Berlin of sleep for sheer envy, for the latter town order had not yet been materially disturbed.

THE BERLIN REVOLUTION OF 1848

Even to this day complete darkness reigns over the most important facts of the Berlin revolution, especially over the question from whom the most fatal mistakes and blunders in the action of the government proceeded. The general course of affairs, which one must understand in order to follow the subsequent developments, is summed up in this: that the agitation was carried on in the capital in a more stormy manner than in the Rhenish province. As early as the 7th of March, a meeting of the people in the Zoological Garden set up the regular, stereotyped demands, whereupon on the 10th all further assemblies were prohibited and actually prevented. On the 14th of March a

royal patent appeared, which convoked the "United Diet" for the 27th of April (that is, after six weeks), and stated that in conjunction with Austria the governments of the other states of the confederation were invited to a general conference, which was to bring about a regeneration of the confederation. Isolated street disturbances were not wanting, but became of a serious nature only when, on the 15th, news of the Vienna revolution arrived. The Committee of Public Safety, consisting of citizens, was ill-treated in front of the palace of the prince of Prussia and fled to the new guard house, the guard of which fired in defence of the post, and a student and a merchant were killed. On the 17th meetings of the people were held in all wards, and on the 18th the king, acting on the urgent advice of the Cologne deputation, published two edicts, in which a liberal press law was given and the United Diet was convoked for the 2nd of April. In the latter document it was explicitly declared that the endeavours of the government were directed to the transforming of Germany from a league of states into a federative state; that in all German lands a constitutional government would be introduced, and a federal representation would be formed; that the German army would receive a federal banner and a federal commander-in-chief; that a supreme court of the confederation would be instituted; all internal customs boundaries would be done away with; and that a common standard of coinage and common weights and measures, as well as the right of free migration and domicile and the liberty of the press, would be introduced.

For these considerable concessions the king, who had twice appeared on the balcony of the castle, was at first greeted with loud cheers, but presently there arose from the multitude the cry, ever louder and more threatening: "Away with the military, let the king trust himself to his citizens!" An attempt was made to drive back the ever-growing, cursing, and threatening mob with cavalry and infantry, which advanced at a slow pace and without the use of arms; suddenly two shots, apparently unintentionally, rang out in the inner court of the castle; no one was wounded, but the people rushed through the streets calling out, "We are betrayed! To arms!" Within half an hour, in all streets even the most distant, barricades were raised, as if it had been all prearranged. Armourers' shops were plundered, individual guard houses stormed, convicts and imprisoned debtors freed—and then there began a fight in the streets and houses which raged until three in the morning. Fortunately for the capital petroleum was not yet at the disposal of the revolution! In this fight the troops were victors, but they were ordered to retire from the field without having restored peace, and thus the insurrection was given, to a certain extent, the character of a victorious revolution.

Certainly the country would have been spared many a subsequent disappointment and humiliation if the majority of its representatives, instead of continually speaking of the "glorious revolution," had not forgotten this simple fact, but had said to themselves that an opponent who had thrown away his arms can raise them up again just as easily; and that in virtue of the newly-won knowledge of the true relation of power and because of the humiliation experienced he would then stand stronger and more menacing than before. In forgetting this early, and learning it late, lies the solution of the riddle of the great fiasco of this year of passion and frenzy.

Early on the 19th of March there appeared a proclamation written during the night by the king himself, "To my dear Berliners," in which it was set forth that all the desired concessions had already been made, and that the troops, "your brothers and countrymen," made use of their weapons only when compelled to do so by the numerous shots fired at them.

"Now it lies with you, inhabitants of my dear native city, to avert a greater evil. Your king and best friend conjures you by all that is sacred to

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recognise the unfortunate error! Return to your homes satisfied! Remove the barricades which are still standing and send to me men imbued with the true old Berlin spirit, with words such as are proper in the presence of your king, and I give you my royal word that all streets and squares shall be evacuated by the troops, and the military occupation shall be limited to the necessary buildings, the palace, the arsenal, and a few others, and even there only for a short time. Listen to the fatherly voice of your king, inhabitants of my true and beautiful Berlin, and forget what has occurred, as I will forget it in my heart for the sake of the great future which shall commence under God's blessing for Prussia, and through Prussia for Germany. Your loving queen and true mother and friend, who is prostrated with suffering, joins her inmost and tearful supplications to mine."

The Castle is Besieged

The gratitude of the Berliners, more correctly of a mob of the Berlin populace, expressed itself soon enough in return for these more than fatherly words. The military left the town at eleven o'clock before the clearing away of the barricades—almost as a proof of a sustained defeat—and it is not established to this day at whose command this was done. A new ministry was formed, which included some liberal members (Count Schwerin and Alfred von Auerswald). Then towards mid-day a procession of people still bearing their weapons in their hands, with nine uncovered corpses on biers, the bodies of the barricade fighters, wended its way to the court of the castle, which was deserted by the military. From the midst of this armed mass a deafening cry arose for the king to appear. The ministers Arnim and Schwerin appeared on the gallery and sought to appease them, but ever louder and louder came the cry: "The king! The king must come!" Then the monarch, greatly bent, leading on his arm the sick and weeping queen, who was pale as death, stepped on to the open gallery and made a sign with his hand that he desired to speak, and in fact did begin several times with the words, "An hour ago you gave me the promise—" the terrible noise drowned the words and from below they called out "Hat off!" The king silently bared his head—then the bearers of the biers raised them up towards the king with the demoniacal cry, "Give us back our brothers and our fathers!" and then to crown the infernal act they intoned the chorus, "Jesus, my trust," at the end of which the king led the queen, who could scarcely stand, back to her rooms.

On the 20th of March there was proclaimed a general amnesty, and on the 21st the ill-counselled proclamation, "To my people and the German nation," was published, in which the king declared that the salvation of Germany could proceed only from the heartiest union of the princes, and that he assumed their lead during the time of danger. This proclamation was followed by a cavalcade through the town, led by popular men and the king wearing the German colours, during which he several times addressed the partly jubilant and partly murmuring crowds and declared that as new constitutional king he wished to become "the leader of the free, regenerated German nation." This action, scarcely suitable to the situation, may indeed have caused a certain patriotic change of sentiment among a portion of the Berlin population, but throughout the whole of Germany, for apparent reasons, it was received with dissatisfaction, even with scorn, and only sharpened the otherwise existing antipathies.

On March 22nd, in a great triumphal procession, the obsequies of those who had fallen and were resting in one hundred and eighty-seven coffins took place, and their sacrificial death was praised in numerous orations by ecclesiastics and laymen. Not a few may have deserved this honour on account of

their good faith, but in the glorification of those martyrs there was no want of exaggerated adulation. It is reported that one of the court chaplains announced from the pulpit that those who had fallen had escaped from earth, and, blessedly transfigured, entered heaven in white raiment and with palms in their hands.

On the 29th of March the ministry of Count Arnim-Boitzenburg was dismissed and a purely liberal one appointed, which consisted of Ludolph Camphausen, Alfred von Auerswald, Von Reyher, Hansemann, Count Schwerin, and Heinrich von Arnim. With the appointment of this liberal ministry the victory of the revolution and all its subsequent successes were regarded as assured, as it was only a trivial, unimportant matter to build up the new constitution on the ruins of the absolute state, out of which, according to the firm conviction of those excited times, all the blessings of freedom, justice, and welfare were to proceed.

The further course of affairs brought the inevitable disillusionment, and again confirmed the old experience that violent revolutions, by releasing all evil passions, can only destroy, but not build up. Such revolutions may under circumstances become unavoidable through the fault of the rulers as well as of the ruled; but even then the result remains just as great an injustice and misfortune as the cause itself. Nor should it be said that the condemnation so loudly pronounced by ethics and politics on revolutions imparts the guarantee of inviolability to every tyrannical government. Even Dr. Martin Luther thought that in spite of the commanded obedience of subjects in Holy Scripture there would ever be baptised heathens who would not shrink from revolution and of returning evil for evil. And Stahl warningly remarks, "It is written, 'The nations shall not rise in rebellion,' but not, 'The nations will not rise.'"^f

THE FUTURE EMPEROR AN EXILE IN ENGLAND

The prince of Prussia, who was beside the king, his brother, in that night of sorrow of the 18th of March, was deeply distressed at the downfall of rule and order in the state. But almost the hardest part for him to bear was that he himself was also involved in the catastrophe in the most unjust manner. The insurgents, knowing and fearing him as a firm leader of the troops, attributed to him the first energetic action of the soldiers: regarding the combat numerous tales were carried about of the prince having roused them to fight by giving the signal with his handkerchief from a window of the castle—in a word, of his having led the insurrection, though he had no command and had not given a single order. The anger and hatred the ringleaders opposed to their adversaries was turned therefore, not against one of the distinguished officers of the Berlin troops, not even against the king, but solely against the prince of Prussia.

There to may be added that there was a serious misunderstanding between the prince and his royal brother, as there was between him and the people. It is true that he had constantly encouraged the king to show a bold front, and when Frederick William, notwithstanding that peace was already assured, through his own weakness allowed it to escape from his hand, he, like many other soldiers—as for instance, General von Prittwitz—was scarcely able to refrain from expressing his indignation. According to the testimony of persons present, violent words were exchanged between the king and the prince, and it seems very credible that in a sudden impulse he may have laid his sword at the feet of the monarch, being no longer able to make use of it.

Of this naturally there could be no serious question, since the prince would be the last to give up the cause of the kingdom; but meanwhile he had to

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bend before the storm of national hatred, partly for his own security, partly to deliver the king from his presence which excited the ringleaders. He also, having been ordered to retire with the troops which evacuated Berlin, left, on the 19th of March, the place of his birth and of his long and unblemished activity.

At first he did not go far from Berlin, but only across Spandau to the "island of peacocks." Here the wish of the king that he might leave the country for some time was suggested to him. He did not feel justified, in order not to expose himself to misconstructions, in fulfilling the mere wish. He asked for a formal order, which he received in the shape of the command to give an account to the English court of what had happened in Berlin. On the 22nd of March, which was his birthday, he left his home in the midst of dangers, enemies being on the watch for him, to gain the seashore and at last England by boat. The exile he thus entered upon recalls the remembrance of another banishment which was imposed eleven years before upon excellent Germans, the best professors of the university of Gottingen, and this not by angry multitudes, but by a tyrannical prince. Those "savants" were honoured in song by the nation, but the proudest verse destined for them might also fit the case of the chivalrous prince of Prussia. Assuredly, in the country from whence such men travel as fugitives, you must point reproachfully to those who reside in the country, not to those who have left it.

The prince at that time was already fifty-one years old. The long life of continual work spent in the conscientious fulfilment of his duties seemed to have been useless. A weaker nature than his would have broken down under the awful blow which struck him—but the prince's clear head and his valiant heart remained unchanged. After the storm which had almost destroyed his country, sunshine must follow; then the time would come to reclaim that which was lost, and even to be more active than ever in the cause of Prussia and Germany. Thus without pusillanimity and bitterness of heart, but with a head proudly erect, he was ready to meet the dark future. His wisdom and kindness, the composure which he maintained notwithstanding the sorrow which filled his heart, proclaimed him a man, and not only cheered but roused the admiration of all who met him.

Before leaving the Continent, he held in Hamburg a long conversation with an officer, Major von Vincke, who was one of his friends. With undisguised annoyance he then rejected the very proposal his adversaries had repeatedly attributed to him—that of taking up arms against his country, as the Stuarts and Bourbons had done, or of engaging other powers to do so. He said, moreover, that he was quite disposed to accept and even anxious himself to help on the free constitutional form of government which was on the point of developing, and that he was determined to adhere as closely to the new as he had to the old one. Major von Vincke was so deeply impressed by these words that later he openly declared: "According to my inmost conviction, the prince, after having with his usual industry and perseverance learned to understand fully the constitutional form of government, will, conscientious as he is, become its strongest and surest guardian."

Having reached England the prince took up his quarters at the house of Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador, and at once entered into the warmest relations with the royal family, as well as with the most distinguished statesmen of the island. As to the latter, he rendered the German nation a real service by dispersing by means of his sound political views and his imposing personality "the stock disbelief of Englishmen regarding the future of Germany." He charmed his guests, striving as he did to banish the anxiety they felt on his behalf. He struck at once the chord of easy, familiar intercourse, inasmuch as, at the very beginning of his stay in the ambassador's house, he put on one

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side the arm-chair which, at the general breakfast table, had been put for him in the place of honour. Drawing up another chair he said smilingly, "The thrones shake; it is the moment to exercise humility." Notwithstanding all this, he must naturally have felt great sadness.^g But his exile was not of long duration. In the following June he returned to Prussia, and a year later he was invested with the supreme command of the Prussian army sent to restore order in Baden.^a

"MARCH MINISTERS" IN THE LESSER GERMAN STATES

In Hesse-Darmstadt a calm had followed on the political persecutions of the thirties, and the political spirit of the people had sunk so low that Georgi, the torturer of the unhappy Pfarrer (Pastor) Weidig, was returned to the chamber. But when the breath of revolution blew from France an agitation began to stir among the Hessians, especially among the vivacious inhabitants of "golden Mainz," who still loved to look back upon the time when they formed part of the Franco-Rhenish republic. Zitz, the leader of the Mainz democracy, promptly drew up an address to the chamber at Darmstadt, putting forward the well-known demands; other towns joined with Mainz; and on the 2nd of March the address was discussed in the chamber in the presence of an immense throng. Deputy Reh, an eloquent Darmstadt advocate, demanded the abolition of the bureaucratic system and the removal of reactionary ministers; Deputy Heinrich had already demanded national representation for Germany some days before. The government took a long time to deliberate, and consequently, in a great public meeting at Mainz, Zitz declared: "Fellow-citizens, our bill has been due for thirty years. We will allow yet three days of grace, and then we will go to Darmstadt with the whole province at our backs, to give effect to our wishes in person." Thereupon the authorities at Darmstadt yielded, and Heinrich von Gagern, who up to that time had been the leader of the constitutionalist opposition, was made "March Minister." The grand duke also associated his son with him as co-regent. These and a few similar measures gave the government of Hesse-Darmstadt breathing-space for a while.

In the electorate of Hesse a certain amount of excitement prevailed in consequence of the political prosecutions and the elector's unremitting endeavours to destroy the constitution of 1831. The elector Frederick, who had been on the throne since 1847, cherished hopes of overcoming the feeble resistance of the estates and discarding all the good points of the constitution, when the news of events in Paris threw the whole country into a state of agitation. The elector's subjects, usually past masters in the art of legal opposition, called to mind the long ignominy in which they had lived; they remembered how their forefathers had been sold by herds into the service of foreign powers, and how they themselves had been tormented by the police and the bureaucracy. The popular demands were asserted with violence. Popular wrath rose to such a pitch against Scheffer, whilom director of the ministry of the interior, who had used his power harshly and ruthlessly, that he fled across the frontier, urged on by the dread of being lynched. Resistance to the rule of the elector came to a head at Hanau, where the whole populace flew to arms, resolved to fight if the elector refused his consent to the well-known demands. The men of Hanau even breathed the frightful threat that they would secede from the electorate and become subjects of Hesse-Darmstadt unless the elector gave way. But a vigorous movement was in progress behind this theatrical parade, and when the elector ordered the military to advance upon Hanau, thousands of armed Hessians streamed into the menaced city to defend it against the Hessian soldiery. The soldiers hesi-

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tated, and many officers openly declared that "no citizen blood should be shed." At Cassel one deputation followed hard on the heels of another in unbroken succession, all petitioning the elector "to concede" (*zu verleihen*), and prince and deputations exhibited the edifying spectacle of buyers and sellers in the market place, perpetually parting in anger, and promptly returning to the charge with fresh offers. At Hanau meanwhile the danger of a sanguinary collision came nearer and nearer. The citizens, led by a Committee of the People, refused to yield. Some six thousand armed men were prepared to repulse any attack from the military outside the town. In Cassel itself passions ran high, a crowd of twenty thousand souls surged round the electoral palace, the erection of barricades was taken in hand—nothing but the attitude of the Town Guard (*Bürgerwehr*) prevented fighting in the streets. At the eleventh hour the elector gave way. The men of Hanau had won a bloodless victory, and had no need to transfer their allegiance to the grand duke. Their courageous action produced a profound impression throughout Germany. The victors did not abuse their late-won victory; some particularly obnoxious bureaucrats were favoured with a serenade of cat-calls, and the notorious whipping machine known as the "wolf" was brought from the police station by the citizens in solemn procession and then destroyed. This instrument was in itself a sufficient explanation of the hatred the people of the electorate bore against the dominant bureaucracy.

"March Ministers" were placed at the head of the administration, Wippermann and Eberhard being the chosen candidates. These much persecuted men acted after the manner of all March ministers, and persecuted everyone else whose aspirations went farther than their own, till they were swept aside when the reaction set in by the notorious Hassenpflug, nicknamed "Hassenfluch" (curse of Hesse). But for a moment the whole of Hesse was brimming over with joy and gladness, for the men of Hanau had won a complete victory.

In Nassau the storm broke on the 1st of March. The people had suffered frightfully from the oppression of nobles and bureaucrats, and the smiling province had become a scene of poverty and servitude. The constitution was an empty form, for the property qualification for the franchise was so high that there were only seventy-three qualified voters in the country. The "demesnes quarrel" had done much to inflame the wrath of the people, for Duke William, with the help of his minister, a certain Herr Marschall von Bieberstein, had added the public lands, which brought in a revenue of two million gulden, to his private property. The peasantry were grievously oppressed, and they rose *en masse*. The duke was away, the citizens of Wiesbaden, led by Advocate (*Rechtsanwalt*) Hergenhausen, forced the authorities to open the armoury and allow them to arm themselves. They put forward the usual demands, and added that the public lands must be restored to the state. The peasants, realising that the opportunity had arrived for getting rid of their feudal burdens, came down from Westenwald into the town in armed bands. On the 4th nearly thirty thousand armed men were collected in Wiesbaden. It was evident that the military had no mind to meddle with them. The government made lavish promises, but could give no guarantee in the duke's absence. The tension grew more severe, till at length the duke appeared and averted a catastrophe at the last possible moment by granting everything that was required of him. But the men of Nassau had grown suspicious, and demanded that they should pay no taxes until the duke had made all his promises good. That was granted too. The duke bore a special grudge against the revolutionaries for having made him disgorge the public lands. The peasants were appeased, Hergenhausen, the "friend of the people," pacified the citizens. Every peasant was now free to cut wood and to shoot

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game on his own fields, and the feudal dues were abolished. The peasants of Nassau then did what those of Swabia had done; they left the "townsman" alone to "come by their rights" ("zu ihrem Sach") as best they could. The citizens, here as everywhere, thought that in winning political concessions they had won everything.

Saxony and Hanover

In Saxony, which had at that time become the happy hunting-ground of liberal and radical factions, Leipsic was the first place to be affected by the agitation that followed on the news of the revolution in Paris and the various provinces of Germany. At the head of the democratic constitutionalist party there was Robert Blum, a man who had worked his way up from the proletariat to the position of a well-to-do citizen and bookseller, and was famous far and wide as a demagogue. His influence with the masses had been shown as early as 1845, at the time of the notorious massacre in front of the Hôtel de Prusse at Leipsic.

Biedermann, who represented the liberal *bourgeoisie*, and Arnold Ruge, then a red republican, were working in concert with him. Although socialistic demands were put forward in Saxony, yet for the moment all currents of political feeling coalesced, and it was resolved to present an address of the usual tenor to the king. As drawn up by Biedermann it read tamely; Blum infused a little fire into it. The town commissioners (*Stadtverordneten*) approved the address and forwarded it to the king. At nine o'clock of the evening of the 2nd of March the answer came. An enormous and excited crowd, which relieved its feelings by singing the Marseillaise, had collected in and about the town hall. The excitement rose higher still when the king's answer arrived. "The king," Biedermann said, speaking from the balcony of the town hall, "received us very kindly, listened to us with great emotion, frequently with tears, and gave us an answer written with his own hand, on the paper of which the traces of tears are plainly to be seen."

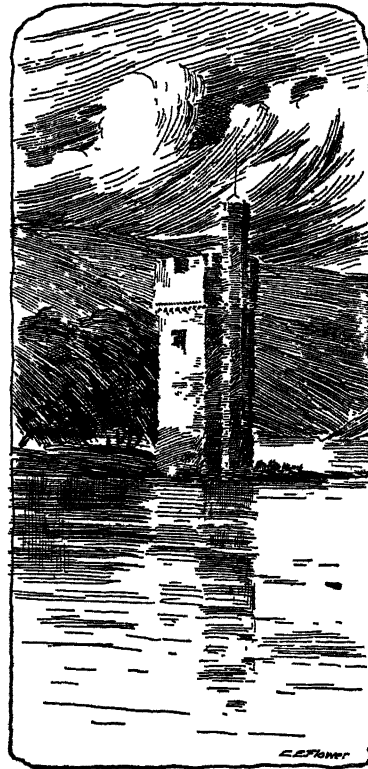
This was no doubt extremely touching. The king's answer, however, was less so, for he flatly refused all demands, asserted that the town commissioners of Leipsic had not the support of the people behind them, and simply reprimanded them for the step they had taken. The crowd was stung to fury, and first rushed to the residence of Deputy Brockhaus, where they serenaded him with cat-calls and broke his windows. Brockhaus turned aside the tide of popular indignation by calling for a cheer for the freedom of the press, and promised to vote against the reactionary ministers in future. Blum succeeded in pacifying the tumultuous mob for the moment. The town commissioners resolved to send another deputation to Dresden. The dismissal of the censors was one of the popular demands, and these gentlemen themselves, becoming aware of the fact, were seized with terror and made a public declaration in which they, the censors, asserted that "the censorship would lead to the ruin of the state." How long had these gentlemen, on their own showing, been labouring at the "ruin of the state"? Truly the kaleidoscope of revolution reveals many comic pictures.

The king would not yield; he lamented that "a single commune" had entered upon the course of "petition" which did not become it; he would treat with no one save the estates of his kingdom, which he promised to convoke within the next two months. But the men of Leipsic, who had wrung free tobacco and a town guard from their government, and abolished the drawn swords of the police, were not to be so easily put off. They resolved to insist upon their demands and provide themselves with arms. If the king would not yield they would start *en masse* for Dresden.

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The agitation rose high in all parts of the country when the king refused addresses from six other towns and replied to a speech made by Schwedler, Mayor of Meeraue, with the words, "I have nothing more to say to you except farewell." The citizens of Leipsic made arrangements for proceeding *en masse* to the opening of the diet at Dresden and it was evident that half of Saxony would join them. This seemed a serious matter even to the king, especially as Dresden itself was beginning to take part in the movement. There were tumults and street mobs in the capital, and at length the king made up his mind to give way. The reactionary ministry was dismissed, and Saxony too had her "March Ministers." Braun and Oberlander, two liberal deputies, received appointments in the ministry, so likewise did Von der Pfordten, who promptly set to work to prepare the way for a new reaction. His appointment gave great offence, but the people consoled themselves when they found that the ministry had made the well-known popular demands a part of their programme. This did not prevent the after effects of the agitation from being felt in Saxony. The starving operatives of the Erzgebirge and various towns revolted. The castle of Waldenburg was burned down in April; the Schonburg peasants were furious that the heavy and oppressive dues they had to pay to the *Rezessherrschaften* (lords whose relative rights were determined by a *recessus*) were not entirely abolished, and they therefore attacked the castle and burnt the title-deeds, setting the castle itself on fire during the process. It was natural that the movement should result in such demonstrations where the need of the people was sorest, for neither oppressed peasantry nor starving weavers could live upon the "ideas" of liberalism, a German parliament, and freedom of the press.

Hanover had not yet recovered from her constitutional struggles and the subversion of her constitution *de haut en bas* when the flood of the great movement rolled into the dominions of that absolutist monarch, King Ernest Augustus. On the 6th of March the popular demands were submitted to this sovereign in his turn, and were simply refused by him, with the remark that popular representation in the German Confederation was incompatible with the monarchical form of government. This brusque reply was intended to show that the king was inflexible. The agitation assumed formidable proportions; the towns presented addresses; there were disturbances and student demonstrations at Gottingen; and the king answered all petitions by declaring that the disturbances must be ascribed to foreign agitators. At length the disorder spread to the town of Hanover. Several thousand citizens surrounded the castle and sent in a deputation; a cabinet councillor, Munchhausen by name, appeared with the king's answer. He could not get a hear-



MOUSE-TOWER OF HATTO (969), SCENE OF THE LEGEND OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF BINGEN ON THE RHINE

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ing at once, and shouted, "Are you going to yell or am I going to speak?" The citizens were enraged at the courtier's tone and aristocratic arrogance; they compelled him to address them as "gentlemen." The answer he brought was unsatisfactory; particularly as the king refused to concede the reform of the obnoxious police administration. The mob wreaked its fury on the houses of unpopular ministers and police officials and broke their windows; the same treatment was meted out to a court lady of anti-liberal views. The military, who were greeted with howls and hisses, were in no hurry to interfere. The tension continued to increase, till in the end Ernest Augustus gave way. He dismissed the ministry, allowed the people to bear arms, promised police reform, and appointed Stuve of Osnabrück, who, as the defender of the constitution, enjoyed the confidence of the liberal party among the citizens, to be his "March Minister." Count Bennigsen (son of the celebrated Russian general of that name), who passed for a liberal, entered the ministry at the same time, together with some men of no particular political dye. Stuve played the unbeautiful rôle of all "March Ministers," and consequently the reaction was able to make as thorough a clearance of the "gains" of 1848 in Hanover as anywhere.^h

The Frankfort Preliminary Parliament

Meantime at Frankfort-on-the-Main about five hundred men from Germany had assembled (March 31st) and formed a Preliminary Parliament (*Vorparlament*); the confederation diet gave its sanction. It was resolved that a national assembly, proceeding from general free elections by the whole German people, should determine the future constitution of Germany. The preliminary parliament thereupon took east and west Prussia and Schleswig into the German Confederation, and the same was then to be done with Posen. The elections took place with the approval of the governments; on the 18th of May the German National Assembly held its first sitting in the Paulskirche at Frankfort-on-the-Main. But discord had already broken out in the relations between the governments and the governed. The former had everywhere (except in Austria where all was still undecided) guaranteed the in part very tumultuous demands of the people; Germany had thus won important victories; not only that such feudal burdens and special privileges as still subsisted had been overthrown, but freedom of the press, right of association, juries, and publicity of the administration of justice, and even the arming of the people, had been secured and liberal ministers accepted. But now arose many visionaries who perverted and incited the people by republican teaching and communistic follies. This was especially the case on the Rhine, where the advanced democrats under Hecker plotted a rising in Baden (12th of April), which was indeed quickly suppressed, but called forth great bitterness between the moderates and democrats, and drove the former nearer than ever to the governments. In Berlin, also, the democracy destroyed unity; it kept the people in perpetual excitement and also acquired great influence over the Prussian national assembly, which, chosen by direct elections and summoned by the government (the Camphausen ministry), met at Berlin on the 22nd of May. The people, full of vague desires, allowed themselves to be lured into making fresh disturbances, and on the 14th of June stormed the arsenal. Thus the tension increased to the ruin of the whole.

Great enthusiasm for liberty and unity were exhibited throughout Germany; there was universal jubilation over the victories of this young "Spring of the Nations" (*Volkerfrühling*); but no one was clear about the means; men were undecided as to what they wanted; and it was therefore not easy to come to an understanding. The parliamentary life of the Germans was so new, it had previously moved within such narrow limits, that it was entirely

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without a fixed programme or leaders equal to their task. Liberals, constitutionalists, republicans, absolutists, aristocrats, besides ultramontanists, Prussophiles, Austrians, all were jumbled together, engaged in mutual contention and blustering.

This chaos of opinions found its expression in the German national assembly. Heinrich von Gagern presided; the parties were measured against each other; the moderates (liberals) had the advantage in numbers, the democrats the greater boldness. To the latter, liberty was more important than unity; they contrived that the fundamental rights of the German people should be first considered; this led to a long war of words; valuable time was expended by the hundreds of long-winded speakers. Meanwhile the tottering governments were able to strengthen themselves and so make the whole work of the assembly fruitless. But the need of a central power was only too keenly felt; and in consequence, on the 29th of June, 1848, by four hundred and thirty-six votes to one hundred and ten, the archduke John of Austria, a noble friend of the people, was chosen *Reichsverweser* (imperial vicar); he was to execute the decisions of the parliament, have the supreme command over all the German armies, and represent Germany abroad. The governments agreed, and on the 12th of July the confederation diet laid its authority in the hands of the Reichsverweser and dissolved itself. The Reichsverweser chose a responsible imperial ministry. But as in all this the princes had co-operated but little, so they were without a real inclination to support the new central power; and just the most important person, the king of Prussia, regarded the proceedings at Frankfort with great and indeed not unfounded mistrust. This led to a lamentable defeat of Germany abroad; to the disgrace in Schleswig-Holstein.

THE ORGANISATION OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

Since 1460 Schleswig-Holstein had been united both legally and nationally; it was a German country by custom, speech, and the inclination of the inhabitants; situated on the frontiers of the united German Fatherland, in it a keen sense of German nationality had been preserved. The ruler of the country was at the same time king of Denmark; but the two duchies had their own constitution. Now in the northern part of Schleswig a Danish population was settled, and though it was continually losing ground to the more cultivated and stronger German element, still it had this advantage, that Schleswig had not been received into the German Confederation with Holstein in 1815, but had been committed to the king of Denmark as a separate duchy. Thus the latter won the desired pretext forcibly to make this country Danish.^b

Under Christian VIII of Denmark, who ascended the throne in 1839, the old conflict between the Germans and Danes which was suspended for a time again broke out. The national feeling which had awakened throughout Europe also came to the fore here, and led to a sharp antagonism between the Danes and Germans, who for long had been united under one government. The superiority to which the Danish element laid claim, the interference of the Danes in the affairs of the duchies, the violation which their rights and interests experienced, the endeavour to separate Schleswig from Holstein and to unite Schleswig with the kingdom, awakened aversion in German lands. But the Danes feared a separation of the duchies, especially of Schleswig; for the male line of the reigning house threatened to die out, and owing to the differences in the law of succession in the various lands a dissolution of the long-standing union was to be expected. Hence they thought it necessary to provide against such a consummation. "Denmark to the Eider," that is to say, the union of Schleswig with Denmark and its separation from Holstein,

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was the aim of the national party, which entered upon the struggle with passion and fanaticism. The new king, a man of high education and noble qualities, but without definiteness of aim and strength of character, seemed at first disposed to adopt a compromising and conciliatory attitude. The appointment of the prince of Augustenburg-Noer to the governorship and chief command, also the appointment of Count Reventlow Criminil, a patriotic and well-meaning but weak man, to the presidency of the chancery, caused satisfaction in the duchies. An improved organisation of the finances and provisions for welfare and education were also favourably received. But the maintenance of the union existing between Holstein as well as Schleswig with Denmark lay more at Christian VIII's heart than anything else: without separating them from each other, he aimed at binding both more firmly to the kingdom. First of all he intended, by individual measures, to strengthen and extend the bonds of union.

A new organisation of the army, which deprived the Schleswig-Holstein regiments of their old names and banners and removed some of them to Denmark; the introduction of Danish cockades for the civil officials; the attempt to bring into use the Danish system of coinage and Danish coins, and to establish branches of the Danish Bank in the country, all these deeply affected the existing conditions. The bank first established a branch at Flensburg, a thoroughly German town, but in which the commercial union with Denmark and Danish colonies called forth sympathy for union with the kingdom. Other plans were frustrated. The plan of a common ministry of worship and education with Denmark, the intention to form common committees from the provincial diets of the duchies and the kingdom after the model of an institution then introduced into Prussia, fell through because of the decided opposition of the estates. The question as to the official standing of the respective languages caused much agitation. The introduction of Danish as the official language of the courts of law in the northern part, in obedience to the king's decree, caused anxiety, and the estates pronounced themselves against it. There were lively disputes as to the use of Danish in the proceedings of the diet, which the king sought to settle by compromise. Christian saw himself obliged to issue a declaration (December 14th, 1843) that he just as little thought of uniting Schleswig or part of it to the kingdom as of placing it in a political union with Germany by joining the German Confederation—for which act individual voices clamoured; he promised to maintain the independence of the duchy and the union with Holstein: he certainly meant to add, under the Danish crown.

THE "PUBLIC LETTER" (1846 A.D.)

The agitation became all the more active as the succession question, which occupied the public mind more and more, and to which the government in the last days of Frederick VI had already turned its attention, came to the fore. A second marriage of the crown prince had also remained childless, and like the first had to be dissolved. Thus the possibility of a separation did not lie so far off. Then the matter was taken up in Denmark and the proposal moved at the assembly of the estates of the islands: that the king should solemnly proclaim that the Danish monarchy, namely, the kingdom of Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, would be inseparably transmitted according to the provisions of the royal law, and that every attempt on the part of subjects to dissolve the union existing between the various divisions of the states would be frustrated. This invasion of the rights of the duchies awakened intense indignation. The voice of the people expressed itself in numerous addresses to the Holstein estates simultaneously

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assembled; they summed up the law of the land in the statement: the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein are independent states, firmly united to one another and ruled in the male line. But the government shared the Danish view of the matter. A commission of high state officials was to investigate the question of succession. As a result of their work, the so-called Public Letter was published (July 8th, 1846), which announced: that the hereditary succession of the monarchy was equally valid in Denmark and in the duchies of Schleswig and Lauenburg, but that with regard to individual parts of the duchy of Holstein circumstances prevailed which made a similar declaration impossible; the king, therefore, promised to remedy these latter, so as to bring about the complete acknowledgment of the integrity of the whole Danish state. The communication of this decree to the Holstein estates was accompanied by the prohibition to make it the subject of remonstrance to the government.

It was a one-sided decision, which by no means conformed to the law; neither did it agree, as became known later, with the results of the investigation instituted by the commission; and it was at the same time an insult to the rights of the estates. It was met by the most decided opposition. The agnates protested to the German Confederation. The prince of Augustenburg, the duke of Glücksburg who was the head of the second branch of the legal line of succession, and many members of the Schleswig knighthood gave up the offices which they held. In spite of the prohibition the Holstein estates issued an address, and when it was not accepted they laid the matter before the federal diet and dispersed; others, who were convoked in their place, did not appear or joined their predecessors. The people made known their consent to the acts of the estates in addresses and in the press. An extract from the findings of the commission issued in defence of the Public Letter, found complete refutation by nine professors of the Kiel university.

GERMANY INVOLVED IN THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION

The agitation resounded throughout Germany. Then for the first time did the Schleswig-Holstein affair appear in all its importance as a German question. In addresses, pamphlets, in the chambers, the rights of the duchies were espoused, and they were promised all necessary assistance for the protection of the same: Germany took over the task of maintaining them inviolate and unrestricted.

The confederation diet also did not escape the influence of public opinion and the weightiness of the matter. It did not accomplish much, but more than usual. King Christian had declared that he had never thought of encroaching upon the independence of the duchy of Holstein or on its constitution, or on any other relation based on law and tradition, or to interfere with well-established rights of the agnates, and that he also wished to maintain the constitutional right of petition of the estates. Upon this the Federal Assembly announced (September 17th, 1846) that they saw themselves strengthened in their most confident expectations; that the king, by the final determination of the relations spoken of in the Public Letter, would observe the rights of one and all, especially those of the German Confederation, of the rightful agnates, and the legal representation of the country of Holstein; at the same time they reserved for themselves their constitutional competence.

A declaration of the ambassador at the confederation diet acknowledged that Holstein and Schleswig had all public legal rights in common, and promised to leave this union inviolate. A proclamation was issued by the king (September 18th) which was meant to be reassuring, inasmuch as it announced that his intention had not been to injure the rights of the duchies and to dissolve their union. But at the same time the indissolubility of the Danish

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monarchy was emphasised, the acknowledgment of which was the question at issue. The king held firmly to this; towards this end all his efforts were bent. Schleswig was also to serve as a means of holding Holstein.

Negotiations for this purpose were taken up with the European powers, papers and pamphlets were prepared and circulated which sought to give a forced interpretation to the law, and as much as possible to prevent the spreading of the opposite views. The goal was to be reached by cajoling public opinion and curbing the opposition in the duchies. There were Germans who offered their services in aid of this scheme: Count Karl Moltke, who became president of the chancery in place of Reventlow, and by devotion to the idea of royal absolutism disowned both his native country and his own past; and Scheel, a violent, ambitious nature, who, at the head of the Schleswig-Holstein government, sought to establish a rigid police régime. The federal laws against assemblies and unions, which formerly had not been promulgated in the country, were now put into effect.

But the duchies did not cease their opposition. When the Schleswig assembly of the estates met October 1st, 1848, under the presidency of Wilhelm Beseler, they took the matter up: an address expounded the rights of the duchies; three petitions proposed the separation of the administration of the duchies from that of the kingdom, the introduction of a common constitution with Holstein—this being presented by the duke of Augustenburg—and the acceptance of Schleswig into the German Confederation. As the government refused to accept these petitions, the majority of the assembly dispersed.

Then the knights, chiefly led by the prior of the convent of Preetz, Count Fritz Reventlow, raised their voices, demanding that the rights of the land should be established in a constitutional document and provided with the requisite guarantees (January 19th, 1847).

All organs of the land had spoken. Tendencies and parties which otherwise went different ways were united here. Even men of more democratic tendencies, who laid greater stress on Holstein's connection with Germany than on the former union with Schleswig, the so-called New Holsteiners under the leadership of Th. Olshausen, joined in the movement. The approach of a crisis was felt and preparations were made to meet it.

A more active life had awakened in Germany: an endeavour for greater unity prevailed among the people. In Holstein and Schleswig it was recognised that they must join this general movement, and thereby find a support for their special rights.

The king, however, thought to give his aspirations a new foundation. A common constitution for the kingdom and the duchies was planned; by granting constitutional rights, such as had been widely and actively demanded in Denmark since his accession, a new union was to be assured, which was to supersede the personal union hitherto prevailing. Christian VIII was occupied with these plans when death suddenly overtook him, January 20th, 1848.

FREDERICK VII AND THE FIGHT FOR SCHLESWIG

As the last of the male line of Frederick III, who by the royal decree separated the succession in Denmark from that in Schleswig-Holstein, Frederick VII became ruler. By his ways of thinking and habits he belonged more exclusively than any other of his race to the Danish people, and therefore looked as a stranger upon his German lands, whose rights he encroached upon heavily, violating their national feeling and so increasing the inner antagonism that the outer separation, which the course of history brought along, became all the more unavoidable.

Good-natured but uneducated, without a sense for justice or morals, de-

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pendent on a woman of low birth to whom he was morganatically married, the king soon became a mere tool in the hands of the parties, incapable of resisting the demands of the Danish national pride and passionate infatuation. He began by proclaiming (January 28th, 1848) the constitution which his father had planned and which was to unite Schleswig-Holstein with Denmark under forms which promised a certain equalisation of right, but which nevertheless assured superiority to the Danes. It satisfied no one. If in the duchies they decided on entering into a preparatory deliberation of the same, it was only in order to fight the whole scheme and to demand the right of an independent constitution.

At this moment the great convulsion took place in France which shook all Europe: the ancient order of the states wavered and in a fierce onslaught a new one was trying to establish itself. Long-felt wants, justified and necessary demands, but also extravagant theories and revolutionary passions, asserted themselves.

Schleswig-Holstein was the most strongly affected. Whilst endeavouring to protect the ancient right and union with Germany, a fresh and more heavy attack had to be resisted. It was not possible to persevere in the peaceful attitude that had been maintained until now. But although driven to the employment of force, the law was adhered to, order was maintained, and every outbreak of unbridled passion was checked. Whilst the national party in Copenhagen urged a union of Schleswig with Denmark and its separation from Holstein, a meeting of the members of the Schleswig-Holstein estates, which assembled in Rendsburg (March 18th), proposed the union of the estates of both duchies, the admission of Schleswig into the German Confederation, and the granting of free rights such as were demanded and granted everywhere. Before the deputation which had to convey these desires had reached Copenhagen and gained an audience of Frederick VII, the latter was induced by a popular movement to dismiss the ministry and to call to his counsel the leaders of the party who demanded the annexation of Schleswig (March 21st). He then declared himself willing to grant Holstein a free constitution, to support the endeavours for a German parliament, but on the other hand to consolidate the inseparable union of Schleswig with Denmark by a common and free constitution (March 24th). The ancient rights were thereby abolished, the union of Schleswig and Holstein destroyed, the foundation on which the dominion of the king in the duchies rested undermined. This was to be carried out by the force of arms.

The duchies had to concert measures against this, and they did not hesitate to do so. In Kiel, the most influential men of the land united themselves, the prince of Noer, Count Reventlow-Preetz, Wilhelm Beseler. A provisional government was formed (March 23rd-24th), which also included Schmidt in Kiel, Bremer in Flensburg, and later Olshausen, who was absent as member of the deputation, "for the maintenance of the rights of the land and of the hereditary duke"; the latter, as being in the hands of a Danish party, was considered not to have been free in his resolutions. The whole land joined in, even officials—those in Copenhagen gave up their posts—and the military, in so far as they belonged to the duchies by birth. Rendsburg was taken possession of by the prince, who became commander-in-chief (March 24th).

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WARS (1848-1850 A.D.,

Soon the fight broke out. The Danes marched into Schleswig, occupied Alsen, and advanced into the mainland. The duchies opposed to them all the fighting men that could be assembled in haste. But insufficient armament

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and defective leadership resulted in a defeat at Bau (April 9th); almost all Schleswig fell into the hands of the Danes.

The sole dependence of the duchies was now the protection of Germany. The king of Prussia, to whom the duke of Augustenburg applied for aid, pronounced himself decisively in favour of their rights (March 24th). The preliminary parliament declared itself in favour of the entry of Schleswig into the German Confederation. The confederation diet decided to protect the rights of Holstein to unite with Schleswig and acknowledged the provisional government (April 4th, 12th). Prussian troops under Bonin invaded Holstein, followed by the tenth federal corps under Halkett. Wrangel took over the command with the order to clear Schleswig of the Danes.

The Dannevirke was taken by storm (April 23rd), but the Danish army was not pursued; the mainland was taken, but Alsens left in the hands of the enemy; then Jutland also was occupied, and contributions laid upon it as compensation for captured German vessels; but it was soon evacuated; even the north of Schleswig had to be given up, as the Danes from Alsens threatened the Germans in Sundewitt. At Nübel the latter had to retire from the field with losses (May 28th), and a fresh attack brought no success (June 5th). In the beginning the force at hand was not energetically turned to account, but now it no longer sufficed, and the necessary reinforcements were slow in arriving.

In the land itself everyone was full of devotion and willing to make sacrifices; firm and resolved, the people were united in the chief cause, but were checked through manifold considerations, and not sufficiently energetic. The task they had set themselves was most difficult to perform: that of protecting the ancient rights by force of arms against a sovereign who was still recognised by them as their lawful lord, and of union with the powers of Germany, who were themselves in the midst of a process of reorganisation. The relation of the volunteers to the regular troops, of the natives to the strangers, caused much embarrassment. Political antagonisms arose in the ancient estates, which were united in one assembly, and especially in a provincial assembly convened on the basis of a general election: a new organisation of internal conditions was discussed. In Schleswig itself, which was the chief bone of contention, certain Danish influences made themselves felt. The government was urging forward the admission into the German Confederation, but to this some of the people were still disinclined, and it was opposed by the European powers.

The latter showed themselves favourable to Denmark, fearing an increase of German influence. England recommended division of Schleswig in accordance with the nationality of the population, but this met with opposition in the land. Germany had given only insufficient help; Austria did not favour the cause of the duchies. In Prussia the disturbance of commerce caused by the ascendancy of Denmark at sea was soon severely felt; there they also feared a conflict with foreign powers, and complained of being obliged to bear the burden alone, and of the attitude of the rest of Germany. In Frankfort decision and strength were wanting.

The Truce of Malmö

Political and diplomatic influences paralysed the military measures. Negotiations concerning a settlement of the dispute were first undertaken in London through the mediation of England, and then in Malmö through that of Sweden. Prussia was moved to accept the terms of an armistice (July 8th) which were so unfavourable and to a high degree even discreditable, and met with such general opposition that they were not carried out: fresh negotia-

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tions at Bellevue, near Kolding, led to no result, although the provisional government, from which Olshausen then withdrew, made important concessions. Taken up again at Malmo by Prussia, in the name of the authority of the national assembly at Frankfort, they led to a settlement which did not fulfil the conditions of the Frankfort ministry and threatened the duchies with great disadvantages, but which nevertheless the former resolved to sanction. The people of the duchies, however, rose up against it, and by its firm attitude the provincial assembly supported the popular sentiment: a new constitution, which insured the rights of the land, was adopted and promulgated (September 15th). The Frankfort national assembly had also from the first declared itself against the fulfilment of the terms of this treaty. But as some of the most unfavourable provisions had been removed, it gave its consent after a severe struggle and with certain reservations (September 16th). Another decision in this case might have altered many things; but it would have been favourable only if it had been unanimous and if it had been adopted in agreement with the central authority. As it was, it led to a fight and a victory against the revolution at home, but also to dependency and impotency abroad. Even in the duchies the matter became endurable. The new government, appointed in accordance with the provisions of the armistice, fell to patriotic men (October 22nd). The new constitution and the newly decreed laws were acknowledged; the command of the army was taken over, in the place of the retired prince von Noer, by the Prussian general Bonin, who worked with success for its further improvement. On the other hand Frederick VII soon refused to acknowledge the new government, and the stipulated evacuation of Alsens by the Danes did not take place. Only an actual suspension of hostilities ensued.

Meanwhile negotiations for peace were in progress. The duchies desired independence and a firm union. In Denmark all stress was laid on the separation of Schleswig from Holstein: only a so-called independence of Schleswig was to be granted. Prussia, and for a time also the Frankfort authorities, agreed to this; but they could not come to terms over the *modus operandi*.

Denmark gave notice of a discontinuance of the armistice. When it expired a governorship, composed of Count Reventlow and Beseler and established by the Frankfort authorities, took over the management of the affairs of the country (1849, March 26th). The war was reopened by the brilliant fight of Eckernförde against Danish men of war (April 5th), the storming of the Düppel Heights by the imperial troops (April 13th), and a victory of the Schleswig-Holstein troops under Bonin at Kolding (April 23rd). After some delay, the army composed of troops from various German states entered Jutland under the Prussian general, Von Prittwitz. After a new victory at Gudsö (May 7th), Bonin undertook the siege of Fredericia. But the chief command was deficient in strength and earnestness: and the war was carried on, as it were, only in seeming. Peace was desired in Prussia and negotiations were pursued to this end. Both the national assembly and the imperial government went to destruction in the vain endeavour to obtain unity in Germany. A reaction against the agitations of the previous year made itself felt, which also exercised its influence over the cause of Schleswig-Holstein.

The army of the duchies, deserted by Prittwitz, was beaten, in spite of the bravest defence, in a sortie of the Danes from Fredericia (July 6th). Immediately thereafter Prussia concluded an armistice (July 18th), which limited the governorship to Holstein and subjected Schleswig to the authority of a Danish-Prussian Commission and to the occupation of the greater northern half by Swedes and Norwegians and of the southern by Prussia.

With the consent of the German member there now began a despotic government for the carrying through of Danish views; officials and ministers of

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religion were dismissed, persecutions ordained, and steps taken in favour of the Danish language. But the German population powerfully resisted this; in one part of the land they were able to check all the aims of the administration. The peace negotiations led to no agreement concerning the situation at Schleswig, which Denmark sought to hold in a strong political union. An understanding sought by the duchies met with as little success now as in the previous case. Therefore Prussia decided to conclude peace for herself and Germany, but it was without decided purport and satisfied none, July 2nd, 1850. The majority of the German states entered into it; but there was no acknowledged supreme authority which could confirm it and it had no binding force for the duchies.

The duchies now undertook the fight single-handed. In the place of Bonin, who would not give up the Prussian service, Willisen became commander-in-chief. A considerable number of officers, who had occupied the higher positions in the army, left with the former. Their departure, for which only insufficient substitution could be found, and a new organisation attempted by Willisen, combined with all sorts of evils to weaken the otherwise well-equipped army of about thirty thousand men.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN SUBDUED BY DENMARK (1850 A. D.)

When it invaded Schleswig, a decisive battle was fought at Idstedt (July 26th). After a hot fight the troops, who were victorious on the right wing and unbroken in the other divisions, were compelled to retire and leave almost all of Schleswig to the enemy: the want of confidence and the lack of a general control turned an almost certain victory into a fatal defeat.

After a considerable reinforcement of the army, which took place too late, efforts were made in vain to regain what had been lost by an attack on Midsund (September 12th) and by an attempt to storm the strongly fortified Friedrichstadt (October 4th). Here also the leadership proved itself inadequate. A further advance of the Danes was alone prevented.

They did not conquer Schleswig-Holstein. Germany, which had first relinquished it, now demanded and compelled its subjection. The confederation diet, re-established by Austria and in which Frederick VII's ambassador participated for Holstein-Lauenburg, demanded the suspension of the war (October 25th); Prussia, which for a time had held back and thus caused a delay, submitted to the Austrian policy at the conference at Olmutz. The conclusion of the business was left to the two great states. Their ambassadors demanded subjection January, 1851; for the first time in many years Austrian troops advanced to the north to execute this order.

Resistance seemed impossible. The leaders of the army—Von der Horst had taken Willisen's place—declared themselves against it; likewise the majority of the assembly: Beseler left the governorship, which placed the rights of the country under the protection of the German Confederation and soon made way for another government in Holstein, in the name of Frederick VII and the German Confederation (February 1st).

The constitution was annulled; almost everything which the late agitation had created was destroyed, the army was disbanded, and the officers were dismissed. A so-called amnesty made numerous exceptions: the governors appointed by the imperial authorities and the members of the house of Augustenburg had to leave the country; others were deprived of their offices. The representatives of the confederation promised the restoration on the old legal relations; but nothing was done in that direction.

In Schleswig an exclusively Danish government under Tillisch ruled, which violated and destroyed the rights and interests of the country. Every

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union with Holstein, even the common high court of appeal, was put an end to; a customs boundary was established along the Eider; the Danish language was forced on the churches and schools in the towns of Hadersleben, Tondern, Apenrade, Sonderburg, and upwards of thirty parishes, for the greater part quite German districts (language rescripts 1851, February 7th and 8th, March 4th); Danish clergy and teachers were appointed; everything German, in a word, was persecuted.

When the proposals of the Danish government concerning the new organisation of the relations of the duchies to the kingdom had been sanctioned by the great German powers, the government of Holstein was given over to the minister of Frederick II (February 18th, 1852). At the same time all the costly war materials of the army, together with the vessels which the country had procured for its protection, were delivered up and brought to Denmark as the spoils of victory.

A commission for the establishment of the frontier between Schleswig and Holstein, which had become doubtful owing to the fact that for a long time past there had been only one Schleswig-Holstein, remained without result: here, also, the Danish claims were not opposed.

Thus ended the struggle against Denmark, in the saddest and most inglorious manner. That which the duchies had undertaken in conjunction with Germany was pronounced an unjustifiable rebellion, for which the country and individuals were to suffer. The union of Holstein with Schleswig, the protection of which had been undertaken, was severed, and the way was cleared for a union of both with Denmark into one state.

THE ATTEMPT TO FORM A CENTRALISED DANISH STATE

Christian VIII's desire was to bind Schleswig-Holstein with Denmark under one constitution: this plan had been taken up in the last negotiations, and was received favourably by the European powers; even Germany yielded, although it little answered to the ancient rights of the duchies. It was not even insisted that Schleswig and Holstein should remain united as of old, and thus join the kingdom: it was only a question of the autonomy of the individual duchies, including Lauenburg. By this the annexation of Schleswig to Denmark was to be prevented. But though the name was given up, the cause was not relinquished. A close political union was urged in the negotiations. Proposals were made which were placed before a meeting of notables at Flensburg (May, 1851); but as they did not come to an agreement, the affair met with no success. In Denmark there was a change of ministry, which for a time removed the party of the Eider-Danes and brought men who represented the idea of a centralised Danish state, Ørstedt and Bluhme, to the government: Karl Moltke entered for Schleswig, Reventlow-Criminil, the brother of the former president, for Holstein (July 31st, October 16th, 1851).

Some of the former demands were given up and an agreement thus brought about with the German powers. But the separation of Schleswig from Holstein in all political affairs was carried through; the union with Denmark, which until now had been based on the possession of a common ruler (personal union) became a lasting political union (real union). To this change two members of the Schleswig-Holstein knighthood extended a helping hand; they denied the rights of which they were sure, the home to which they belonged.

On the ground of arrangements agreed upon with Austria and Prussia, Frederick VII issued a proclamation concerning the future organisation of the monarchy (January 28th, 1852). The army, the finances, and the foreign

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affairs of the duchies were to be regulated in common with those of Denmark, and to these ends there were to be common ministers, a common state council, a common constitution, and a common customs system; in other affairs Schleswig and Holstein, as well as Lauenburg, were each to be governed independently. Schleswig and the two duchies in the German Confederation were to receive special ministers, Schleswig and Holstein, special estate representations with the right of assent; only non-political institutions, such as the university, knighthood, the canal, jails, and other matters of subordinate importance, were in future to be common to the two duchies. In Schleswig the equal rights of the German and Danish nationalities were promised, also an extension of the amnesty.

With this, the German powers considered their task accomplished. Consent was also given by the confederation diet (July 29th); some of the individual governments gave theirs with expressions of regret that the rights of the duchies had not been better protected; only a few of the smaller ones refused to give their adhesion.

In reality the rights of the duchies were not protected but destroyed when these provisions were executed. The new organisation was to be sealed by a community of the law of succession to the throne. The succession question had had an essential share in the antagonisms and dissensions of the last years; without its settlement no peace seemed possible. In Denmark the absolute validity of the old law of succession had been repealed, but the right of succession of women, which it fixed, was maintained. The constitution which the duchies gave themselves adhered to the succession of the male line according to the law of primogeniture. This was an essential support for their independence. If Denmark and the duchies were to be politically united, this, above all, had to be done away with.¹

REACTION AGAINST DEMOCRACY (1848 A.D.)

As mentioned above, the terms of the truce of Malmo by which the Schleswig-Holstein war was suspended in August, 1848, had been agreed to by the Frankfort assembly only after a severe struggle. Violent disputes took place between the moderates and the democrats, and two conservative deputies, the brave Prussian general, Von Auerswald, and Prince Lichnowsky, were torn to pieces by the mob (September 18th). This crime still further roused the indignation of the governments against the popular movement, especially since in Baden, also, the foundations of all order seemed to be shaken by the republican insurrectionary troops under Struve's leadership, and in Vienna, by the insurrection of the 6th of October. Both these attempts of the democratic party were choked; though the victory in Vienna was won only after a hard struggle.

Prussia was endangered by no conflicts between contending nationalities, such as those which Austria had to face. For here the vast majority of the inhabitants were Germans; only a small section was Polish. The Poles, dwelling for the most part in the south-east portion of the grand duchy of Posen, also rose in April, 1848, urged on by their nobility; but the revolt was easily suppressed (May), and in spite of much agitation on the part of the nobles their efforts against Prussia became daily more hopeless; because the German settlements irresistibly advanced eastward; because the Poles were only conquered by civilisation; and because the Prussian government acted in strict accordance with the laws, exercised justice towards all, oppressed no man.

More serious convulsions seemed to threaten the Prussian state through the

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democracy, and the king therefore determined to put an end to its baneful influence. He dismissed the liberal but too yielding ministry, and appointed an energetic one under the presidency of the count of Brandenburg (November 9th). The reactionary minister, Manteuffel, soon became its real head and began his long career of retrogression. The first blow against the Prussian national assembly was struck by the removal of the latter to Brandenburg; a portion of it did, indeed, oppose this measure and declared for a refusal of the taxes, but royalty had far stronger roots in the people than the democracy which was working for this resolution in the national assembly. It therefore received scant respect and the national assembly was dissolved by the government (5th of December).

THE KING OF PRUSSIA ELECTED EMPEROR OF GERMANY (1849 A.D.)

The re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy, in itself a piece of good fortune, was well calculated to strengthen the moderate party in the German national assembly. The greatest obstacle to German unity had been, and still was, the existence of the imperial Austrian state, for, composed as it was of various nationalities, its acceptance into a German federal state, which was now the solution advocated by all well-disposed persons, could not possibly be effected—and yet many persisted in the idea, especially amongst the south Germans (“the party of great Germany”). Only the decided refusal of the Austrian government to allow itself to be amalgamated with Germany or to recognise the superiority of any sort of German central power enlightened many as to Germany’s true relation to the mixed kingdom, which is by nature so essentially un-German. The only thing possible was to unify Germany, without Austria, and to place Prussia at her head. But this plan, which was advocated by Gagern, was combated by the ultramontanes, Austrians, and other enemies of Prussia, and by all adherents of the system of many states and the old separate existence, quite as much as by the democrats, who dreaded a strong monarchy. In order to preserve the votes of these opponents, the moderate party conceded them a great influence in the drawing up of the German constitution; so it came about that the “fundamental rights” (*Grundrechte*) which were published by the national assembly at Frankfurt on the 27th of December, 1848, contained many democratic elements. After a long struggle the “imperial party” finally conquered. On the 28th of March, 1849, the German national assembly elected the king of Prussia hereditary emperor of Germany. The imperial constitution had been prepared the day before, and it was now signed by the ministry of the empire and the national assembly. According to it the individual states of Germany were to remain as they were, but a portion of their political greatness was to be surrendered to the imperial power; the emperor was to govern by means of a responsible ministry, to have the right to decide on questions of war and peace, to have the whole military forces at his disposal, to represent the country abroad. He had the greater part of the executive power: the legislative power was to be exercised by the imperial diet (*Reichstag*), which was to consist of a state house (*Staatenhause*) composed of representatives of the princes and parliamentary bodies (*Volkvertretungen*) of the individual states, and a house of commons (*Volkshaus*), delegated through the medium of direct elections by the whole German people, according to a universal suffrage. An imperial supreme court of justice was to determine the disputes of the different states. These were the main provisions.

The fate of Germany now lay in the hands of Frederick William IV, and the world waited with anxiety to learn whether he would accept the German imperial crown.^b

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The deputation of the national assembly, which had been commissioned to convey to the king of Prussia the news of his election as German emperor, travelled slowly, so as to give the king time for mature consideration. On the 2nd of April it reached Berlin.

On the same day the two chambers voted an address to the king, wherein they requested him to assume the guidance of the destinies of the Fatherland in accordance with his election; but they also referred to existing difficulties. On the 3rd of April the king received the deputation, which entered full of expectation, rather anxious than joyful. The king stated that he recognised in the vote of the German national assembly the voice of the representatives of the German nation; this call was bestowing upon him an honour which he well knew how to value; and he added that he thanked them for the trust shown. "But," he proceeded, "I would not justify your confidence; I would not respond to the ideas of the German nation; I would not establish the unity of Germany were I to interd, in violation of sacred rights and my former most distinct and solemn assurances, without the consent of the crowned heads, princes, and free towns of Germany, to take a resolution which will be of the greatest consequence to them, and to the German races governed by them. It will, therefore, become a duty for the separate German states to consider in a joint conference, whether the constitution is to the advantage of the individual states, as well as of the whole nation; if the rights accorded me will enable me to guide with a strong hand the destiny of the great German Fatherland and to realise the hopes of its peoples in the way in which such an office requires me to do. Nevertheless, Germany may rely on one thing, and let this, gentlemen, be known in every subdivision thereof: if the Prussian shield and sword are needed against enemies at home or abroad, I shall not be wanting, even though not summoned. Full of confidence, I shall then walk in the way of my house and my people, the way of German honour and fidelity."

This declaration was a painful disappointment to the Frankfort deputation; though they had been prepared for reservations and objections, they had not expected that the king would so completely deny the right of the national assembly to formulate the German constitution without the princes. But to one member of the deputation this refusal did not come unexpectedly. E. M. Arndt had written to the king, reminding him of his assurance of the 21st of March, 1848, and appealed to the fact that he had declared himself in favour of a real, strong German Confederation in place of the former dishonest and weakly league of states, and that he was pledged to stake all his power and the strength of his people to establish the strength and power of Germany. The only means to save the honour and glory of Germany were this kingly assurance and the firm knitting of the bond which should make Prussia and Germany one. Only if the king of Prussia would put himself at its head as the support and saviour of Germany was it possible to meet and overcome the cunning wiles of Austria, which had squandered and wasted the honour and power of Germany for the last three hundred years and was now again trying to take it in tow. Thus, also, could be avoided the red republic, which seemed unavoidable under a directory. Like one of the prophets of old, he conjured the king and represented the acceptance of the charge offered to him by the national assembly as a sacred duty. In a document dated March 18th, which we reproduce in the main points, the king, fully recognising in what spirit Arndt had spoken to him, thus replied: "The great assembly which styles itself the Assembly of the German Empire or National Assembly, and in which there are men who belong to the best in the great Fatherland, has no crown to give nor to offer. It has to draw up a constitution and then to open negotiations with all rulers and towns of Germany which are rec-

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ognised throughout Europe. Where is the commission which entitles these men to set a king or an emperor above the authorities to whom they have sworn allegiance? Where is the council of the kings and princes of Germany which, according to a tradition a thousand years old, elects a king for the holy empire and submits its choice to the nation for confirmation? Your assembly has ever opposed the formation of this council, the representation of the German authorities in the new centre of the nation. This is an immense fault—one may call it a sin; the consequences of this sin are now being felt; every man at Frankfort, even those for whom cause and effect are not clear, feels at this moment that even with so much merit, so much labour, and motives so pure in part, he is labouring at an absolutely impossible task. Do you believe that heart-rending scenes, words, and decrees of the parliament may render possible what in itself is impossible?

"But let us suppose, my dear Arndt, that the sin had not been committed, or that it were remedied, and the real and unanimous council of princes and of the nation were to hold an election in the old town where kings were chosen, and to offer me the old, true, lawful, thousand-year-old crown of the German nation—then it were possible to consider whether to refuse or accept—but I would reply as a man must reply when the greatest honour the world holds is offered to him. But alas! matters do not stand thus. To a message such as I am threatened with from Frankfort silence alone becomes me. I dare not and shall not reply, so as not to insult men whom I honour and love, and upon whom I look with pride, yea, with gratitude—for consider, what is it that would be offered to me? Was the fruit of the horrible labour of the year 1848 a crown? The thing of which we speak does not bear the sign of the holy cross, does not press the seal 'by the grace of God' upon the head—it is no crown. This is the iron collar of servitude by which the son of more than twenty-four rulers, electors, and kings, the head of sixteen million people, the master of the most faithful and bravest army in the world, would be made a serf of the revolution. Far be it from me! And, moreover, the price of the jewel would be the breaking of my promise given to the [Prussian] diet on the 26th of February, 'to try conjointly with all German princes to bring about an understanding with the German national assembly as to the future constitution of the great Fatherland.' I am not one to break this, or any other pledge. It almost seems to me, my dear Arndt, as if you were labouring under a mistaken idea, which, however, you share with many others; as if you only saw a revolution to contend with in the so-called red democracy and the communists—that would be a great mistake. For those creatures of hell and death can operate only on the moving soil of the revolution. The revolution is the abolition of the divine order of things, the contempt for and abrogation of the true order; it lives and breathes its breath of death as long as the low is high and the high is low. Therefore, as long as the German authorities have no place in the centre at Frankfort and do not sit at the head of the council, whose task it is to give a future to Germany—just so long this centre stands under the reflector of the tide of the revolution and follows the same course—it has nothing to offer which clean hands can touch. As a German and as a German prince, whose yes is a yes full and true, whose no is a cautious no, I give my hand to nothing which might debase my noble Fatherland and deliver it to the just scorn of its neighbours and the condemnation of universal history; I accept nothing which is unworthy of the duties laid on me at my birth or which might ever be in opposition to them."

After this declaration nobody could have expected from the king an affirmative reply to the message of the imperial delegation. Arndt, however, was not permitted to tell his colleagues anything either about his inquiry or about the letter from the king, who had laid it upon him as a duty to keep the

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matter strictly private. Only after the death of both was the correspondence published. Besides, it may be surmised that Arndt, even after this, had not quite given up the hope that the king would agree, though upon conditions. It was rumoured in Berlin at the time that the king had hesitated and was even disposed to accept, but that on the preceding day at a hunting party, in which the Austrian ambassador Baron von Prokesch had taken part, he had been dissuaded from doing so by the latter. To judge from the above letter, this is more than improbable.¹

UTTER FAILURE OF THE ASSEMBLY

Thus the hopes of the national assembly were frustrated; its support in public opinion crumbled to nothing. Twenty-eight German governments did indeed declare their consent to the imperial constitution; but the rest, and they were the kingdoms (with Austria), refused it and recalled their deputies. Most of the other moderates also withdrew, and the democratic residue of the assembly, which was still willing to deliberate in Stuttgart (as the "rump parliament"), was there dissolved by the government (June 18th, 1849). Such was the lamentable end of the great German assembly which was to have brought about the renaissance of Germany.

Meantime, popular revolts had taken place in various quarters with the object of bending the governments under the rule of the Frankfort parliament in spite of all that had occurred. The first was in Saxony. Here on the 3rd of May the democratic party rose in Dresden and won possession of the greater part of the town; the king fled and appealed to Prussia for aid. The Prussian troops defeated the fighters of the barricades (6th-9th of May), though after an obstinate struggle, and restored order. More dangerous were the rebellions in the Palatinate and Baden. In the former, the democratic insurrectionary troops occupied almost the whole country, in the latter the soldiers themselves went over to the people. The grand duke fled and the democrats of Baden elected a provisional government. King Maximilian of Bavaria, successor of Ludwig, who had abdicated on the 21st of March, 1848, and the grand duke of Baden turned to the king of Prussia for help; in June the Prussian troops under the prince of Prussia marched up and quickly subdued the rebellious countries.

PRUSSIA ATTEMPTS TO ASSERT HER HEGEMONY

Prussia now took in hand the ordering of German affairs generally; Frederick William declared that he would take up the work of constitution-making and unification which had been begun in Frankfort, and in union with the other princes would bring it to a satisfactory issue. He aimed at erecting a German federal state under Prussian leadership and with a common parliament, and Hanover and Saxony supported him. Thus arose the "alliance of the three kings" (*Dreikönigsbundnis*) of the 26th of May; the other states also joined in this union, with the exception, however, of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and it was against their opposition and Austria's hostile attitude that the enterprise suffered shipwreck. For Frederick William, with complete frankness, laid before the princes the choice whether they would stand by him or not, and as the kings saw that Austria was again recovering her power, they went over to her camp. They were unwilling to resign their sovereignty. Austria had meantime arrived at a position in which she was prepared to give strong support to all the open and secret enemies of Prussia. She had subdued all the revolted nationalities and was powerful enough to win back her lost influence in German affairs also. When Prussia and her adherents (espe-

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cially the lesser states) set to work in earnest to realise the idea of a federal state and convoked a German imperial diet at Erfurt, the emperor of Austria protested, and so far prevailed with the king of Prussia that the latter agreed to a provisional confederation government in which the two states were to have an equal share. The Reichsverweser, Archduke John, then formally resigned his power to this government. Austria now offered a menacing protest against the Erfurt imperial diet which met on the 20th of April, 1850. Finally, in conjunction with the kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover, Austria rejected in the most open and decisive manner the imperial constitution proposed by Frederick William. The whole party, which saw something revolutionary in the unification of Germany, likewise worked against the Prussian "Union," and Frederick William, seeing his disinterested intentions, his magnanimous procedure rewarded with such ingratitude, finally lost heart—the more as many distinguished officials and noblemen at the court, as well as the foreign ambassadors who dreaded a strong Germany, continually increased his disfavour towards the innovations introduced in 1848. This made it all the easier for Austria and Bavaria to accomplish their designs; and in particular to compel the restoration of the old confederation diet. In this they were assisted by affairs in Schleswig-Holstein and in Hesse.

AUSTRIA RESTORES THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION (1850-1851 A.D.)

We have already related how, after the defeats of the Schleswig-Holsteiners in the summer and autumn of 1850, the revived confederation diet—Austria and her adherents—interfered and compelled the duchies to submit to its will. In Hesse, also, Prussia and the cause of the German people suffered a bitter defeat. In February, 1850, the elector had installed a reactionary ministry under Hassenpflug, had then withdrawn from the union, tampered in numerous instances with the constitution, and found himself, in consequence of all this, at strife with his people. The chambers stopped the supplies, and in the beginning of September the elector declared the country in a state of war. But the whole people, true to their constitution, refused obedience to such illegal measures; the authorities, the troops, all declared unanimously that they would not break the oath which they had tendered to the constitution; for the estates had acted according to law. The elector now demanded help of the confederation diet and Austrian and Bavarian troops readily marched in, whilst Prussia stood forward for the Hessian constitution and also sent troops to Hesse (beginning of November).

Thus Germany was divided into two camps: the union, that is Prussia with most of the minor states, and the confederation diet, namely, Austria with the secondary states; the former represented the popular cause and wished to help the Hessians and Schleswig-Holsteiners; the latter desired to restore the situation as it had existed before 1848 and to pave the way for a thorough reaction. In the background Russia, the pillar of absolutism, threateningly offered her mediation. Frederick William gave way; he sent his minister, the count of Brandenburg, to Warsaw to a conference with the Austrian minister Schwarzenberg and the emperor Nicholas. There he was met by arrogant demands; Prussia must cancel all the steps she had taken to the benefit of Germany. The agitation so affected the count that it brought on a mortal illness, and he died on the 6th of November, after his return home, shortly before the noble minister Radowitz had laid down his office and Manteuffel had taken over the conduct of the foreign as well as of the home affairs of Prussia. Yet for a moment the king made up his mind to armed resistance; army, chambers, and people joyfully assented. But he found that Prussia was not sufficiently prepared for a great armed contest, and abandoned the idea of war, for which he

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had in any case little inclination. On the 15th of November Manteuffel dissolved the union, and on the 29th of November he went to Olmutz to meet Prince Schwarzenberg, who then accomplished all the essential objects of Austria.

In April, 1851, Prussia again recognised the confederation diet in Frankfort and abandoned her efforts for the reform of German affairs. From the 12th of June, 1851, the confederation diet sat in Frankfort in the old way and restored as far as possible the situation previous to 1848. This was then done in Hesse. The Austrian and Bavarian troops ruled the country and forced Hassenpflug's will upon it; by the end of July, 1851, the electoral government was completely master of the people; in conjunction with the confederation diet it abolished the liberal constitution of 1831 and introduced another which encroached considerably on the rights of the people. At the same time the diet took the Schleswig-Holstein question in hand. Schleswig was delivered to the vengeance of the Danes, who once more subjugated it; Holstein had also to do penance.^b

THE LONDON PROTOCOL SETTLES THE SUCCESSION IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN (1852 A.D.)

On the 18th of February, 1852, the delegates of the German Confederation handed over the government of Holstein to the king of Denmark, and at the same time all the munitions of war belonging to the Schleswig-Holstein army, which had been brought together for the struggle against foreign rule, were given up to Denmark. In consequence of the disbandment of the army, many officers who had served in it before the revolt against Denmark were exposed to trial by court martial, and in any case lost their rights to a pension, so that they were compelled to seek a living abroad. Outside the military, also, a great number of families of position who had taken part in the revolt were compelled to leave the country. Officials, clergymen, and teachers were, unless they had left the country, dismissed from office and taken into custody, and the diet made no efforts to intercede for them.

At the same time the powers of Europe took steps to prevent the tearing away of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark, because of the various claims to succession of the ruling houses concerned. To them the preservation of the full territorial area of the Danish monarchy seemed a European necessity, much more so than the national unity of Germany. Looking at it from this point of view they decided that if, by the death of the reigning king, the ruling branch of the Danish royal house became extinct, the existing succession laws, which were different for the kingdom and for the duchies, should not be allowed to come into operation, but that the next heir to the kingdom must also inherit Schleswig-Holstein. Thus, after lengthy negotiations which took place in London, England, Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden signed a document on the 8th of May, 1852, which has become known under the name of "the London Protocol," and which declares under the guarantee of the above-mentioned powers that after the death of the reigning king, Frederick VII, his relative, Prince Christian of Glücksburg, shall succeed to the whole kingdom, with inheritance to his descendants in the male line.

Von Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador in London, had for a considerable time refused to sign the treaty, which seemed to him an arbitrary settlement by a number of parties not directly interested against the rights, the requirements, and the wishes of many of those concerned, and artificially devised quite against the nature of things. He signed the document only on being expressly ordered to do so by his king. Thus Schleswig and Holstein were torn away from Germany against the wishes of their inhabitants and subjected to Danish rule.

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FAILURE TO MAINTAIN A NATIONAL GERMAN FLEET (1848-1852 A.D.)

The dissolution and sale at auction of the navy, created in 1818 by German enthusiasm, was the most unpopular act upon which the reactionary spirit which ruled the diet of the confederation resolved. In the spring of 1848 the necessity for protecting the German shores and ships against the attacks of Denmark had brought into execution the plan long formed by German patriots in the seacoast towns for creating a German navy. Associations had been formed for the purpose of getting up an agitation and for collecting voluntary contributions to defray the expenses. Thousands gave up their jewels as contributions for the fleet; the old confederation diet, the committee of fifty, the national assembly, and the provisional central power developed an activity in which they vied with one another for the purpose of organising the new arm for the defence of the fatherland. The central power repeatedly levied considerable sums upon the German states for buying and fitting out ships and hiring good sailors for them, and at the beginning of 1849 there was the foundation of a German fleet consisting of four steam frigates, five corvettes, two sailing ships, and six gunboats. At Bremerhaven the new creation of united Germany was exhibited with pride and was regarded as a basis for the foundation of a united German military power. But lo! when the ships were built and fitted up, and the crews to a certain extent trained, the empire had vanished and the ships had no master. For since the empire had not been able to obtain recognition from the European powers there was no German flag recognised, and in the summer of 1849 the boats were not even able to make any trial trips, since, had they done so, they might have risked being captured as pirates by foreigners not well disposed towards them. They were obliged to lie idle in the harbour the crews became sensible of their ill-fortune, the vessels were damaged, and the payment of contributions came to a standstill.

Immediately on the reopening of the diet the question was raised, What was to be done with the fleet? A part of the states doubted its indispensableness, denied the duty of contributing towards it, and even kept back former contributions; up to that time, moreover, Austria had sent no contribution. They were disposed to consider the fleet as the property of the confederation, but not as an organic means to fulfil the purposes of the confederation. Prussia and Austria proposed that the diet should pronounce against the further maintenance of the fleet as the property of the confederation; and that the states which had a real permanent interest in its preservation should speedily come to an understanding as to the means to be adopted for the purpose. As a beginning, a commission of experts was to be formed which, whilst taking into consideration the Prussian and Austrian marine, was to examine into the requirements of the fleet. The experts met in the autumn of 1851; at the same time the proposal was put forward by Austria to divide the fleet into three sections: Austria was to protect the Adriatic, Prussia the Baltic, and the remainder of the German states the North Sea. This proposal was taken up with acclamations from various quarters and was adopted by the commission of experts. Prussia, which thus had a secondary part assigned to her and would have been excluded from the chief portion, the North Sea, could not be pleased at this scheme and retired from the whole project. Most of the remaining states also were not enthusiastic for a North Sea fleet. The inland states brought forward all kinds of objections: the keeping up of a fleet on the North Sea was beyond their strength; it was difficult to protect the commerce of three or four commercial groups, whose interests might differ, and unreasonable to make the whole confederation answerable for the protection of the commerce of the states on the coast. Hanover, Oldenburg, Hamburg, Lübeck,

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and Bremen alone showed great interest in the matter. Mecklenburg, though she had to defend the coasts of the Baltic, pronounced against the fleet; Denmark and the Netherlands, as members of the confederation for Holstein and Lumburg, proved themselves antagonistic to German interests, also, in this matter. The opinions of the confederate states, as the naval committee declared on the 31st of December, 1851, varied so much that nearly every vote had a different tendency, some even from the very beginning entering a protest against any remaining solution.

The diet now resolved not to consider the fleet on the North Sea as the property of the confederation after January 1st, 1852, but either to hand it over to a "Naval Union" which was just being formed, or to dissolve it. To form such a "Naval Union" the government of Hanover issued on the 20th of March an invitation to a congress which was to assemble at Hanover. Prussia and Austria, however, as great European powers, were excluded from this invitation; Hanover, as a state bordering on the North Sea, intended to manage the whole thing in order to win over Prussia; but was in its turn obliged to learn by experience that nothing could be done in German affairs without the aid of Prussia, notwithstanding that Bavaria and Saxony were upholding the Hanoverian plans with all their might, and that the former flatly demanded the exclusion of Prussia as the condition of its own participation. Wurtemberg, Baden, the electorate of Hesse, and Frankfort refrained from all participation. The naval congress separated on the 24th of March without any result, and on the 2nd of April, 1852, the diet resolved to break up the fleet and to sell the ships singly. The two best vessels, *Barbarossa* and *Gefion* (the latter was taken from the Danes), Prussia took over for 713,700 gulden. For the task of winding up the whole sad business of the dismissal of the crews and putting the materials up at auction, a man was found in the person of Laurence Hannibal Fischer, ex-state councillor in the grand duchy of Oldenburg, whose reactionary tendencies made it a real enjoyment to him to destroy a work which was the outcome of national enthusiasm. The proceeds of the whole fleet, which down to July, 1851, had demanded an expenditure of about eight million florins [gulden] were 1,600,000 florins.

But the task of founding a new German fleet was now assumed by Prussia, and the first steps towards it were taken in 1854 by the purchase on the Jade Gulf, in the government of Jever in Oldenburg, of the strip of land required for the building of a naval port. A Prussian memorial expressly stated at that time that Prussia considered this acquisition a continuation of the endeavours to protect German trade and German navigation.]

BIRTH OF THE PRUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

The Austrian reactionary influence ruled from the Tyrolese Alps to the North and Baltic seas. There was but one thing which it could not undo. Prussia had entered the ranks of the constitutional states, and remained on the whole faithful to this advance; and this was, in spite of everything, a great gain to the German nation. The national assembly at Berlin (and Brandenburg) had not completed the work of drawing up the Prussian constitution; it had gone to pieces in the democratic wreck. On the 5th of December, 1848, Frederick William IV on his own initiative "granted" his people a constitution which was liberal, in consonance with the spirit of the times, and partially modelled on the British constitution; the diet (*Landtag*) consisted of two houses; a house of peers (*Herrenhaus*), composed of representatives of the old established landed proprietors, of the larger towns, of the universities, and the trusted servants of the crown; and of the house of deputies, which the people were to elect in accordance with a new electoral law. In August,

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1849, the new chambers met at Berlin, and according to the king's direction revised the constitution; this "revised constitution" was then made a fundamental law of the state (January 31st, 1850), and sworn to by the king on the 6th of February. Nevertheless, the Manteuffel ministry did not allow the liberal ideas which formed the foundation of this constitution entirely to penetrate the administration; the liberal party, led by the deputies Schwerin, Vincke, and Patow, had to carry on a long and difficult struggle with the conservatives in the diet; but the main point was attained, namely, that the constitutional spirit spread from the estates to the whole people.^b

THE FAILURE OF GERMAN LIBERALISM IN 1848

During the first half of the nineteenth century liberalism in Germany enacted the part which had formerly belonged to rationalism. Hence the half belief, the uncertainty, the shuffling, inherent in it. But as we must look upon rationalism as a necessary stage in the transition from the theological chrysalis condition of the nation to its new birth in humanism, so we must regard liberalism as a necessary stage of transition from absolutism to democracy. Wherever by anticipating the mission of the latter it demonstrated a real energy, it was intensified into radicalism. This was the case in the civilised cantons of the Swiss confederacy, which since 1830 had been reorganised on a democratic basis in such a thorough manner that, in spite of all the drivel and talk of reactionary scribblers in France and Germany, it is quite certain that no country on the continent could equal this small republic in general prosperity, in the flourishing state of its agriculture, of its industry and commerce, the condition of its schools, its care of the poor, its roads, and the efficiency and economy of its government. In Germany at first liberalism was not permitted to prove itself practically active; it could exercise only a negative influence. The revolution of July in some measure cleared the way for it, and now came a time when public opinion in Germany was swayed by the liberal-constitutional doctrine such as had been especially commended by Rotteck in his *Universal History* and laid down at great length in the *Political Dictionary* edited by Rotteck and Welcker. This abstract liberalism, which was too superior to trouble itself about details concerning the material, intellectual, and moral condition of the people, and which throughout represented only the opinions of the bourgeoisie, succeeded here and there—as for instance, in Baden, its headquarters—in obtaining a momentary fulfilment of some of its demands; thereupon, in its smug self-satisfaction, it prated endlessly at the sittings of the chambers, whilst German absolutism gradually recovered from the fright of July and prepared at ease the measures which were to stop the mouths of these liberal phrase-makers.

A small fraction detached itself from the liberals and pursued revolutionary aims. It was recruited chiefly from the young students who were ready to exchange the romanticist hatred of the French for the French republicanism; but a few men also belonged to it, such as Johann Georg August Wirth, whose journal, the *German Tribune*, again taught his countrymen the accents of patriotic anger; who, in the spirit of the War of Liberation, had no sympathy with France, and wished to see the idea of a republic realised on a national basis. This fraction based exaggerated hopes on the well-founded discontent of the German people, on the excitement caused at that time by the events of July, the Belgian revolution, and the tragic and heroic struggles of Poland. It believed that the German people, who, men and women alike, had been so extremely enthusiastic on behalf of the "noble Greeks" in 1820 and were not less so now for the freedom of the "noble Poles," could surely without very great effort be brought to be enthusiastic about their own

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freedom. The demagogues—that was their official designation—were cruelly deceived and were to learn to their bitter cost that history takes a leap occasionally in France, but never in Germany. The great majority of the people were completely indifferent to the doings of the demagogues, and the country people in particular had not the faintest conception of what the whole business was about.

As an illustration of this, we will mention an instance which would be droll if it were not so sad. One of the Wurtemberger demagogues had set himself the task of winning over the peasants to the great German revolution. The result of his eager efforts was the conversion of two peasant proselytes; but observe! one of them was a pietist, who had been drawn into the matter only because he believed that “a great revolution would herald the appearance of antichrist”; through the revolution he wished to hasten the coming of the antichrist, and through the latter the millennium.

The *Hambach* festival, in 1832, was a very empty demonstration by the revolutionary party. The diet of the confederation replied to it by its resolution of the 28th of June and the 5th of July, which drew still tighter the iron threads of a network of police regulations for the maintenance of law and order. The only answer to this by the revolutionary fraction was the unsuccessful attempt at *Frankfurter Attentat* (April, 1833), and the abortive military plot in Wurtemberg. This gave the reaction the desired pretext for carrying through the resolutions of the conference of Vienna and for initiating an extensive persecution of “political criminals.”

Things now became very quiet in Germany, and liberalism dared to utter its opposition only in the mildest form, even in the parliaments of the smaller states, the proceedings in which had sunk to a comedy of the most pitiful kind. The hopes of the liberals were again encouraged by the passive resistance of the Hanoverians to the violation of the constitution by King Ernest Augustus; by the opposition of the German national feeling against the incorporation of Schleswig-Holstein into Denmark; by the accession of Frederick William IV of Prussia; and lastly by the attempts at emancipation in the domain of religion. Not a little to their own surprise, they saw these hopes suddenly fulfilled in March, 1848. Absolutism, equally surprised, in its first shock of terror announced officially that it was ready to “merge” itself into liberalism. The helm of the state came everywhere into the hands of the hitherto liberal opposition, which summoned a German parliament, interred with all honours the apparently defunct confederation diet, and put into requisition the political wisdom of countless professors, metamorphosed all of a sudden into statesmen, to formulate imperial and other paper constitutions—and waste paper at that.

The Liberals Arraigned

On account of the way in which the liberals had conducted the affairs of the revolution in 1848–1849 they had been accused of cowardice, treason, and corruption; and certainly facts enough have been brought to light which do not exactly speak for their incorruptibility and disinterestedness. We are reminded in this money matter of that leader of the liberals, who had made so many thundering speeches against the accumulation of offices and written so many violent articles in the *Political Dictionary* against the squandering of public money, and did not hesitate to pocket the customary pay of an ambassador of the confederation diet to the amount of 16,000 gulden, when he was appointed plenipotentiary of the new “Central Power.” We also remember that other big liberal gun who, when appointed undersecretary, found a salary of 4,000–6,000 gulden by no means too high a remuneration; nor did he object

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to an additional allowance as member of the imperial diet; and he even claimed an extra allowance of 40 gulden a day for his expenses when travelling as imperial commissioner, a duty which any postman could have done equally well. But yet, in our opinion, injustice was done to the liberals in expecting them to achieve any good out of the agitation in Germany in 1848. They acted entirely in accordance with their own peculiar character. As soon as they saw the achievement of their demands in the separate states they were entirely satisfied, for their sole aim was the participation of the "bourgeoisie" in the government. They were too stupid, too intoxicated with delight in their ephemeral participation in the government, to recognise the illusory character of these achievements. When they looked abroad from their more petty fatherlands it seemed to them the height of political wisdom to introduce the forms of the English constitution into the German empire yet to be founded. They wished to consider the common people only as a substratum of parliamentary power, which was to be so divided between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, or middle class, that the former might be organised as a house of peers, and the latter as a house of commons. This had become a fixed idea with the liberals.

The absolutists allowed them to amuse themselves with this idea and even to act as policemen against the rising democracy till they themselves had completed their military preparations. Then the parliamentary puppet show suddenly came to an end; the marionettes of professors in the national assembly and March ministers, who had so faithfully obeyed the supreme wire-pullers, were thrown on one side; and a completely justifiable laugh of scorn was heard when the dupes, who never tired of praising one another as the best and noblest men in Germany, found this treatment "inhuman." It is undeniable, however, that liberalism was the creed of the undoubted majority of those inhabitants of Germany who were at all desirous of a share in public life and possessed any sort of political education. Indeed, we must blush to acknowledge that the majority in the Frankfort parliament, made up as it was of county squires and bishops, bankers and superintendents, privy councillors and generals, Catholic and Lutheran Jesuits, impecunious lawyers and unsuccessful journalists, mummy professors, conceited students, petrified members of the *Tugendbund*, and pensioned gymnasts, completely answered to the political views peculiar to the majority of the German people at the time of the February revolution. In the short period of a year, by means of the lever of a free press and free associations, great strides were certainly made in political education; but when the nation at last began to recognise the true character of their "noblest and best men," it was already too late. A democratic party had indeed been formed, but before its organisation had gone far enough to make possible a general German revolution the blow which was to shatter it fell. On the 2nd of September, 1850, the resurrected confederation diet, over which so many pathetic funeral orations had been held, again took possession of its house of assembly, on the crest of which for a year and a half the standard of black, red, and gold had fluttered and waved. "The rest is silence."

NATIONAL DELIRIUM

The German towns presented at that time a singular appearance. A proportionately small minority forming the democratic party kept things going, whilst the old liberals went over openly from day to day to the ranks of the conservatives and time-servers, who on their part pleased their new confederates by their profuse use of the liberal catch-phrases. It was quite comical to hear how all, from time immemorial, had wished to be liberal. People

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regularly swam in a sweet broth of patriotic emotion. Councillors never went into the streets without wearing the German cockade in their hats, and consistorial members marched in the ranks of the town militia. There was a cry of confidence everywhere: confidence in the nation; in the princes; in the good cause; in the victory of right; in the wisdom and virtue of the March ministry; in the permanence of the achievements of March; in German loyalty; in honesty and honour—a confidence without end. Recognised court journalists found it advisable to be silent for a while, or to allude only very timidly to the love of the German people for their hereditary ruling families. Newspapers which had always been ready with excuses for every absolutist meanness paid homage to the “constitutionalism on a broad democratic basis” with a border of red ink. Cavaliers, officers, officials, privy councillors, and lackeys of all kinds were polite, overwhelmingly polite, and went about arm-in-arm with the citizens, yea, even with the lowest classes, like German brothers. All was apparently, to use a vulgar expression, “one cake.” And yet nobody knew exactly what he wanted, with the exception naturally of the reactionaries, who were on the watch behind their mask. They knew quite well and they played to perfection the game which they were to win a year later. The most serious confusion of ideas and views existed in the genuine party of progress. The most decided of them cast sheep’s eyes on a republic, but at a respectful distance. There were few men at that time really conscious of decided republican opinions. Even honest patriots had not been able to withstand the epidemic of monarchical fever caused by the blind confidence in the March ministry.

National arrogance made itself heard also in the silliest fashion. Alsace, Denmark, and the Russian provinces on the Baltic, were spoken of as though they had been already taken possession of. One man discussed with the profundity of a statesman how the three colours should be arranged on the national flag and how the future national seal should be fashioned; another invented high-sounding names for the men-of-war in the German fleet of the future; a third memorialised in print how it would be possible to recover Switzerland for the empire; a fourth expressed himself in English parliamentary phrases; a fifth invented a pyramidal constitution for the empire, of which the base was republicanism and the apex the emperor; a sixth conceived a national costume for men and women; a seventh was of the opinion that, above all, woman must be emancipated and receive a vote; an eighth constructed steam guillotines; a ninth discovered in himself the combined field-marshal’s genius of Cæsar, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon. There was such a jumble of shouting, buzzing, story-telling, boasting, and toasting that one was almost blinded and deafened. It was a glorious state of things.

It may be thought [continues Scherr] that I have used pessimistic spectacles in looking back on the spring and summer of 1848; but that would be unjust. I should be the last to wish to deny the nobility of the national impulse of those days; but I think events have fully justified the opinion that neither the political education of the nation nor its energy was equal to the great moment, the more than favourable opportunity. The mass of the people had at the beginning not the faintest idea of the game which was to be played with them, and when they began to be aware of it, fettered as they were by the bonds of reaction, they succeeded in rousing themselves from despair only by isolated attacks, which sometimes degenerated into brutalities, such as the assassination of Auerswald and Lichnowsky—a brutality on the part of the people which, to be sure, may be confronted by many a one carried out by the servants of the government. But so much fuss is never made about the latter, because the lower class has been accustomed to them as every-day occurrences for centuries, and those in authority regard them as a

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justifiable exercise of inherited "divine right." It is absurd to measure with the common plebeian rule the morality of the circles in which a legal decision founded on fraud and falsification is only a further recommendation to the premierships; and it is barely just to recognise that the "common people," with very few exceptions, have shown in the agitations of 1848-1849 a moderation, a kindness, a generosity, and an uprightness without parallel."

THE TRIUMPH OF PRUSSIA

The movement of 1848-1849 had proceeded in the main from the middle classes, and therefore its failure redounded to the advantage of the victorious elements, which, socially speaking, were the interests of landed estates, and thus of the nobility in the first place. But it was beyond the power of this reaction wholly to do away with either constitutional government or the relief of peasant grievances; and though the fundamental laws (*Grundrechten*) were abrogated by the confederation diet on August 23rd, 1851, many of them passed into the legislative code of the various states, and the Roman Catholic church availed itself of the principle of ecclesiastical liberty therein enunciated to shake off a number of legal restrictions upon the old canon law. In Prussia more particularly, the constitution of January 31st, 1850, which was in the main modelled on that of Belgium (though the king himself would have preferred a return to the ancient system of estates), remained in force, though in 1853 the upper chamber was converted into the *Herrenhaus* (House of Lords), and the great landed proprietors thus acquired a determinative influence upon the whole course of legislation. The new regulations of the judicial system likewise remained in force, as did the abolition of *Patrimonialgerichte* (manor courts), which dated from 1850. On the other hand, the old administrative system of provinces, circles, and municipalities was restored, together with a manorial police and local government, by the lord of the manor. The Protestant national church had gained a larger measure of independence by the institution (in 1850) of an *Oberkirchenrath* (High Consistory) in accordance with a favourite idea of the king's, but in church government and preferment the orthodox party was still in the ascendant by reason of its reputed conservatism, and the Stiehl regulations re-established clerical supervision in the national schools. The paltry spirit in which the press and associations were often treated was a fruitful source of irritation. Much was done to further the economic prosperity of the country, especially by the construction of railways; hardly anything, on the other hand, to prepare it for a wider sphere in politics. In spite of grievous defects, the army system remained in all things as it had been, and everything that was required for the nascent navy (the need of which was as clear as daylight), such as the fundamentals of organisation, the supply of ships, and the acquisition of a North Sea naval port on the Jade (1853), had to be laboriously wrung by that farsighted statesman, Prince Adalbert, from military prejudices and conservative repugnance to this "democratic institution."

In Saxony, the leading minister for the time being, Von Beust, restored the old estates of 1831, the so-called *reactivierte Stände*, as early as 1850, because the "Opposition Diet" (*Widerstandslandtag*) refused to abandon the Three Kings' Alliance, and materially restricted freedom of speech in the press and associations. But under the government of King John (1854-1873), a monarch as distinguished for learning and culture as for ability and devotion to duty, the judicial system was metamorphosed as it had been in Prussia in 1856; a new penal code was introduced at the same time and a new code of civil law in 1865; the army was substantially augmented and thoroughly reformed; and economic development fostered the happiest results by freedom

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of trade (*Gewerbefreiheit*) (1861) and the thickening of the meshes of the network of railways. In Nassau and Hesse-Darmstadt, Hanover and Mecklenburg, the reaction did away with the new constitutions. Mecklenburg reverted to its feudal system of estates (1850); Hanover under George V (1851-1866) to the constitution of 1840 (1855). Excellent as the government might be in other respects, this continual alteration of the fundamental laws destroyed public confidence, and the blind king's incapacity for seeing matters as they really were led him into an exaggerated estimate of his sovereign power and prerogative which had the most mischievous effect.

In south Germany constitutional order was more firmly based than in these secondary states of the north. Maximilian II of Bavaria made it a point of conscience to respect the rights of popular representation, and therefore dismissed the Von der Pfordten ministry, which came into collision with the diet over an increase of military expenditure (1859); after which the judicial system and the circle administration were regulated afresh and the network of railways brought to much greater perfection. But the king's chief personal ambition was to make his capital of Munich, which his father had transformed into a home of German art, a great centre of German learning, notably by giving appointments to Protestant scholars from north Germany. In this he was successful. Both Wurtemberg and Baden had a severe struggle with the new claims to supremacy advanced by the Roman Catholic church. Both states at first tried to adjust the situation by a concordat, Wurtemberg in 1857, Baden in 1859; in both the diet refused its assent, and ecclesiastical questions were settled by the secular law; in both the Protestant church, reverting to the original idea of the Reformation, began to draw the laity to co-operate in church government by parish councils and the institution of synods. In the process a good part of the Frankfort fundamental laws were transferred to the Wurtemberg statute-book; while Baden, under the grand duke Frederick (regent from 1852 to 1858), having recovered from the shocks of the stormy years in which she had suffered more than most, and having completely reformed her army, became the much-lauded model of a liberal state.

AUSTRIA AFTER METTERNICH

In Austria affairs took a very different course. After the storms of the revolutionary years and Metternich's policy of balance, men of note like Prince Schwarzenberg (1852), K. L. von Bruck, A. von Bach, and Count Leo Thun, brought the absolutist but enlightened policy of Joseph II into the ascendant with almost revolutionary violence. Not content with abrogating the whole Kremsier constitution—perhaps the most grievous error of Austria's domestic policy, because it deprived reform of the possibility of parliamentary support—they did away with the diets of all the *Kronlander*, including the Hungarian *Reichstag*, Hungary having "forfeited" her rights by rebellion. In truth the pride of Magyadom seemed wholly held in check by the systematic favouritism shown towards the nationalities in Hungary and by a German-speaking bureaucracy, mostly of Czech or Romaic origin. But the emancipation of the soil (*Grundentlastung*) was now carried through; after the 1st of October, 1850, the whole empire formed a single economic district; Trieste rose to splendour and importance, particularly through the agency of the Austrian Lloyd; the construction of the first Alpine railroad over the Semmering was completed in 1857; the fleet was provided with a new organisation, chiefly by the exertions of the noble Archduke Maximilian; German became the official language; and the beautiful port of Pola its naval base, in place of Venice. At the same time Count Thun, the first and last minister of education for the whole of Austria, took up the thread of the great reform

[1851-1857 A D]

period of Maria Theresa, introduced compulsory education and put the national schools under state control, remodelled the public schools (*Gymnasien*) after the pattern of north Germany, laying especial weight upon the use of the German language in all the *Kronländer*, and conferred corporate autonomy upon the universities, with liberty of instruction and study.

But in strong contrast to this emancipation of the intellect, his idealistic conception of the church led him to allow the state, in 1851, to renounce its ancient sovereign placet; and by a concordat of the 18th of August, 1855, Cardinal Rauscher, prince-bishop of Vienna, the emperor's former tutor and a stern absolutist, ecclesiastic, and pedantic bookworm, unused to the ways of the world, secured the complete liberty of the Roman Catholic church, put the whole educational system under its supervision, and conceded to it all jurisdiction in matrimonial causes. Clerical opposition was gradually extirpated by educating the young men destined for the church in episcopal seminaries; and by remodelling the theological faculty upon lines wholly scholastic; and in the lay world, especially among the nobility and peasantry, a strong ultramontane party was formed by numberless societies and an active press. But this sort of clerical tutelage was repugnant to the whole spirit of the younger generation of the middle class, especially those of German extraction, and they consequently lapsed into a sort of undenominational latitudinarianism, the result of which was to estrange the ultramontane nobles and clergy still farther from the German middle class. Thus a fresh element of discord was introduced amidst the opposition of nationalities, which was repressed only in name. For years nearly half of the empire could be governed only by exceptional measures, Hungary and Transylvania until 1854, Italy until 1857. In addition to this, though the army had glorious traditions and was without doubt the most aristocratic institution in the state, it was by no means equal to the task required of it, either as regards equipment, education, or leading, nor could the deficit in the finances or the paper money with its constant fluctuations in value be got rid of.

Such a state could have no moral justification for keeping two highly civilised nations like Germany and Italy under its political supremacy. Nevertheless, the confederation diet was more than ever the tool of Austria. By leaving the show of sovereign rights untouched in the German middle states and securing the docility of the courts by personal relations, etc., Austria created a staunch majority in the diet, by means of which she strove, contrary to all precedent, to keep Prussia permanently in a minority and decrease the power of the diet for the furtherance of her own interests.

BISMARCK BEGINS HIS CAREER

From August of 1851 onwards, this policy on the part of the presiding power was most strenuously opposed at all points by the new Prussian deputy in the diet, Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen. By birth a Pomeranian nobleman (born April 1st, 1815), he had managed his own property as a practical farmer since the conclusion of his studies and his brief career in the public service. He began his political career as a deputy in the Prussian diet and the parliament of Erfurt. By openly appearing as the champion of the historic monarchy against the liberal tendencies of the day and the opponent of the Frankfort constitution, he earned both the reputation of a reactionary *Junker* and the confidence of the king, who called him from his parliamentary duties to the diplomatic service—a course of promotion most unusual in Prussia as he had had no previous diplomatic training. None the less he despatched business at once with the assurance of perfect mastery, supporting the policy of a good understanding with Austria only upon the condition that

[1854 A.D.]

she should yield to Prussia a practical equality in the direction of the confederation, as had been the case before 1848, otherwise her resolute opponent.

On his advice Prussia successfully struck out an independent line of policy in two matters of primary importance: she frustrated Austria's project for obtaining admission to the *Zollverein*, though it was favoured by the middle states, merely granting her a commercial treaty upon favourable terms; and on the other hand, she induced the *Steuerverein* of northwest Germany, which had become altogether unworkable, to join the *Zollverein* from the 1st of Jan-



PRINCE BISMARCK
(1815-1898)

uary, 1854, and renewed the latter for another twelve years. The Hanseatic towns with Holstein and Mecklenburg still stood aloof, but with these exceptions the whole of Germany beyond Austria, an area of more than nine thousand square miles with thirty-five million inhabitants, had become a single economic and political entity.

THE DAYS OF NAPOLEON III

Meanwhile the face of Europe had changed. The establishment of the second Bonaparte empire had elevated a natural enemy of the Vienna Treaty of 1815 to the throne, in the person of Napoleon III (1852-1870). He, with his reflective and comprehensive, though too doctrinaire policy, desired to restore the ascendancy of France, not as his uncle had done, by wars of conquest which were opposed to the whole tendency of European development,

[1854-1858 A.D.]

but by artfully promoting this development, and, first and foremost, by means of the "principle of nationality." It is true that these ideas brought him into conflict with the temper of the nation which he ruled and which ever saw its own greatness in the impotence of its neighbours, and—his government being a democratic *tyrannis* based on the constitutional and actual sovereignty of the people—he ultimately perished in the conflict.

He began by allying himself with parliamentary England, first, for the protection of Turkey against fresh menaces from Russia, and second, when this danger was warded off, for the destruction of the sea-power of Russia in the Euxine. In the Crimean war which ensued (1853-1856), liberal public opinion in Germany was certainly on the side of the western powers, because Russia was dreaded as the stronghold of the European reaction. For this very reason the extreme conservatives in Prussian diplomatic circles were urgently in favour of an alliance with Russia against revolutionary France; while wary patriots like Prince William and Bismarck were in favour of neutrality. The king ultimately took their view, and in this matter the German Confederation followed Prussia's lead. Austria, on the contrary, constrained Russia to evacuate the Danubian principalities by invading them herself, and in the compact of December 2nd, 1854, went far towards an armed alliance with the western powers. The peace concluded at Paris on March 30th, 1856, insured the existence of Turkey and the neutrality of the Euxine, but prepared the way for a different grouping of the powers. For Prussia had earned a right to the gratitude of Russia without abandoning her own interests or incurring the enmity of France, while Austria by her "historic ingratitude" had excited the profoundest resentment at St. Petersburg; and France assumed without challenge the leading place in Europe.

Hence Napoleon took it on himself to interfere in the quarrel over the principality of Neuchâtel, which had been Prussian since 1707 but had joined the confederation on its own account in 1848, and had put down a rising of the loyal party by force of arms in September, 1856. To save the loyalist leaders who were impeached for high treason from the extreme penalty, King Frederick William demanded their release, and when this was refused made preparations for a campaign against Switzerland. Napoleon III, however, intervened, and so far adjusted the quarrel that the confederation let the prisoners go unpunished and the king resigned all pretensions to Neuchâtel by the treaty of May 26th, 1857. Shortly afterwards, in the following July, the monarch, who had been violently excited, was smitten with his first paralytic stroke, a symptom of long standing and serious brain disease. A second attack followed in September, and then his brother William, prince of Prussia, took his place, first as proxy for the king, and afterwards, when the incapacity of the latter became evident, as regent "with no responsibility to any but God" on the 8th of October, 1858. Most men expected or feared a liberal government; none dreamed that Germany stood on the threshold of a new and great period in her history—on the verge of a fresh and this time a successful struggle for unity.¹

RANKE ON FREDERICK WILLIAM IV

Among the rulers of the world King Frederick William IV shines out brightly, by reason of his noble bearing and his habits of thought which we must not neglect to represent as objectively as possible in their main features and general relations.

He comprehended the community of all Christianity from a standpoint more liberal than that of the Roman pope; he considered the Latin and Greek churches as equal members of the same, having the same rights as the various

Protestant churches. The episcopacy of the English, the independent church organisations of North America, the Lutherans and Calvinists of the European continent, and particularly of Germany, were to him constituent parts of one homogeneous fellowship, irrespective of their unions and divisions. In the faith of the Evangelicals, which stood above the contingencies of national error or transient events, he saw the purest expression of the thought of the divine founder, in whose worship he became engrossed with fervent ardour.

Frederick William's Political Opinions

The political opinions of the king had their root in the struggle against the first French emperor, against whose oppressive over-lordship Prussia revolted in alliance with the other European powers, and who succumbed to the general effort, which was the most popular and intense in Prussia. In the emperor, the king did not so much hate the person, as the representative of the revolutionary principle, which destroyed all existing, historically-developed arrangements and opened every door to usurpation and violence. Legitimacy had for him a value lying outside of his right, inasmuch as it had constituted the centre of the resistance and had united the forces of the nations around itself. He considered it necessary to adhere to the ancient arrangements which had been founded at the origin of the European states, had grown and developed under manifold forms, and seemed capable of still further development. He saw their most distinguished expression in the German Empire, to the idea of which he adhered and paid homage even during the dissolution of unity; to this idea he was devoted; a Germany united and armed for the conflict was his ideal, especially since Prussia had to play in it almost the first part. As the extent of its territory and of the German league had been determined in consequence of the great struggle, he was determined to maintain it in union with the allied powers, not seldom in opposition to the revolutionary forces.

For scarcely had the emperor fallen when the tendencies, which he shared in the main, but which he understood how to curb in special instances, asserted themselves in full freedom, owing to the shortcomings of the attempted restoration, and on all sides awakened the analogies of their former long and successful action. Russia and England were not immediately affected by this; Russia made the attempt to shut itself off from the agitation and to ward it off as an external enemy; England, actuated by the two-sided nature of its constitution, desired to remain neutral.

The new struggle was fought out in continental Romano-Germanic Europe. In the restored Romance countries a widely-spread revolutionary agitation was in progress, which by the event of 1830 gained a general preponderance and an immeasurable influence over Germany.

Against this movement Austria and Prussia took up divergent attitudes. The former, threatened in its European relations, consistently adhered to its policy of absolute resistance, for which it utilised its old reputation in Germany. The object of the Prussian government, on the other hand, and above all of Frederick William IV, was to mould the old institutions in a sense conforming to the requirements of the times, so that no motive would remain by which the land could be driven to the other side. The king might perhaps have come to an understanding with a modified form of the liberal ideas, which, indeed, had already gained an entry into the Prussian state through the municipal laws and the legislation concerning landed property; but in their train there followed another movement which seemed to him to be fraught with general ruin: that of radicalism and socialism which threatened to undermine the whole social organisation, and whose adherents rejected the

[1840-1861 A.D.]

belief in revelation of any kind and even faith in the living God. He considered it as his chief duty to oppose these as prince, as Christian, and as man; he repudiated the liberal system, as he could discover no palpable limit between the fundamental ideas of the liberals and radicals; in the union of the two he saw the danger of the educated world.

Whilst Frederick William IV was occupied in raising an insurmountable bulwark against these elements, he was overtaken by them and obliged to give way. By the 18th of March his reign was divided into two distinct periods; in which, nevertheless, he maintained the identity of his opinions. For even in the second period he was far from yielding to the revolutionary tendencies which are so frequently allied to constitutional forms. Otherwise, he would simply have taken over the Belgian constitution and accepted the views of the Frankfort assembly. That he did not do so may be considered the foremost, at least the most effective, action of his life.

On both sides he maintained the "self" of the Prussian state. In the constitution he asserted the strength of the monarchical principle; with regard to the German Empire he subdued his ambition and did not let himself be seduced by the secret wish of his heart to deny the principle which he had accepted and inscribed on his banner.

This could be done only by a man who, although an idealist, was yet severe; who could make concessions as to details, but would never yield in matters of principle; who could have an intelligent conception of the world, but whose views were deeply rooted in the institutions and the life of older times. A conviction as lasting and deep as his was necessary, so as not to allow the conservative principles, which descended from a distant past, to become extinct for the future and humanity.

It must, nevertheless, be admitted that under the entirely altered circumstances there was a wide interval between his ideas and their practical fulfilment; his mind, which aspired in many directions, formed a new difficulty for the government. With the deserving bureaucracy which he found in existence he could never come to terms, as he incessantly wished to bring the ministers to his ways of thinking, which were not theirs. This opposition stamped upon his reign a character of uncertainty and hesitation; but the development of the inner forces of life did not suffer through this.

Recalling the circumstances under which he took over the government—ruling at first with patriarchal solicitude, but at the same time domineering in a dry, one-sided fashion—one perceives how everything became altered under him, filled with new life and activity, after a process of active fermentation. In politics two kinds of talent can be distinguished: the conception of ruling ideas, and the administration of current affairs. Fortunate the ruler in whom both are combined to form one whole. Contemporaries reproached Frederick William IV with not having utilised the circumstances of the times resolutely enough, so that with all the means at his disposal he accomplished nothing; his doctrine, which was founded on circumstances of the past, prevented him from attacking the questions of the day energetically, and gave a false turn to his actions; his constant vacillation made success impossible and deprived him of general confidence. So, indeed, it may seem to one who conceives the transactions, as much as is known of them, in their isolation, and judges them accordingly.

In the midst of the powers of the world struggling with and counterbalancing one another, a neutral policy was a necessity to the Prussian state, not with a view to maintaining the balance, but, above all, in order to maintain its own existence. Considerations of religious and moral purport concerning the right and wrong of the opposing parties or states exercised an influence on the decisions of Frederick William. But apart from this, he had all the

time the liveliest consciousness of his own position which imposed on him the need of consideration and even of indulgence. And the importance of the present moment on the future was ever before him. In his conduct the world saw much characterless oscillation and indecision, and not the uniform direction which predominated in it. At the present day it is possible to turn one's view from the momentary impression to that which was constant in the politics of the king. For if we do not deceive ourselves, the effects of this on the Prussian state and Germany appear everywhere important; the conditions of the present day are largely based on it.

It was an extremely important step when he brought the absolute monarchy, as he received it from his predecessors, into connection with a representative and deliberative institution, which, whatever its future development, was bound to curb at all times the monarchical power. This did not lead him to the goal he had dreamed of; the liberal and even the democratic ideas gained the upper hand. But it was his especial intention to save the essential conditions of the monarchy in the new constitution. To him, before all others, is due the credit for the provisions of the constitution which made the financial existence of the Prussian state independent of the fluctuation of parties and the passing preponderance of the opposition; it assured to royalty the immediate authority over the army; therein one may recognise the two main pillars of monarchy in constitutional Prussia.

Frederick William's Permanent Influence

Although Frederick William IV refused the imperial crown under the conditions and circumstances under which it was offered to him, yet he made possible and even paved the way for its acquisition under other forms and under a different state of affairs. His fundamental thought, to create a confederate state, independent of Austria, but not hostile to that power, was eventually realised after the great struggles which have been fought since his time. At present that thought dominates the situation of Germany and of Europe.

Frederick William IV carefully and considerably avoided an immediate quarrel with the second French emperor; but in the latter's appearance on the ground of revolutionary and military traditions, and in the inner drift of the forces in which the powers of the ruler originated and which might carry him away against his will, he saw a danger for the continuance of the territorial arrangements of Europe and Germany, above all of the Prussian state. Foreseeing a conflict, he sought to uphold relations with Russia corresponding to the old alliance. The service which he rendered to Russia at a critical moment¹ bore the richest fruit for the Prussian state when the anticipated attack at last came.

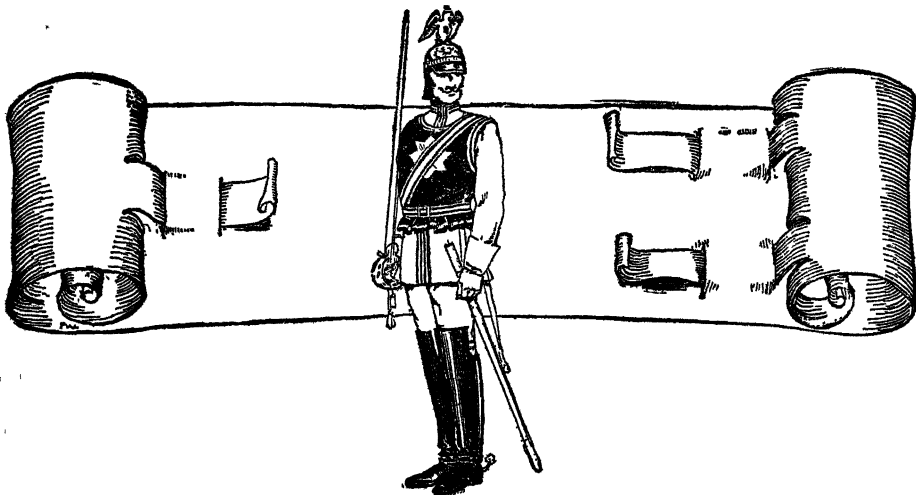
Throughout the whole of his life Frederick William IV endeavoured to keep up friendly relations with England, without being repelled or carried away by the passing changes in the politics of the various ministries. This endeavour found its conclusion in a fortunate dynastical union; it led to a better understanding between the nations and the governments.

With all this Frederick William IV did not find himself in a firm and secure political situation. After the agreement of Olmutz, the relations of Prussia and Germany to Austria in the restored confederation became unbearable. If the aim to which Frederick William IV aspired was to be reached, namely, the formation and direction of a confederate state, the prevailing opinions had to be approached a step nearer, for on their side also they had

[¹ Ranke alludes to the attitude of Prussia during the Crimean War.]

an historical justification, and they were too deeply rooted and too powerful to be left out of consideration; but to do this it was necessary to break with Austria. If we are rightly informed, the king was inclined to this towards the end of his days. He had tried every means to gain the favour of Austria, but in vain. Austria refused consent to the project of an expedition to Switzerland, even if it aimed at nothing further than the restoration of the Prussian royal house in Neuchâtel. In German affairs matters came to such a pass that the king had to declare in Vienna that his indulgence had its limits; if the conduct of Austria collided with the duty which as king of Prussia he had towards Germany, he would not give way. He had pronounced that significant word to the effect that the day may yet come when the two powers will measure their strength at the White Mountain—referring to the battle of 1620. His journey to Vienna in 1857 was calculated to put an end to the differences. The impossibility of this was one of the painful impressions of his last days. Men who were close to him assert that he seriously thought of taking up the struggle. But he was not destined to bring to an issue the old antagonism, the outbreak of which he had held back; for an individual life is but a moment in history.^c





CHAPTER X

THE SEGREGATION OF AUSTRIA

[1858-1866 A D]

SCARCELY had Frederick William IV laid the reins of government in the hands of his brother and heir, afterwards William I, when immediately evidence of a completely altered temper was manifested in the country. It seemed as though a fresh morning wind had risen, and the heavy dark cloud which had lain so oppressively on the hearts of all had fled before it. Once again it was felt in Prussia that a new and better epoch had begun.

On the 20th of October the chambers met to give the regency constitutional recognition. Five days later, in the presence of the assembled representatives of the people, the prince took the prescribed oath to the constitution. The chambers were dissolved and writs for new elections issued; whilst the regent, to the great satisfaction of all citizens, exhorted the officials to abstain from bringing any illegal pressure to bear on the electors. On the 5th of November the detested Manteuffel and most of his colleagues were dismissed. Prince Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen undertook the formation of the new ministry which included Flottwell, Von Schleinitz, Von Patow, General von Bonin, Count Pückler, and Professor von Bethmann-Hollweg—men who were known as moderate liberals and with the choice of whom the people were well satisfied.

The effect on foreign powers of the beneficial turn which had taken place in the views of the Prussian government was also at once manifested. The wavering course of the Prussian ship of state, bending as it did to every puff of wind, had accustomed people to infer that this once proud vessel no longer possessed the power to cut through the waves of events on its own predestined way. But its opponents were soon to learn their mistake. The state structure was there in all its essential parts; all that had been wanting was a strong hand to guide the helm. Now the contempt into which Prussia had fallen

[1859 A D]

seemed suddenly to give way and the old splendour of the Prussian name began to revive. The evidence of this was soon to be shown in astounding fashion before the eyes of all Europe.

GERMANY AND THE ITALIAN WAR OF 1859

The emperor Napoleon III was about to begin the struggle with Austria for the liberation of upper Italy. It was of the utmost importance to him that Prussia should either stand by him or at least remain completely neutral. Therefore in the last days of the year 1858 the Prussian cabinet was confidentially informed that Prussia was regarded as a rising state to which the future of Germany belonged, whilst Austria seemed to be on the decline. If the prince regent would pledge himself not to abandon, during the approaching struggle, the part of an inactive spectator, then France would without interfering suffer everything to be done which Prussia might think good for her own aggrandisement within Germany.

The prince refused the offer without further parley; and when, in June, 1859, after the great battles of Magenta and Solferino, it seemed as though Austria must completely succumb in Italy, Prussia endeavoured to prevent such a consummation. In union with the rest of Germany, the Prussian army was placed on a war footing and sent to the Rhine. In consequence of this threatening movement Napoleon deemed it best to make peace as quickly as possible. On the 8th of July was concluded the hasty armistice of Villafranca, followed on the 10th of November by the Peace of Zurich. For the time Austria, in consequence of Prussia's determined action, remained in possession of Venetia and her famous Quadrilateral. Lombardy fell to Sardinia; and France, as the reward of her trouble, compelled the cession to herself of Savoy and Nice.^a



OTTO THEODORE, BARON DE MANTEUFFEL
(1805-1882)

The idea that this war furnished Prussia with an opportunity to bring about the long-desired unification of Germany and build her own supremacy on the ruin of Austria had not been without advocates amongst the Prussians themselves. At the outbreak of the war the socialist agitator, Ferdinand Lassalle, supported this view in a pamphlet entitled *The Italian War and Prussia's Task*. The following is an extract from this pamphlet:^a

LASSALLE UPON THE CONSEQUENCES TO GERMANY OF THE WAR

Let us now examine the practical political consequences for Germany [of this war of 1859]. Is it not evident that the practical political consequences of this war benefit no one in a higher degree, hardly any one in the same degree, as Germany? Is it not evident that Napoleon, doomed by history, in spite of his apparent successes, to accomplish everywhere the very opposite of what he strove for, accomplishes nothing through this war but—however

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paradoxical it may appear at first sight—the clearing away of the difficulties which ruined the German revolution of 1848 and the efforts for German unity? If any fact can be absolutely certain, it is that hitherto German unity has been



FERDINAND LASSALLE
(1825-1864)

foiled entirely by the dualism of Prussia and Austria. The German Confederation was a strictly logical creation. It was not an organisation of German unity; it was only the organised form of German disunion. It was and could be nothing else. Austria joined the German Confederation with twelve millions. Prussia, in order to stand on an equality with Austria, was also allowed to enter with twelve millions only, and for this purpose left East and West Prussia out of the confederation, although the German character of these provinces is a recognised fact in the consciousness of the nation. Austria alone, with the twenty-five millions of her non-German population, outweighed the whole German Confederation. On the other hand, Prussia, with her total population of sixteen millions, with her purer German character, her more liberal traditions, her preponderant influence on the population of north Germany—partly by material and partly by moral means—outweighed Austria.

How, then, could any German unity be established? It was impossible, owing to the actual balance of power between these two states.

The revolution of 1848 dissolved the confederation, against which, as the supposed real cause of their want of unity, the Germans were specially embittered—that is to say, the revolution removed the external results and effects of their want of unity; but the intrinsic cause of it, the real political power of these two states, their balance of power, it did not remove. That revolution had not the strength to clear away this true, real, effective cause of disunion, the source whence disunion was sure to spring over and over again. Nay, the majority did not even possess the intelligence to comprehend this true cause. The plans of the Gotha party—the “little German” party—were but a confession of their incapacity to restore German unity and to break the actual power of those two states. German unity remained a hope and a theory, whilst disunion was founded on the actual circumstances. Hence the unity of the revolution was humbug.

The German revolution failed ‘precisely because it had not the power and the courage to abolish the force founded in facts of these two states. The revolution, therefore, had effected nothing towards German unity. Throughout its duration the Germans were just as much separated into two divisions, they were just as dualistic as before. This was amply proved by the execu-

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tion of Blum, the imperial commissary sent by the parliament of the empire to Vienna, whose head Austria threw at the feet of the parliament of the empire.

A counter-revolution took place. The greatest curiosity was excited as to what the princes would substitute for the confederation diet. They had so solemnly abjured it; Prussia particularly seemed bound to maintain this renunciation, both as a matter of duty and in her own interest. None the less, however, followed the restoration of the old confederation. And in spite of all shilly-shallying and hesitations and exceptions, in spite of a college of princes and a union, a firmer and a looser league, and the like wearisome and laborious schemes—all was of no avail, and Prussia again entered the confederation. The indignation of the people was indescribable. They had never imagined that reaction would go so far.

And as the Austrian reinstallation of the diet was the necessary consequence of the incapacity and superficiality of the revolution of 1848, so were the necessary and logical consequences of the actual state of things, of the insuperable dualism which really existed, seen in the assembly of princes at Bregenz; in Olmutz and Bronzell; in the Austrian executions in Hesse and Holstein; and the cession of the duchies, unconquered by the Danes, through the invasion of an Austrian army.

Smarting but instructive memories! So long therefore as the balance of power between Prussia and the non-German state of Austria exists, so long is disunion inherent in the actual conditions and cannot be conjured away by mere change of forms. Does anyone suppose that things could be altered if a national parliament were to meet again at Frankfort? Is a chamber of elected representatives to be regarded as an assembly of magi who can unite divergencies, combine oppositions, and make impossibilities possible? Is the word "people's parliament" a magic formula by means of which we can at our own pleasure change black into white? So long as Austria is a non-German state with twenty-six millions of non-German inhabitants, so long as Austria is forced by her character of a non-German power into non-German tendencies, and so long as she can, if need be, counterbalance the combined power of Prussia and the confederation—so long would a parliament at Frankfort, whether composed of representatives of the princes or of the people, present for a second time the cheerless spectacle of the powerlessness of the delegates over the concrete nature of their states and governments; or the members themselves, impelled by the concrete nature of their states, would present the far worse spectacle of transferring the disgrace of disunion from the cabinets of the princes to the German races themselves.

How, then, is the promised land of German unity to be attained, and will our wanderings through the wilderness never come to an end? How can we get there? We shall say it, and this time we shall appeal to very conservative authorities. A king and an archduke in convivial meeting have revealed to us the secret of German unity. "No Prussia and no Austria" was the toast to which a king of Prussia and an archduke of Austria clunked their glasses in Cologne long before 1848. Yes, certainly—no Austria and no Prussia!

No Austria, No Prussia!

But this toast was only the illusory and idealistic expression of the secret. The real condition of things, the basis of disunion, was to remain as it had been. Unity was to exist solely in the "good will" of the princes, the voluntary renunciation of diverging aims. It is astonishing to notice what contradictory appearances things assume when they are divested of their visionary and utopian form, and are looked at in the clear light of reality. It fared

with this imaginary unity of the two princes, based as it was to be on "good will," as it fared with Maximilien Robespierre's idea of equality based on "virtue."

To attain German unity [continues Lassalle] we need only translate the words of the royal toast into actual fact. In a visionary utopian form everything looks beautiful, rose-coloured, poetic, but in its actual accomplishment how gloomy, hard, full of tears, bloody! How enthusiastic and inspiring sounded that toast as the glasses rang! Translated into reality, that "No Austria, no Prussia," means nothing else than this—Austria, the Austrian state, must be dismembered, torn into shreds, crushed, annihilated, her ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven! We by no means utter these words as partisans of Prussia, we are moved by nothing but the consciousness that we are German. We should say the same if we were Austrian; we should wish the same thing to happen to Prussia, if circumstances were altered and the latter were in the position of Austria.

This is the real way of carrying out "No Austria, no Prussia," and the only path to German unity. The independent position in the world which Austria takes up, relying upon her possessions outside Germany—that is the inevitable cause of German dualism and of the impossibility of German unity, a cause which no palliative measures can remove. With the dismemberment of Austria, Prussia as a separate state will fall of itself, just as antithesis and thesis cannot exist apart. Austria annihilated, Prussia and Germany become one. On the day when the provinces outside Germany, Italy, and Hungary shall be torn away from Austria, and she is reduced to the 12,900,000 inhabitants (including Bohemia) which belonged to the confederation; when in consequence she is reduced to a position in which she can compete with Prussia neither in population, nor in intelligence, nor in authority; on the day when Austria is changed into a simple German province, not only will 12,900,000 inhabitants, who for the first time will feel themselves to be Germans, be restored to Germany, but German dualism itself will be blotted out, and German unity will be able to assert itself with the real force of the circumstances and, therefore, will become inevitable.

On the day when the separate state of Austria is destroyed, the standards of Bavaria, Württemberg, etc., will pale. On that day Germany is reconstituted. All the rest will naturally follow according to the law of gravitation. For unity lies already in the actual circumstances, and these will as undoubtedly find an adequate form for expressing themselves as dualism had found in the form of the diet.

The destruction of that actual constellation of power—that is, the annihilation of Austria, her separation from her possessions outside Germany—is, therefore, a necessary preliminary, which must be carried out before or during the agitation which is to succeed in establishing German unity. This preliminary must therefore be wished for by all those who ardently desire unity. Whatever form one may wish this unity to assume, whether that of a German republic, a German empire, or even a compact federation of independent states—all these questions may remain open for the time being. All these parties must in any case, if they have the intelligence to understand their own purposes, work together for the indispensable preliminary condition to any of these schemes, namely, the destruction of Austria.

Well then! Like a galley slave, wild self-seeking in his heart, but weighted by the chain and ball of that historical fatality which determines his cause of action, Napoleon is about to execute this preliminary to the formation of German unity, to remove the great and only obstacle in its way, and spare us the odium, the blood, and the civil war which the task would one day inevitably cost us if we took it into our own hands. By rousing the Italians to the

[1859 A.D.]

war and binding himself in his proclamation not to end it until he had purged the peninsula of the Austrians; by thus enabling also the Hungarians, on their part, to rise in arms, which they will doubtless do during the second Italian campaign, Napoleon carries out an essentially German task, and removes by the partition of Austria the real obstacle to German unity. The Italian war, therefore [concludes Lassalle], is not only hallowed by every principle of democracy, but it is of the very greatest advantage to the German nation. It is the very life interest of German policy.^e

GERMAN INFLUENCE FINDS ITSELF PREJUDICED

The democratic challenge had, however, passed unheeded; the end to the rivalry of Prussia and Austria had not yet been reached in 1859; and if, on the other hand, the Prussian action had saved Austria from heavier losses than those inflicted on her by the Peace of Zurich, still she issued from the war with serious diminution of both territory and reputation.^a

Thus the Italian war had ended to the detriment of Germany; the troops of the first German power were conquered and forced to a detrimental peace. The German governments, like the German people, must have said to themselves that the authority of Germany had once more been prejudiced. The knowledge of this could only lend fresh support and fresh violence to the general desire to put an end to this unworthy situation. But the German people possessed no state organ, by which it could have given expression to its will; on the other hand, it no longer found itself in the same position of culture it had occupied thirteen hundred years before, for otherwise the people would have banded together in hundreds of thousands in order to cross the Rhine or the Alps and give vent to their anger in robbery, murder, and arson. They did otherwise: they adapted themselves to the progress of civilisation, which not only clearly set forth its will but also astonished and frightened foreign lands.

In the same year (1859), on the same day (November 10th) which by the Peace of Zurich broke off the former relations of Germany to Italy, the German people celebrated in the festival of Schiller their material and intellectual unity—a festival such as no other people had ever held before. It was celebrated on every part of the earth where Germans dwelt. And it was not the poet whose laurel wreath they wished to renew; it was the hero of liberty and the patriot who was praised in Schiller before the eyes of the whole world, and who was recommended to the present and to future generations as a marvellous model.

No matter how energetically this national and general feeling revealed itself, so long as it did not succeed in giving expression to a state organisation it remained a phantasmagoria without any practical significance. But where was the strength and the power which would help this necessity to conquer? The attempts of the German national assembly to establish a better constitution for all Germany had been so completely shattered that for long nothing similar had been thought of. Apart from the insufficiency of their power, the secondary and small states were too divided in their opinions and interests to be able to undertake anything. This was proved by a long experience with Austria, which moreover since its last defeat was inextricably involved in constitutional struggles. In Prussia conditions were more simple. Prussia was almost a pure German state, and it was for this reason that the majority of the national assembly and that of the German people had been in favour of Prussian leadership, which Prussia had itself rejected. Meanwhile the same party relations existed, and the "little German" or Prussian party made use of the new experience gained to form, under the name of "national union," an

[1860 A.D.]

association of men who announced the union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia as the goal to be reached, although they still rejected the complete exclusion of Austria from Germany. The situation in Germany, and especially in Prussia seemed to give no small support to these endeavours, whilst affairs in Europe called too loudly and earnestly for a closer union of the German forces for them not to be heard.

The revolution begun in Italy in the year 1859 had continued unrestrainedly, and had led to results which the great leaders of the Italian people, Garibaldi and Mazzini, had only aspired to, but the quick fulfilment of which no one had



WILLIAM I
(1797-1888)

expected. Not only had Austria been banished from Lombardy, and her allied princes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena from their states, but the ecclesiastical states had lost part of their provinces to Sardinia, which was allied to the revolution; and in 1860 the hero Garibaldi, landing in Sicily with a handful of volunteers, within a few months had the whole kingdom of Naples in his hands and ceded it to the king of Sardinia, who now assumed the title of king of Italy. But this was far beyond the goal which Napoleon III, the prime mover in the revolution, had set himself, and over which he had to agree to the Peace of Zurich with Austria. To stay the flood of events was no longer possible; nevertheless Napoleon had accepted payment for his support of Italy by the concession of Nice and Savoy to France, although at the beginning of the war he had refused every acquisition.

The German nation had contemplated this revolution, that bordered on the marvellous, with the greatest astonishment, but also with a variety of other feelings. The feeling which outweighed all the rest, amongst princes as

[1860-1863 A.D.]

amongst nations, and this not in Germany alone, was that of mistrust in the rulers of French politics. Indeed it seemed their intention to weaken and discourage all the powers of Europe. On the 16th of June the German princes, like a brood of frightened chickens under their mother's wing, assembled at Baden Baden, seeking protection with the prince regent of Prussia, at which meeting the emperor of the French appeared in order by his presence to quiet the alarm. Only the emperor of Austria was missing in the circle of German princes; nevertheless, in the following month, the king of Bavaria arranged a meeting of the Austrian monarch with the prince regent, and in October both met the emperor of Russia in Warsaw. All these friendly relations of the princes led to no other result than that of making the uncertain position of Europe all the more apparent. This position was the most dangerous to dis-united Germany, and now more than ever the wish made itself felt to put an end to this condition once and for all. The small states now as before sought reform in joining Austria, as in this only did they see a guarantee for their privileges; the German people on the other hand, especially those of the north, showed themselves, as became apparent in the increasing importance of the national union, more and more favourably disposed towards the Prussian leadership; nevertheless the greater part of the people, in the north as well as the south, were made to waver in their convictions.

The programme put forward in the speech with which the prince regent greeted the new popular ministry he had formed after Manteuffel's dismissal in 1858 excited jubilation among the people. The results of the new elections were everywhere favourable to the government, a liberal era seemed to be commencing; but gradually the humour changed as it became apparent that none of the hopes of the liberals were passing to fulfilment. A complete breach took place when the scheme for the reorganisation of the army appeared. In the session of 1860 the gulf was bridged over by a compromise, which, however, by reason of its diverse interpretation, became the source of the conflict. The government carried out the reorganisation, the funds for which had been granted for one year only, as though it had been definitive, and on the new session an open struggle began; but once more the expenditure was authorised as an extraordinary one.

THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM I (1861 A.D.)

Meantime, on the 2nd of January, 1861, Frederick William IV died, and in October the coronation took place. The new elections, in which the newly formed party of progress for the first time came into prominence, were in favour of the opposition; after a short session the house was dissolved and a change of ministry ensued. The elections of the 6th of May, 1862, furnished another defeat to the government; the house refused the whole cost of the organisation, and the king now sent for Bismarck, who, after the close of the session, formed a new ministry.

Ovations were made to the deputies by their constituents, whilst the government was not backward in administering punishments. The king himself was much shaken by the conflict, but unbending. On the 14th of January, 1863, the new session was opened; at the debates on the address and on the question of the convention with Russia excited scenes took place, and the contest over the disciplinary powers of the president brought the conflict to its height. The government issued press ordinances, and, on the 2nd of September, dissolved the house. Nor did the new elections change anything, and meantime the Schleswig-Holstein question had become acute; on the 9th of December the government demanded authority for a state loan of 12,000,000 thalers, "in view of the present aspect of the questions in dispute between

[1863-1866 A.D.]

Denmark and Germany"; instead of which the house directed an address to the king, requesting him to withdraw from the London Protocol, recognise the prince of Augustenburg, and endeavour to procure him help from the German Confederation (December 18th). On the 27th the king answered by a refusal: he could not withdraw from the treaties concluded in 1852 without taking national relations into consideration, the succession question would be weighed by the confederation, and he requested the grant of the loan, concerning which Bismarck declared in the committee that he hoped it would be granted—"otherwise we must take it where we can get it." The committee recommended a refusal, and after a warm debate the loan was rejected by two hundred and seventy-five to fifty-one votes, and resolutions were taken which protested against the occupation of the duchies by Austria and Prussia as great powers, and declared for all time that every loan raised without the sanction of the chamber was opposed to the constitution and not binding. On the 25th of January, 1864, the session was closed.

The Danish war exercised no influence on home affairs. The session which began on the 14th of January, 1865, passed fruitlessly; a majority, besides rejecting the military law and the budget, also refused the ratification of the war expenses, the scheme for the foundation of a fleet, and the Schleswig-Holstein policy of the government; the debates were so bitter that Bismarck sent Virchow a challenge, which the house forbade him to accept. On the 17th of June the session closed. The punishment of officials, of associations, of the press, by the minister Eulenburg, continued; confirmation of communal elections was generally refused, and the municipal authorities abstained from any loyal demonstrations. In the new session, beginning the 15th of January, 1866, the union of Lauenburg with the crown was declared illegal, since the consent of the diet was lacking; indignation rose still higher when the deputies Frentzel and Twesten were impeached for certain speeches uttered by them in the house, and a decision of the superior tribunal, after appointing two auxiliary judges, declared by a majority of one vote that the impeachment was justifiable. On Hoverbeck's motion the house declared that Article 84 of the constitution had been infringed. Bismarck refused to accept these resolutions, and on the 23rd of February the session closed.

Even under the retired ministry, in the politics of the Zollverein the Prussian government had gained a decisive victory over Austria, as over the small states, inasmuch as it compelled the latter under the threat of the breaking of the Zollverein to give up their opposition to the commercial treaty formed with France and opposed by Austria. The secondary and small states, terrified at the condition of Europe and the plans of Prussia, adopted many courses more theoretical than practical in order to bring about a reorganisation of the constitution of the confederation. The emperor of Austria also came to their assistance in so far as to assemble the German princes around him on the 16th of August, 1863, at Frankfort, and lay before them his plans of a constitution for the confederation. The king of Prussia, being in no position to use force, held aloof; and thus the whole plan fell through. A few months afterwards it was followed by another to which circumstances granted a greater importance.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE POWERS

The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, through the European diplomacy in the London Protocol, had been intruded upon by conditions which neither their own estates nor the German Confederation had acknowledged. On the basis of this protocol the king, Frederick VII, by means of the so-called March Patent (March 30th, 1863) had given a constitution by which Schleswig and Holstein were subjected to quite different political laws and condi-

[1868 A.D.]

tions, inasmuch as the patent annexed Schleswig to the Danish monarchy, but reduced Holstein to provincial dependence. The parliament called together by the deputies of Denmark and Schleswig accepted this constitution on the 14th of November. The king died on the 15th, whereupon his successor appointed by the protocol, the prince of Glucksburg, ascended the Danish throne as Christian IX. He also, building on public opinion in Copenhagen as well as on the sympathy of the European powers, ratified the constitution. This gave cause for fresh agitation in Germany, which, better supported by circumstances than the former ones, was in the end to bring about the liberation of the duchies.

The proceedings in Denmark and the duchies just described had naturally fanned into fresh flame the oft-suppressed sympathies of the German people for those provinces under the yoke of foreign rule. In order to give active expression to these sympathies, the German people resorted to the same means which up till now had been of so little use to them, namely the press, the union, the chambers, and the individual lands. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, neither the German Confederation nor the estates of the duchies had recognised the London Protocol. And in spite of this apparent similarity of the present relations to the former, the condition of Germany like that of Europe had wholly changed. The oriental and Italian wars and also the exchanges of provinces, which had been the result of these wars, had fundamentally displaced the relations of the powers to one another; a state of reciprocal mistrust had succeeded the concord of the western powers. Under the present complications the jealousy of Prussia and Austria was also to be conducive to the national sympathy of the German people. For in the contest of their respective influences in Germany they had now reached a point on which the support of their efforts by the German nation and its princes might be of the utmost importance, and they must therefore acquire it. But a great difference existed between the two great states as regarded their ability to accomplish this.

BISMARCK AND MILITARY REFORM

Austria was embarrassed by serious constitutional troubles, increased by financial difficulties, whilst Prussia could enter into the combat with the energy of a new fight. At her head stood a new king, who, although in many things he adhered to the ideas of his predecessors, kept nevertheless a keen eye on modern progress. He might have little understanding and still less care for parliamentary affairs; but, on the other hand, from his youth he had grown up with and been intrusted with the army, had often seen its action decisive in state affairs, and therefore wished to develop it so as to be armed for every danger. The organisation of the army undertaken by him brought him into serious collision with the people's representatives, but in Bismarck he found a man who was capable of removing even this obstacle for him. Bismarck, highly gifted by nature, having as envoy to the confederation diet learned to know and despise the action of the small states, having seen the effects of the causes of the Austrian weaknesses and success, and investigated the higher politics of St. Petersburg and Paris, had come to the by no means new conclusion that men are usually ruled without great wisdom, but that a rough hand is generally more successful than a gentle one. This knowledge henceforth increased his efficiency in internal as well as foreign affairs. The plan for the reorganisation of the army, which his royal master clung to with all his heart, he carried through in spite of the representatives of the country, and when he had done this he proceeded to deal with Schleswig-Holstein.

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WAR OF 1864

The German Confederation, as often remarked, had not acknowledged the settlements of the London Protocol. On the 23rd of December, 1863, a federal army of six thousand Saxons and Hanoverians, under the command of the Saxon general Hake, invaded Holstein, whilst an Austrian and Prussian corps of five thousand men formed the reserve. On the 30th the duke of Augustenburg, summoned by the inhabitants of the duchies, took up his residence at Kiel. As the affair went so smoothly, Bismarck resolved to take another step. He had no difficulty in winning Austria, which had its hands full with its own affairs, over to his opinion. He persuaded the Austrian cabinet to take the lead in the affair by circumventing the confederation conjointly with Russia. On the 11th of January, 1864, the two great powers proposed to the confederation that in case the Danish government did not recall the November constitution Schleswig should be forfeited; to which proposal the confederation assembly could not agree, as it contained an acknowledgment of the London Protocol. Then the two great powers declared they would take the matter into their own hands. The protests, threats, mobilisations of the small states remained without success. On the other hand Austria and Prussia acted with greater decision and force. On the 16th of January they produced their ultimatum, which was the suppression of the constitution in Copenhagen; and on the refusal of the Danish cabinet, the allies, namely, twenty-eight thousand Austrians and forty-three thousand Prussians under the command of the Prussian general Wrangel, invaded Holstein. The attempts at pacification made by Bismarck in the Prussian senate as well as at the confederation diet met with no success either there or amongst the German nation; nevertheless the "first powers," as Austria and Prussia liked to call themselves, were not misled by this: Bismarck closed his refractory diet after the Prussian troops had advanced into Hamburg, Lubeck, and Oldenburg as if they were hostile countries. On the 25th the German standard planted in Kiel had to make way for the Prussian, and on the 1st of February the allies crossed the Eider. The war was successful to the allies. From victory to victory they advanced to Jutland.

English diplomacy had made every effort imaginable to save the London Protocol and the integrity of the Danish state; but the sole price at which Napoleon conjointly with England would venture on the strife, the conquest of the left bank of the Rhine, seemed too high, and so it satisfied itself by inviting the subscribers of the protocol to a conference in London. The latter met, for no other purpose than the rupture of the protocol, from which the German powers also detached themselves, and to confirm the overthrow of the Danish state, which at the close of this diplomatic tournament saw itself thrown on its own resources. Under these circumstances Danish bravery could accomplish nothing. Alsen was conquered, as was also Jutland. In days gone by German banners had floated at the northern extremity of this peninsula, which is known in German history by the spear throw of the emperor Otto I. Denmark sought for peace, which was concluded in Vienna on October 30th. By it Denmark ceded Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to Austria and Prussia. This was a highly dangerous provision; for must not the two possessors naturally enter into dispute over the right of possession, and the object of strife in the end be lost to both?

The danger was imminent, the strife of the two possessors unavoidable; and a fatal issue was prevented only by the persons who stood at the head of the Prussian state. They had already given the whole affair its energetic dénouement and now led to a further happy decision. They arrived at this through their precise knowledge of the position of European affairs, and by

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the hasty doing away with the weakness of this position, which allowed them to obtain their goal without great hindrance. The chief obstacles to be overcome lay in Germany itself and in Austria. Until now Austria had accompanied her old rival in her victorious campaigns, and shared her fame and the advantage gained. But although in peace the trophies of victory were equally promised to both powers, there was so great a difference in the situation of the allies that equality existed in appearance only. Prussia had raised more troops and had the military lead; this important conquest was close to the Prussian frontiers, and was far from the Austrian boundaries: therefore it was natural that Prussia should have taken the lead throughout the adventure, which Austria, occupied by internal dissensions, was by no means in a position to do. If possible Austria must be reduced to still greater dependence. In this success was attained as it had already been attained in the economical sphere.

The negotiations concerning the renewal of the Zollverein had dragged on for more than two years; finally even the Bavarian government saw itself compelled to join the treaty drawn up by Prussia, which on the 12th of October, 1864, was signed by all governments under the Zollverein, whilst Prussia rejected the conditions imposed by Austria and thereby cut off all her chances of a future entry into the Zollverein. The victory of Prussia was complete and well adapted to help her settle the question of the duchies.

Immediately after the peace, when the Austrian troops were slowly withdrawing, Prussia, regardless of the German Confederation and the rights of the duke of Augustenburg, had also taken possession of Holstein. Austria, although the defects in her former policy were now realised, and although in consequence of this Count Rechberg had had to retire, found herself so deeply engaged in the blind alley that it was thought advisable to decide the question in dispute before the confederation assembly in favour of the Prussians. Thus, on the 7th of December, the assembly declared the action at an end, the Hanoverian and Saxon troops retired, the committee of the confederation handed over the province to the Austrians and Prussians, and Prussia now saw herself mistress of the duchies, the possession of which could no longer be seriously threatened by far-off Austria.

There was but one right which could be established, namely, that of the integrity of Germany, which in this instance might be taken as identical with the Prussian. To establish herself in the full possession of this right was henceforth the sole endeavour of Prussia. But Austria resisted. In its note of the 22nd of February, 1865, the Prussian government stated its demands, by the granting of which alone the formation of a new state of Schleswig-Holstein was not to be contemplated as a danger for the interests of Prussia and Germany. These demands were the blending of the Schleswig-Holstein military and naval organisation with the Prussian, the cession of certain provinces, and the concession of some important sovereign rights.

THE CONVENTION OF GASTEIN (1865 A.D.)

But neither Austria, nor the duke of Augustenburg, nor the confederation would grant these requests. Prussia now negotiated all round, but prepared powerful armaments; even Bismarck no longer made it a secret that he desired war. But he first assured himself of the diplomatic position, and by a conference with the Bavarian minister, Von der Pfordten, he sought to make the secondary states decide on neutrality in the event of a Prusso-Austrian war—which he did not succeed in doing. Meanwhile the bursting of the storm was once more averted. Austria, occupied with troubles at home, agreed in the Gastein Convention (August 14th) that the rights of both governments in the

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duchies should be reserved until a final issue of the affair; but Prussia took over the government of Schleswig, whilst that of Holstein remained to Austria, which on the other hand yielded her rights over Lauenberg to Prussia for two and a half million Danish reichsthalers. The harbour of Kiel as well as the right to garrison Rendsburg were to be handed over to Prussia by Austria. Thus disposed, Prussia prepared herself for the inevitable war.

As the Prussian cabinet had made sure of the Russian and French neutrality, the other powers were scarcely taken into consideration. Nevertheless, Austria was such a formidable adversary that it seemed dangerous to go against her, in spite of her unsettled condition, without allies. These could be found only in the revolution or in Italy. Prussia, in defiance of the secondary states, had just entered into a commercial treaty with that country. The political question had also been discussed between the two cabinets. These negotiations advanced side by side with the armaments, and in the spring of 1866 both were complete. That it might be left undisturbed, on the 23rd of February, 1866, the Prussian government dismissed its diet, which was in favour of the rights of the duchies and the duke. Everything combined to urge on a war in which Bismarck wished to assure himself of another confederate—the German people.

PRUSSIA AT ODDS WITH THE CONFEDERATION

At the outbreak of the Schleswig-Holstein development the adherents of all the German chambers, and those from Austria and Prussia as well as from the small states, had assembled in Frankfort to declare, in the face of the opposing interests of the various German states, that under existing conditions the "right of the Germans to a general representation of the people, a parliament," was no longer admitted. After the Gastein Convention, as the outbreak of intestine war appeared more and more inevitable, the deputies of the democratic party assembled to raise a cry for a "central power and parliament standing above the government." The assembly of deputies of the 1st of October, in which only one member from Austria and eight from Prussia took part, declared itself for the convening of a parliament. Bismarck, who after the Gastein Convention was raised to the rank of count, seized the idea: it would be conducive to the attainment of his object. By cleverly turning it to account he could attain far more than would have been possible by the settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question.

He now cast the idea of a federal reform among the people. The circumstance that Austria in her need again clamoured for the rights of the confederation must have strengthened him in his actions. After he had completed his preparations, on the 24th of March, 1866, he directed a circular to the confederate governments in which, referring to the inadequateness of the organisation of the confederation, he threateningly held the fate of Poland before the German people, and as the interests of Germany and Prussia were "already identical by geographical situation," he placed the direct question before the confederate governments as to whether or not Prussia could reckon on their support in a war against Austria. All these governments answered evasively, whilst Bavaria once more sought to mediate. Then Prussia turned to the confederation, and on the 9th of April laid before it a plan of reform, stating that in this the royal government agreed with the nation, and, supported by this agreement, demanded that for the carrying out of the work of reform "an assembly elected from all parts of Germany" should be convoked. The proposal was referred to a committee.

Meanwhile war was becoming more and more imminent, as neither of the opponents would consent to demobilisation. In vain did the people call for

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peace; the die was already cast. Even the attempt at mediation on the part of the European powers was useless. Prussia allowed her troops in Schleswig to invade Holstein, which had been occupied by Austria since the Gastein Convention and whence the troops of the latter power withdrew under protest. On the 11th of June Austria implored the interference of the confederation in the attempted oppression of Prussia, and proposed the mobilisation of the confederation contingent, to which the confederation consented, on the 14th, in spite of the protests of Prussia, by nine votes to six. The Prussian ambassador, declaring this resolution to be a breach of the Act of Confederation, thereupon left the assembly.

THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR OF 1866

King William now declared that he regarded the German Confederation as dissolved, and demanded the formation of a new confederation with a freely elected parliament and with the exclusion of Austria. As in a flash the strife of parties in Prussia came to an end on this 14th of June. As soon as it was understood that there was no evading the struggle for the honour or rather for the very existence of the state, the whole nation was resolved to sustain the contest with unbounded self-devotion. No one concealed from himself the greatness of the threatening danger and the uncertainty of the issue, but Prussia must and should win an honourable victory or succumb.

The superiority with which her adversaries entered into the war seemed overwhelming. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Saxony, and almost all Germany, as well as the whole of Austria, were opposed to Prussia. It was in vain that King William offered to the rulers in Hanover, Dresden, and Cassel the assurance of the complete integrity of their sovereignty if they would remain neutral. He was met at first by evasive answers, then by decided refusals. The small courts were too deeply penetrated with faith in the eight hundred thousand men which were at the disposal of Austria—on paper.

In Prussia even the most confident hardly ventured to hope that large districts of the state would not be exposed at the beginning of the war to a hostile attack, which, had the Austrians acted in a decided fashion, would have been unavoidable, particularly as regards Silesia. Who can measure the results if the Croats and Pandours had fallen on the Prussians? For, as a melancholy token of the internal dissensions of the Austrian state, the Viennese authorities were compelled to send the German troops to Italy, and to reserve the Italians and Slavs for the struggle with Prussia in order to secure themselves against desertion and insubordination.

It was the greatest piece of good luck for the Prussians and their country that Napoleon III fancied himself to be acting very prudently in standing aloof as a quiet spectator of the coming struggle. Like every one else he cherished the conviction that the opponents were at least equal in strength, and that, therefore, the war would go on till both sides were exhausted. France would then be able to step in between the combatants as peacemaker, and stipulate, still more advantageously than in Italy, for her reward as mediator. Prussia had now to contend only against the Austrian and German armies. But this was a task sufficient to call forth the supreme efforts of all the forces of the state. On either side powerful armies stood completely equipped. Still both hesitated to strike the first blow. The reluctance for a war of Germans against Germans kept the sword in the sheath. But when Austria declared that she would suspend hostilities only on condition that Prussia should renounce any extension of territory—a condition by which the acquisition of Schleswig-Holstein would be prevented and the number of the

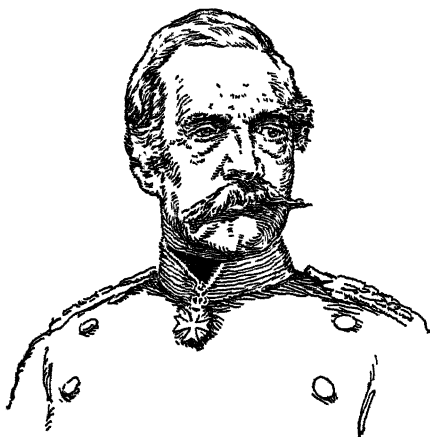
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minor states dependent on Vienna would be still further increased—then it was no longer possible to think of a peaceful settlement.

The imperial army, under the supreme command of Benedek, stood in a wide semicircle on the upper Elbe. With her army ordered in three great divisions, Prussia marched against the enemy. Prince Frederick Charles commanded the first, the crown prince the second; the army of the Elbe, the third, was under General Herwarth von Bittenfeld. Two lesser divisions under Vogel von Falckenstein were sent forward to central Germany, in order to unite with the troops of Manteuffel which were advancing from Schleswig

to the contest with the minor German states. King William had reserved for himself the chief command of the whole enterprise. Moltke was at the head of the general staff.

The king of Saxony had marched with all his troops and his treasure into Bohemia to fight by Austria's side against Prussia. Only at the almost impregnable Königstein the Saxon garrison remained till the conclusion of peace. Thus on the 18th of June, 1866, the army of the Elbe was able to enter Dresden without resistance. There everyone was so firmly convinced of the speedy and complete victory of the Austrians that, as the Prussians marched through, something like pity was bestowed on these hosts, of which certainly not a man would return alive from Bohemia. As more and more regiments appeared and the procession seemed to be absolutely in-



VON ROON
(1803-1879)

terminable, the people of Dresden said: "There cannot be so many soldiers; the troops go round the town and re-enter at the other gate, as they do at the theatre, so that their number may appear double to the eyes of the astonished Saxons."

The Hanoverians did not surrender their country so unresistingly as the Saxons. The blind king, George, in order to effect a junction with the Bavarians at Coburg, sought to lead his troops between General Manteuffel, who was approaching from the north, and Vogel von Falckenstein, who was hastening up from the east. But when the line from Eisenach to Erfurt was occupied by the troops of Prussia and Saxe-Coburg, which barred the way to the Hanoverians, then negotiations for a capitulation were opened. They were not successful and the Hanoverian general Arentschild therefore decided to force his way through. The vanguard of the Manteuffel-Falckenstein army attempted to frustrate this plan. Thus, on the 27th of June, a battle was fought at Langensalza, where the Prussians suffered a defeat from the superior numbers of the enemy. Great valour was displayed on both sides and countless victims fell in this useless fight. Two days later the brave Hanoverians, surrounded by the Prussians and deserted by the Bavarians, had to lay down their arms. Their regiments were disbanded and the country was occupied by Prussian troops. King George escaped to Austria. The elector of Hesse, who would by no means submit to the force of circumstances, was taken prisoner and kept in Stettin till the end of the war.

The occupation of the kingdom of Saxony enabled the Prussians to lead

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their three army corps through the border passes into Bohemia, that they might there oppose the enemy with their full strength before Benedek could execute his intention of advancing through Saxony into Prussian territory. So confident had he been of the victorious result of his plan that whole files of proclamations to be issued to the subjected populations of Silesia and Brandenburg were afterwards found in the possession of the captured officers.

During the last days of June the troops of Prince Frederick Charles, hampered by incessant contests with parties of Austrian and Saxon soldiers, set out by Reichenbach for Munchengrätz and Gitschin, whilst Herwarth advanced through Rumburg and Hühnerwasser in the same direction. The Posen army corps under Steinmetz succeeded, but only after sanguinary contests at Nachod and Skalitz, in throwing back the Austrians on the fortress of Josephstadt.

Meantime Bonin with the East Prussian regiments had reached the little town of Trautenau on the Liebau road, with the intention of crossing the difficult pass at that place. But there he was driven back by a superior division of Gablenz's army, and it was not till the following day, June 28th, that he was able, with the assistance of the guards, to attain his object. To the crown prince's army had been allotted the most difficult task—that of making its way through the mountains between Silesia and Bohemia, which could be effected only after days of extremely toilsome marches.

On the 2nd of July King William, accompanied by the ministers Von Roon and Bismarck and by General Moltke, appeared on the theatre of war to take over the supreme command. That same evening, at eleven o'clock, tidings were received that the whole Austrian army was drawn up before Königgrätz in readiness for the attack.

Messengers were immediately despatched to the three sections of the army, with the order to approach one another with all possible speed, in order that the enemy's designs might be anticipated and that the Prussians themselves might make the first attack next morning.



CHARLES I OF WÜRTTEMBERG
(1823-1891)

Battle of Königgrätz or Sadowa (1866 A.D.)

On the 3rd of July the great decisive battle was fought. At eight in the morning the contest began at the heights occupied by the enemy between Sadowa and Königgrätz. Prince Frederick Charles advanced against the centre of the strongly fortified position; but the terrible hail of grape-shot from the Austrian artillery arrested his bold attack. Everything depended on whether the crown prince and his army would arrive in time to fall on the enemy in the rear. The order to attack, despatched the previous evening, had reached the heir apparent only at daybreak. The roads, rendered soft by the heavy rains, delayed his march, so that it was past six before his troops got as

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far as the little town of Chlum. This place was taken by storm, and it was not till this had been accomplished that the crown prince was able to give effective support to the Prussians already engaged. As at the same time General von Herwarth hastened up from the other wing, Prince Frederick Charles made a new and powerful attack. After a sanguinary contest which lasted till evening, a brilliant victory was won at every point along the line of battle. The Austrians had to beat a retreat which soon developed into a wild flight. King William in person had placed himself at the head of the pursuers. The battle of Königgrätz, as the victors called it, or Sadowa, under which name it is known abroad, practically brought about a complete decision of this "Seven Days' War," by which the Prussian army was once more proved to be the first military force in Europe.^a

Napoleon's Mediation

The Austrian army was in a state of dire disorganisation; in the Saxon corps alone firm cohesion and good discipline were maintained. The very day after the battle General von Gablenz presented himself at the Prussian headquarters with a flag of truce and applied for an armistice, which the Prussians naturally refused, as no one but Austria could have profited by it. At the same time the emperor Francis Joseph appealed to the emperor Napoleon to intervene on behalf of peace, flattering his vanity by the voluntary cession of Venice to France. Thus Austria gave away her fairest province, the scene of Radetzky's victories, the land at whose river frontier the eagles of the third Napoleon were checked in their flight to the Adriatic, the land for which the blood of Austrian warriors had but lately been shed in victorious fight at Custoza (June 24th)—gave it away in consequence of the victory of Prussia at Königgrätz: and not to Italy, who had striven for its possession in many a passage of arms, but to Napoleon III, to flatter his self-complacency and the vanity of the French, and so secure the aid of France against Prussia. Count Mensdorff built great hopes upon this masterpiece of the traditional policy of the Austrian cabinet; for had not Napoleon III himself a while before proclaimed the "maintenance of the high position of Austria in Germany" to be one of the leading features of his mediation programme, and had not the jealousy of the French nation been strongly excited since then by the success of the Prussian arms? The cession of Venice was extolled in France as a triumph of Napoleonic policy which threw even Sadowa into the shade. Paris was decked with flags and illuminated, all France was jubilant, and Napoleon experienced the proud satisfaction of feeling that he had drawn the eyes of all Europe upon himself—the mediator of peace between two great powers. Fortunately the decision did not rest with the cabinet of the Tuileries but with King William's headquarters, where no one, least of all the king himself, had a doubt that the war which had been victoriously waged so far must be fought out to its ultimate issues, and concluded only by a peace which should answer to Prussia's success in the field and fully satisfy her claims in the German question.

On the 5th of July King William replied to Napoleon's telegram, declaring that he was ready to accept the French emperor's mediation, "but that before the conclusion of the armistice he must obtain the consent of his Italian allies and settle the fundamental conditions of peace negotiations." The Prussian ambassador at Paris received instructions more fully to acquaint the emperor with these conditions, giving the first place to the exclusion of Austria from the new Germany that was to be organised under the hegemony of Prussia.

Diplomacy and military tactics went hand in hand. While Count

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Bismarck, the Prussian minister-president, was frustrating by his moderate and steadfast bearing all the intrigues of the French ambassador, Benedetti, who dogged the king's footsteps from headquarters to headquarters and endeavoured to arrest the triumphal march of the Prussian armies by perpetually urging the conclusion of a truce, these armies advanced from the interior of Bohemia and along the course of the Main from Thuringia, and with unfaltering steps drew daily nearer to their goal.

After collecting the army of the Main at Eisenach, General Vogel von Falckenstein had before him the twofold task of driving back the forces of the 8th confederation corps (*Bundescorps*) under Prince Alexander of Hesse, which had started from Frankfort in the direction of Fulda, and on the other hand preventing their junction with the Bavarians, who were marching against him from the neighbourhood of Meiningen. Consequently we see him turning his arms first against one adversary and then against the other in a series of engagements, according as one or other was the more troublesome to him at the moment.⁹

The Battle of Kissingen

On the 10th of July General Beyer's division of Falckenstein's army defeated the Bavarians in a sharp fight at Hammelburg, and on the same day a second not less important victory over the Bavarian corps took place at the celebrated bathing resort of Kissingen. Visitors to the baths and residents were thrown into considerable excitement, for fleeing inhabitants of Albertshausen had brought news that the Prussians were advancing; nevertheless people would not believe it, hoping that Prussia and Austria had come to an understanding which had rendered the bathing resort neutral ground, although Kissingen was garrisoned on the Bavarian side. On the 9th of July, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, people became aware that the Prussians were almost upon them; and a couple of hours later the Bavarians, about twenty thousand strong, were concentrated in and about the town, in position and ready for battle.

The Bavarians hurriedly made such preparations as were absolutely necessary. The wooden bridge over the Saale at the Schweizerhaus, the iron one behind the arcades, as well as the one above the Linden Mill were broken down; the beams supporting this last were, however, left, and it was by them that the Prussians subsequently effected their first crossing of the Saale. The stone bridge was barricaded as strongly as was possible in such haste, and two twelve-pounders were planted on the higher bank of the river. Kissingen itself was garrisoned by four Bavarian battalions.

To meet these troops advanced Prussian divisions. The Bavarians had taken up an excellent position; but guns were not placed on the Dark Mountain, strategically so important. A battery there would have made the Altenberg an untenable position for the Prussians, and entirely prevented them from crossing the Saale at that point. Lieutenant-General von Zoller took the command. Quite early on the 10th of July Prussian hussars showed themselves, and the strife soon began. Meanwhile there commenced an independent battle near Friedrichshall just above Kissingen. When the brigade under Major-General von Wrangel approached Kissingen they received orders to take the Altenberg and, if possible, outflank the enemy's right wing. The neighbourhood of Garitz was immediately reconnoitred.

Three companies under Captain von dem Bursche crossed the road between two villas and covered over the supports of the former bridge with tables and benches, having by half-past eleven with great labour so far succeeded that people could cross over one by one. These companies soon reached a small wood to the southeast of Kissingen; arrived there they formed a column and

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so, accompanied by compact skirmishing parties, they advanced on Kissingen. These troops were followed over this imperfect bridge by others, so that two and a half out of the battalions from the south pressed on towards Kissingen and were soon sharply engaged on the road. Companies and two battalions were thus led along the right bank of the Saale, by the road, to the main bridge at Kissingen. Grapeshot and rifle-fire caused the Prussians much loss; but they nevertheless pressed onwards without a pause. The Bavarian army ought to have taken at least one hundred and thirty-six guns into the engagement; but the one hundred and nineteen cannon were "in Kornäckern, on the Trimbürg (between Kissingen and Hammelburg on the Frankish Saale) and in Feuerthal, near Poppenhausen, and elsewhere." The brave officers of artillery, listening for hours to the firing and not allowed to advance, were almost in despair.

The crossing of the Saale by the Prussians decided the day. They now seized the Dark Mountain and the Botenlaube, a hill crowned by the ruins of an ancient castle of that name; they then marched in great force with loud hurrahs into the town itself. The riflemen of the Bavarian rifle-battalion made a gallant defence here also; but it was as unsuccessful as former attempts. It is certain that a very bitter feeling underlay this battle of Kissingen, and people were sacrificed to it in considerable numbers. In the afternoon at half-past three the town was captured, and the Prussians marched into it with bands playing. Towards five o'clock a contingent of Bavarians returned to the neighbourhood of the Catholic church; but they were put to rout by a division of Manteuffel's corps, after which, at ten o'clock that night, the Prussians became masters of every position in the town.^b

On July 13th Goben's division defeated the troops of the confederation at Laufach. A second victory over them was obtained at Aschaffenburg (July 14th), and after ten days of battle and victory General Vogel von Falckenstein arrived on the 15th of July at the gates of the ancient imperial city on the Main. The diplomatists of the rump diet at Frankfort packed up their state papers in hot haste, and fled to Augsburg under the protection of the "Three Moors," and Frankfort mothers sang:

*Schlaf, Bübchen, schlaf,
Bleib immer fromm und brav,
Sonst kommt der Vogel von Falckenstein
Und steckt dich in den Sack hinein,
Der Bismarck kommt dahinter
Und frisst die grossen Kinder.¹*

On the 16th of July Falckenstein made his entry into Frankfort, dissolved the diet of the free city of the empire, as it had been up to that time, took over the government in the name of the king of Prussia, and at the same time imposed a war indemnity of 6,000,000 gulden on the wealthy city as a punishment for its hostile attitude towards Prussia.

The Prussians Approach Vienna

In the Austrian theatre of war the Prussian army marched within fifteen days from the battle-field of Königgrätz to the gates of the imperial city, winning victories as it went—at Tobitschau and Rokeinitz (July 16th)—and on the 20th of July stood ranged along the margin of the valley wherein lies the famous "Marchfeld" (plain of the March), where long ago King Rudolf laid

¹[Sleep, laddie, sleep, be good and gentle ever, or Vogel von Falckenstein will come and pop you into his sack, and Bismarck will come behind him to eat the big children up.]

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the foundation of the dynastic power of the Austrian Habsburgs by his victory over Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and where so much valiant Austrian blood had been shed in the wars of the first Napoleon.

On the 16th of July the advanced guard of the first army occupied Lundenburg, where the railway from Olmutz joins that from Brunn to Vienna. This obliged Benedek to turn aside with the main army on the left bank of the March and to retreat through the Lesser Carpathians so as to reach Vienna by way of Pressburg. Prince Frederick Charles detached a corps under General von Fransecky to reinforce the troops on the farther side of the Main, so as to enable them to take Pressburg and cut the Austrian main army off from Vienna. The result was a fierce engagement at Blumenau near Pressburg on the 22nd of July. General von Fransecky did not try to do more than keep the enemy's front in the extraordinarily strong position where he found it posted, while he sent a brigade under General von Bose over a pathless spur of the Carpathians to turn their flank and take them in the rear.

This movement would have decided the victory had not General von Fransecky received the intimation that an armistice had been concluded at Nikolsburg the evening before, to come into effect at midday on the 22nd of July. The struggle had come to an end. Both France and Austria had good reason for expediting the conclusion of the armistice, for in a few days the die might have been cast before the walls of Vienna and the imperial city compelled to open her gates to a conqueror. The pride of the Habsburgs was prepared to pay any price to avert the disgrace of seeing the banners of the Hohenzollern king borne up to the Hofburg. In a happy hour for Austria the armistice interrupted the operations the Prussians were in the act of undertaking, which operations must infallibly have resulted in the fall of the capital.

PEACE AND THE RETURN OF THE VICTORS (1866 A.D.)

The preliminaries of peace were to be settled within the space of five days. The Prussian government was satisfied with demanding such conditions as would insure the national development of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia. What it desired was not to humiliate a fallen foe, but to bring about a lasting peace and to avert the danger of foreign intervention by concluding it quickly. The principal points in the preliminary proposals of peace, which were accepted by both parties on the 25th of July, were as follows: The maintenance of the Austrian Empire in its present extent (with the exception of Venice), on condition of Austria's retirement from Germany; the formation of a closer north German confederation of all states north of the Main, under the hegemony of Prussia; the right of the south German states to form an independent national confederation among themselves; the union of the Elbe duchies with Prussia, and the recognition by Austria of the annexations which Prussia purposed to make in north Germany (Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort-on-the-Main); and lastly, a subsidy to be paid by Austria towards the cost of the war.

Even before peace had been definitely concluded with Austria at Prague on the basis of these preliminary proposals (August 23rd), the south German states had opened negotiations with Prussia, and peace was concluded with Wurtemberg on the 13th of August, with Baden on the 17th, and with Bavaria on the 22nd. In these negotiations Prussia observed the same principle of action, treating her conquered foes with consideration and clemency, and imposing no humiliating conditions which would prove a bar to future reconciliation. While the negotiations with Bavaria were pending, Count Bismarck pointed out to the south German plenipotentiaries that it would be easier to come to an understanding and would afford a surer guarantee for the main-

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tenance of the sovereign prerogatives and territorial rights of their governments, if these states were for the future to pursue a national German policy in concert with Prussia rather than place their crowns and dominions under the protection of foreign powers. These hints gave the first impulse to the formation of the offensive and defensive alliances which were soon after concluded between Prussia and the south German states. If Napoleon, by the stress he laid upon the Main frontier in his mediatory proposals, had aimed at maintaining the division of Germany into Prussian and non-Prussian elements and had hoped to make French influence predominant in the latter, then we may say that these offensive and defensive alliances built the first arch of the bridge that was to span the Main frontier, and were the first step towards the union of the whole of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia.

The peace with Hesse-Darmstadt followed next in order (September 3rd), on condition of the accession of the province of Upper Hesse to the north German league that was to be formed, the grand duke having previously ceded the landgrafschaft of Hesse-Homburg, which he had inherited from his father shortly before the war. The negotiations with Saxony were more protracted, as Napoleon made a fresh attempt to intermeddle in German affairs while they were pending. Peace was not finally concluded until the 21st of October. Prussia renounced her original intention of annexing Saxony, stipulating, however, that the latter country should join the North German Confederation and make certain concessions—such as delegating its diplomatic representation in foreign countries to Prussia and handing over to her the management of its postal and telegraphic system.

No peace was concluded with Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort-on-the-Main; these districts were permanently incorporated with the Prussian monarchy by a royal message of the 17th of August, on the grounds of the right of war and conquest and “to protect the hereditary dominions from the recurrence of danger, and to give a broader and firmer basis to the national remodelling of Germany”—as were also Schleswig-Holstein, Hesse-Homburg, and the small districts ceded to Prussia by Hesse-Darmstadt and Bavaria to complete her frontier. King Wilham started on the return journey to Berlin soon after the ratification of the preliminaries of peace with Austria, and towards eleven in the morning of the 4th of August the royal train, drawn by two engines wreathed with garlands, drew up in the decorated station there, amidst indescribable popular rejoicings.

The entrance of the victorious army into the capital (September 20th and 21st) grew into a festival of the whole nation to celebrate the conclusion of peace. The king himself welcomed the troops in the square in front of the Brandenburg gate (now known as the “Königsplatz”), and then took his place at the head of the procession. Before him rode Count Bismarck, Von Roon, and Von Moltke, together with the chiefs of the staff of the first and second armies, Von Voigts-Rhetz and Von Blumenthal. In front of them a triumphal path between the double row of two hundred and eight cannon taken on the field of battle stretched from the entrance of the “Linden” to the monument of Frederick the Great. Under the Brandenburg gate, above which victory has stood sentinel for more than half a century, the king was welcomed by Provost (Oberbürgermeister) Seidel, and by maidens who strewed his way with flowers, while their spokeswoman addressed him in the lines:

*Willkommen, König! Deine Metropole
Grüsst jubelnd Dich und Deine Heldenschar,
Durchflog Borussia doch beschwingter Sohle
In sieben Tagen Friedrich's "sieben Jahr."*

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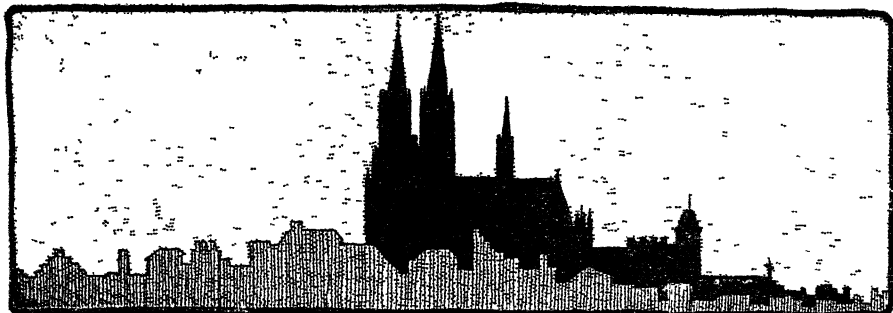
*Nun reicht herab von ihrem Kapitol
 Victoria den vollen Kranz Dir dar.
 Gott war mit Dir, und Gott wird mit Dir gehen
 Bis über Lorbeerhainen Palmen wehen*¹

It is interesting, in the light of subsequent events, to read the words in which the great Prussian historian Treitschke, writing while the issue was scarcely determined, tersely reviewed the situation and attempted to forecast the future.^a

"The German constitution that will result from this war," he says, "hardly promises to endure for more than a generation. It will be dubbed a 'federal state' because German liberalism has become enamoured of the title, and erudite professors will expound to curious audiences the theory of the federal state of Germany, just as their predecessors sagely discoursed upon the monarchical constitution of the Holy Roman Empire. But to the serious politician it must be evident that what will emerge from this conflict will be a Prussia stronger than before, combined with vassal states more or less dependent. Such a state of things bears no guarantee of permanence in itself. It is problematical whether a German and a Prussian parliament can long continue to exist side by side, and how the petty thrones will hold their ground against the slowly maturing political insight and energy of the nation. But the realisation of the fact that the present crisis has not carried us to the end of the German revolution need not overcast our joy at the blessings of the last few weeks. Our emancipation from the foreign yoke of Austria has cleared the way for the growth of national political life. And even should the achievement of the complete unity of our country be reserved for our sons, yet we who have lived through the War of Independence on the plains of Bohemia have good reason to bless our fate; we know now for what we were born."⁴

¹ Welcome, O King! We of thy city greet
 Thee and the band of heroes, thy compeers
 Hath not Borussia sped with winged feet
 In seven days through Frederick's "seven years"?
 Lo! Victory stoopeth from her lofty seat
 To crown thee with the laurel wreath she bears.
 God was with thee, and with thee God will go
 Till palms shall wave where now the laurels grow.





CHAPTER XI

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

[1866-1871 A D]

The unity of the greater part of Germany has been secured, and, by a pardonable confusion of ideas, the Imperial title has been assumed by the chief of the united nation. I need not show that such a title is in strictness inaccurate, but it would be hard to find a title more appropriate than that of Emperor for the head of a confederation of kings and other princes. The new German Empire is a fair revival of the old German Kingdom, but it must be borne in mind that it is in no sense a revival of the Holy Roman Empire That has passed away forever

—FREEMAN *b*

AFTER the preliminaries of peace had once been concluded between Prussia and Austria, the two principal adversaries, it was but a matter of course that the other combatants should also be obliged to make peace with Prussia. Representatives from the central states hurried to Berlin, which King William, acclaimed by a patriotic, excited crowd, reached on August 4th. The settlements with Wurtemberg and Baden were reached with the least difficulty, but even the difficulties in the way of peace with Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt, which had arisen out of the attitude of Napoleon and the attempted interference of Russia, were removed by the loyal attitude of Prussia. Peace was concluded with Wurtemberg on August 13th, with Baden on the 17th, with Bavaria on the 22nd, with Hesse on September 3rd, and finally with Saxony on October 21st. Bavaria, especially, was entirely won over by Bismarck's communication concerning the intentions of France with regard to the Rhenish Palatinate. The hindrances raised by Italy, in spite of another reverse experienced at the hands of Tegetthoff on the sea near Lissa, were finally disposed of, and peace was arranged on October 3rd between Austria and Italy.

THE RECONCILIATION OF GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

Königgratz had also exercised an influence on the internal affairs of Prussia. The scales then fell from the eyes of the majority of the liberals. They saw that the way to German unity had been opened, that when King William had ground and sharpened the Prussian sword, he had had in view the wel-

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fare of the fatherland, and the fact that this action, and this action alone, could pave the way for it. On August 5th the king inaugurated the newly convened diet with an address from the throne.

Anxious silence reigned in the chamber. The question uppermost in men's minds was what use the king would make of his matchless position after those unexampled successes. Would the constitutional struggle be continued at home, would the budget be still further postponed? And even if many in their hearts were ready to make peace, what prospect was there of gaining this without a complete and humiliating submission? Then the unexpected occurred. The speech from the throne recognised in a few simple sentences that the supplies granted for state expenditure during the past four years lacked the only legal authorisation which finances can receive, as has been repeatedly acknowledged, by an annual legislative agreement between the government and the representatives of the nation. This was not by any means a confession of guilt, as has been wrongly judged, because of the apprehensions of a few ministers, but an invitation to legalise the procedure of the government by subsequent confirmation. The king had been obliged to act as he had done—so he declared to the delegates when the address was delivered, and he would act in the same way again should a similar condition of affairs present itself. "Yet, gentlemen," he added confidently, "this will not occur again." But by pleading for justification under such circumstances and in such a magnanimous way, the king brought about internal peace.

To bring about a reconciliation between government and people, to restore complete harmony between them, was an easy task while the national spirit was thus buoyed up, and therefore it was, as the more enlightened among the liberals, Count Schwerin, Twesten, and many others, recognised, of the utmost necessity. At last the ministers of the king had regained the confidence of the nation, which became convinced that the king's aim was to establish the power of Prussia and the unity of Germany. The statesmanlike liberals separated themselves from the progressist party and formed the national liberal party. The thought which had lain dormant for years was now at last understood—that no amount of enthusiasm can fulfil an ideal if the only practical means for accomplishing it is scorned. The nation became finally convinced that the government was enthusiastically bent on furthering the power and greatness of the whole fatherland, but that the government alone had found the means of bringing this to pass—by the strength of the Prussian sword. And yet many difficulties remained to be overcome, and the progressist party—which knew of a better means for forging German unity than Bismarck, namely, the way of freedom—refused to pass the bill of indemnity. But this was immaterial, and the bill was passed by a majority of two hundred and thirty.

A few difficulties were also experienced in passing the bill for the new extensions of territory, which at last were to bring about the cohesion of the Prussian territory and to protect the state from a recurrence of the drawback of having to fight a foe in its rear. But on September 7th this bill also was passed with a minority of only fourteen—that is to say, therefore, with the consent of the majority of the progressist party. At last after an incredible number of formalities a grant of 60,000,000 thalers was voted to the state, which had conducted a mighty war that shook the world to its very foundations without imposing fresh taxes or raising a loan, in order to provide for the army equipment, the demobilisation, and to enable the nation to be ready again for mobilisation at any moment—a necessary measure on account of the strained relations between Austria and Italy. The far-reaching activity displayed by Queen Augusta in caring for the wounded will long be remembered. In its further and sublime development it created a wide field for Christian

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charity, and also, as her husband later pointed out in her praise, it greatly furthered the unity of the German races.

As the war had been waged for the unity of Germany, King William lost no time in placing before the north German states, on August 4th, the draft for a treaty of confederation. By August 18th it had been signed by most of the states, and before October all the states north of the Main had joined it. This inter-state confederation, however, had yet to be converted into an enduring constitutional federal state, in opposition to the unstable league of states formed by the Vienna congress. The governments deliberated among themselves and drafted a scheme for the constitution, and in August a franchise bill, on the broad democratic lines of universal suffrage, was presented before the Prussian diet, according to which a north German parliament was to be elected for the purpose of adopting the constitution. But distrust of Bismarck was so ineradicable in the ranks of the Prussian progressists that here also they suspected bad motives, and passed the bill only under the proviso that the new imperial diet (*Reichstag*) should be convened solely for deliberation upon the new constitution. On February 24th King William opened the imperial diet, and although the latter eventually made many individual alterations in the constitution, the governments declared on April 17th their agreement thereto, and after the diets of the individual states had signified their approval the federal constitution was made public on June 24th, and on July 1st, 1867, the North German Confederation came into being.

GERMAN UNITY IS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT

It had come to pass at last: the German peoples were united in a real constitutional union—had, in fact, become a nation. And the transgressions of centuries against the good genius of Germany were wiped out by the devoted labour of the Prussian rulers. The work was even grander, because more true to life, than the men of the Paulskirche had ever dreamed. The German princes had in no way become vassals of the crown of Prussia, but the government of the confederation was intrusted to the king of Prussia as its president; the part taken by the people in the government was based, it is true, on purely democratic principles, but their lawful sphere of action was clearly defined and led into proper channels, thus preventing degeneration into a democratic government, but rather effectually protecting the constitutional power of the crown. Now, after a period of a thousand years, King William had attained, through the storm and stress of battle, that which torrents of blood and arduous thought had failed to accomplish. German unity was now an accomplished fact, a reality. The problem for whose solution the noblest and best in the land had laboured, that of combining the rights of the princes with complete imperial power, of re-establishing the ancient German right of the nation to participate in the government under such involved circumstances, and without imperilling the power of the whole by the flood of revolutionary and republican notions which had overflowed from France—this problem had been solved by King William, with the advice of his champion, Count Bismarck. The solution had been successful, however, there is no possible doubt, chiefly thanks to the solicitude and faithfulness with which the king had combated all the hostility directed against his military regulations.

For that was the strange part of it. Ostensibly the union of Germany was only for the north, but in reality it involved the whole realm. Austria had, indeed, assented to the reorganisation of Germany only on the northern side of the Main, and had reserved for the south German states the privilege of forming themselves into a separate confederation, a privilege that France had warmly espoused. During the peace negotiations, however, the represen-

[1867-1868 A.D.]

tatives of Bavaria, Württemberg, and more particularly of Baden, displayed not the slightest inclination for such a union, which would only have deprived each state of part of its sovereignty, without any guarantee whatever of greater protection against foreign aggression, and motions were brought forward in the parliaments of Baden and Bavaria for immediately joining the North German Confederation. In fact, the Zollverein, which had already been recognised in the peace negotiations, was replaced on July 8th, 1867, by a new Zollverein, which bore the impress of a constitutional confederacy instead of the international character which had distinguished it before. For the purpose of the new Zollverein, mandatories from the south German states, on the one hand, assembled with the north German federal diet, for a customs diet, and on the other hand, freely elected representatives assembled with the imperial diet for a customs parliament. It was still more significant that, simultaneously with the conclusion of peace, offensive and defensive alliances were signed between Prussia and the southern states, in which the states agreed not only to afford one another mutual assistance in time of war, but that the southern troops should be placed under the supreme command of the king of Prussia.

FRENCH CLAIMS

The economic as well as the political union was thus established, in so far as it concerned foreign countries. The attempts on the part of Russia to interfere and to deliberate on the new organisation of Germany in a European congress were soon disposed of. Yet the more far-seeing statesmen knew and the nation felt that this magnificent result would be anything but agreeable to foreign countries—to France in particular; and it was just this circumstance which had led to the offensive and defensive alliances. How, indeed, could France have recognised the right of Germany to decide her fate for herself? On the contrary, at the beginning of August, Napoleon's ambassador, Benedetti, had again formulated the well-known desires of France, already intimated at Nikolsburg, to receive compensation for Germany's increased power in the shape of all the lands of Darmstadt to the left of the Rhine, inclusive of Mainz and the Rhenish Palatinate.

But Bismarck had no intention of giving up an inch of German soil to France, nor would King William ever have given his consent to such a proposition. Bismarck had used the full weight of his overwhelming personality to rebuff the ambassador. Peace would be concluded at once with Austria, he said; eight hundred thousand men would cross the Rhine, to whom the unprepared French army could offer no resistance; Alsace would again be taken from France; all the revolutionary forces in Germany would be unchained; and the German dynasties could afford it, for they were more firmly established than that of Napoleon. Then the emperor, who had given his consent to such a proposal unwillingly and grudgingly, withdrew it immediately. But soon afterwards he renewed the proposal, insisting on the boundary limitations of 1814 as far as Landau and the upper Saar; if necessary, Prussia should conquer Belgium for him. But this was declined at Berlin "in dilatory form," on the ground that it would lead to England's interference, which had fortunately been avoided so far. But who could have thought that German unity, founded in a struggle with Austria, could be maintained, if the German sword had not held in check the passionate lust for conquest which was burning fiercely on the banks of the Seine! The emperor might personally wish to avoid the struggle, on account of his ill health. But Thiers had announced to the whole world in unequivocal terms, in his impassioned speech before the war, that France would never agree to the unity of Germany, for the dismemberment of Germany was the fundamental

condition required by the French ascendancy in Europe. The frantic applause with which the whole of France greeted these hostile expressions showed what Germany had to expect from the country which was even then priding itself on being the champion of the independence of all nations.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNAL HARMONY

From the borders of the sea to the Main Germany was united, and Prussia, reaching forth across the Main, had also grasped the southern states and had bound them by means of a firm national bond of defensive alliance and customs-union to the great fatherland; the openly expressed sentiments of the monarchs and cabinets of Munich, Stuttgart, and Karlsruhe formed a guarantee of the durability of this union. The community of the economic interests with the south German confederates and the powerful defence of all the best aspects of national life were assured, as the king had declared. But it was quite natural that the old hatred of Prussia should not yet have quite died out among the people and the ultramontanes of Bavaria—"patriots" they called themselves—and the "people's party" in Wurtemberg did their best to fan it into flame again. There was still wanting, in order to consolidate the union of the governments and the commercial unity, that most important cement for a complete national union between those who had only recently crossed swords—the brotherhood in arms, the bond of blood shed in common defence of the fatherland, which the struggle for freedom between north and south had unfortunately not yielded. The constitutional struggle had been so violent in Prussia that its waves would not calm down, and the spirit of opposition still showed itself in the chamber of deputies, as well as in the north German parliament.

The most important claim which the radical parties could make, that of universal suffrage, had been supported in the German parliament by Bismarck himself, and the king had, with the fullest confidence, given his assent thereto. The progressist party, however, refused to reciprocate the confidence of the king, and considered it advantageous to oppose all bills presented by the government; and the deputy Virchow did not even shrink from presenting a motion on October 29th, 1869, for bringing about disarmament, thus absolutely setting at naught the fundamental conditions of political existence. This proposal was supported by Windthorst, the former minister of justice for Hanover, who made no secret of his Guelph tendencies, but who at the same time threw the whole weight of his great talents on the side of the Catholic faction, as yet only moderately represented; thus began the first skirmish in the interests of the Catholic church, although the latter enjoyed the fullest and most comprehensive liberty. At that time he was yet excelled by his partisan, the noble-minded Peter Reichensperger, who was at one with him in anger against the Prussian government, for he could not endure the exclusion of Austria from the confederation. Religious as well as national grievances united the Polish delegates with these opposition parties, and nothing could more clearly have defined their attitude than the fact that they abstained from voting on the federal constitution, because it was a German question. Finally, seven social democrats joined this group; for since about 1862 Ferdinand Lassalle and his pupil Von Schweitzer had won the favour of the masses by their exposition of the "iron law of wages," and Marx even surpassed them when in London in 1864 he founded the International Workmen's Association, and won over to his teachings two such powerful agitators as Liebknecht and Bebel in Germany.

The national liberal party, in its turn, adhered firmly to its liberal principles and made the fulfilment of its duty by no means an easy task to the

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government, for as the conservatives commanded only the smaller half of the majority, the government was dependent on the support of this party for the realisation of its national aims. But this party made it its sincere endeavour to help in the establishment of German unity, and had recognised that the chancellor of the North German Confederation, as the office of Count von Bismarck was now called, had this aim in view. The confidence which they and the majority of the Right, especially the free-conservative party, reposed in the powerful Iron Chancellor, and also the readiness of the government and of these parties to make sacrifices for the sake of the Germanic idea, brought it about that, in the great questions of national life, "the unity of the German people" was sought in accordance with the actual circumstances, that the attainable was not again sacrificed to the desirable, and that their tasks were accomplished "by bringing into substantial accord the government and the representatives of the people."

After the first imperial diet had passed a so-called iron war budget until the end of 1871, and had thus defined the strength of the army in time of peace, the north German federal army was entirely reorganised according to the Prussian system by the indefatigable solicitude of the king. The extension of the navy and of the coast defences was assured by means of a loan. For now Prussia also possessed the shores of the North Sea, and what the central states had never been able to bring about for the fatherland was now accomplished by union. The fleet, which Prussia brought to the empire and the opening of Wilhelmshaven, on June 17th, 1868, were in very truth the "morning gift," as Von Roon, the minister of war, now raised to the rank of first lord of the admiralty, expressed it, which Prussia presented to the young empire for its defence and for the furtherance of its commercial interests. Of fundamental importance to trade was the postal administration, which may be said to have had its share in furthering German unity. After the settlement of the rights that still remained in the possession of the princes of Thurn and Taxis in certain districts, and after the introduction of the uniform groschen postage and of post cards, the postal service, under the able postmaster-general, Von Stephen, attained proportions undreamed of, in spite of the ever-increasing network of railways, or rather because of this.

It is, however, the penal code of laws which claims the first place, according to the king's opinion, among the important laws, and which was passed by the imperial diet on May 15th, 1870, after a violent debate aroused chiefly by the question of retaining or abolishing capital punishment. The great work of a national uniform jurisprudence was thereby substantially furthered. An impulse towards freedom of expansion was given to the life of the middle classes by the new industrial regulations, by freedom of domiciliation, by the abrogation of the police regulations concerning marriage contracts, by the removal of the manifold income taxes, by the regulation of naturalisation and of citizenship in confederation and state; and this freedom was protected and preserved in foreign states by means of the common representation of the confederation by consulates, embassies, and especially by means of the federal flag. The Prussian finances were subjected by Camphausen, the minister of finance appointed in October, 1869, to a thorough revision. Although there existed so much antipathy and aversion to Prussia in the new provinces, and more especially in Hanover, it is undeniable that the majority of the inhabitants rallied round the Prussian banner. The introduction of the Prussian organisation, such as local and provincial government, and the abundant sources of economic interests opened out by the extension of the state territory, all helped to make the transition easier for the new Prussians. The king's personality was also a most potent factor in winning all hearts, even the most antagonistic. The king became the real embodiment of the national pride.

THE LUXEMBURG QUESTION

As early as 1867 Napoleon, convinced that the court of Berlin would not yield him any German territory, endeavoured to take advantage of the singular position of the grand duchy of Luxemburg, in order to allay the irritation of France against Germany. Every day the desire was expressed in France in ever louder and clearer tones to take part in the reconstruction of the map of Europe, to annihilate Prussian supremacy, and to chastise those "*maudits Prussiens*" for Koniggratz.^c

On March 19th, 1867, the *Preussische Staatsanzeiger* (*Prussian Political Advertiser*) printed the full text of the three defensive and offensive alliances [with Wurtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria, dated the 13th, 17th, and 22nd of August, 1866], which had up to that time been kept secret, and the provincial correspondent added the following remarks in reference to the expressions Count Bismarck had recently let fall in the north German diet: "Now that the reasons for the temporary secrecy observed about these treaties have passed away, all German hearts will draw from the terms of the alliance now before them the joyful assurance that any apprehension that Germany may present a disunited and divided front to other nations has no substantial basis in fact; but that the Prussian government, though adopting the Main as the frontier of the North German Confederation, cherished the earnest desire of renewing by special treaties the national bond with south Germany which had been stipulated for in the peace with Austria. We can now clearly see that in the treaties with the states of south Germany our government was actuated by the wish to substitute a bond of sincere and cordial friendship and alliance for previous dissensions. The military union of the south German states, by which the army system of south Germany is brought into practical conformity with that of Prussia and the North German Confederation, must be regarded as a direct consequence of the treaties of alliance according to which, in case of war, the king of Prussia assumes supreme command over the troops of his south German allies. Hence we have full security that the line of the Main, which marks the frontier of the North German Confederation, will be no dividing line of national unity, but that, on the contrary, the strength of the nation as a whole will henceforth rest on a firmer foundation than before. In this strength of the nation Germany and Europe will find the best and surest basis and guarantee of lasting peace."

Which meant briefly: the German question no longer exists, nor the Main frontier, nor any distinction between the confederations of north and south Germany. These names were empty words which did not answer to the facts of the case, as was decided before ever the words received official confirmation. By the secret treaties of Berlin, dated the 13th, 17th, and 22nd of August respectively, it was settled that what was written at Prague on August 23rd concerning the national independence of a southern confederation should never come into being, but remain a dead letter signifying nothing.

Dutch Negotiations

The disclosure produced a great effect. The slender remnant of prestige which imperial diplomacy had still to lose was forfeited when this last and worst strategic defeat came to light. What reliance could be placed upon the assurance in which this cabinet indulged of its knowledge concerning the intentions of the Prussian court, if such a trick could be played upon it? The king of Holland put this question to himself and urged Baudin with greater insistence than ever to come to that very understanding with Prussia which

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the government of Paris was anxious, for excellent reasons, to avoid. On March 22nd Baudin telegraphed: "The king, unfortunately, has made up his mind; he wishes to have the cession of Luxemburg regulated by the signatories of the treaty of 1839. I answer that there can be no thought of it, and intimate your refusal beforehand. They are all the more eager for the assent of Prussia, because the fear of war and of Herr von Bismarck has been revived by the publication of the treaty with Bavaria."

The minister, De Moustier, endeavoured to soothe the king's alarm; he promised to speak out at Berlin if the king expressly desired it, but he would gladly be excused from doing so. It was Count Bismarck's wish to seem to act under compulsion, and to have the cession come upon him as a *fait accompli*. The king of Holland, however, insisted on the preliminary condition that no decision should be taken without Prussia's knowledge, and proceeded to act accordingly, for in the first place he started the subject in conversation with the Prussian ambassador Perponcher, and in the second he empowered Herr von Bylandt, his own ambassador at Berlin, to enter into negotiation with Count Bismarck.

According to the communication which Count Bismarck made to the diet on April 1st, the king of Holland had inquired how the Prussian government would take it if his majesty of the Netherlands were to resign the sovereignty of the grand duchy of Luxemburg. And according to the same authority the answer which Count Perponcher was instructed to make ran as follows: at the present time his majesty's government and their confederates had no call to express their opinion on the question, and must leave to his majesty of the Netherlands the responsibility for his own actions. At the same time, if it were necessary for his majesty's government to express their opinion, they would do nothing before they had assured themselves how the question was regarded by their German allies, the signatories of the treaties of 1839, and by public opinion in Germany, which last possessed a suitable exponent in the diet of the North German Confederation. The Dutch government had at the same time made a proffer, through Herr von Bylandt, its ambassador at Berlin, of its good offices in the negotiations which it believed to be pending between Prussia and France on the Luxemburg question. To this the answer was that no such negotiations had taken place, and that they were consequently unable to avail themselves of the said good offices.

The king of Holland took this reply as an encouragement to complete the sale of Luxemburg; and having received warnings simultaneously from Berlin and Paris that the language of the Prussian press on the subject was becoming so hostile and menacing that if he did not speedily strike a bargain the whole affair would come to nothing, he took his resolution and had the following telegram despatched to Paris on March 28th: "The prince of Orange is authorised to inform the emperor that the king, desirous of doing him pleasure, consents to the cession and begs his majesty to confer with Prussia." By the 30th of March all difficulties were adjusted and the king was won over. On the same day the emperor gave audience to the prince of Orange, who was the bearer of his father's consent. The price was fixed, part of the purchase-money assigned; for all else the king counted confidently upon the emperor. Baudin, summoned by telegram, arrived in Paris on the morning of March 31st, and started back to the Hague that same evening, primed with verbal messages and provided with a letter from the emperor, informing the king that he would take the entire responsibility for the understanding with Prussia, and requesting his signature by return. Moustier telegraphed to Benedetti: "So we have reached the moment of decision at last; take every possible precaution—the emperor looks upon the whole question as settled, and thinks retreat in any direction impossible."

Growing Excitement in Berlin

In Berlin, however, an ominous change had taken place, of which the minister was advised, on the evening of the 31st of March, by four consecutive telegrams from Count Benedetti. The first was delivered at five o'clock in the evening, and informed him that Count Bismarck, wrought upon by the general excitement and the news that the liberal party were going to interrogate him next day on the subject of Luxemburg, declared it essential that the settlement should be deferred. Benedetti had answered that at the stage to which matters had advanced it would be easier for the king's government to assent to the cession of Luxemburg than for the emperor's to renounce it. Bismarck had earnestly deplored the communication which the king of the Netherlands had addressed to King William, since it rendered it impossible for him now to give the assurance that Prussia had had no opportunity of opposing the cession. He also spoke of regrettable demonstrations in the grand duchy of Luxemburg. Benedetti believed that the real difficulties arose from the attitude of the military party, which was supported by the princes immediately about the king, and from the refusal of France to consent to the demolition of the fortifications. He had grounds for the assumption that the reports of Count Goltz were drawn up in a most unfavourable spirit.

The second telegram, despatched at eleven o'clock, said: "Since yesterday Herr von Bismarck feels himself overwhelmed (*débordé*) by the agitation which has broken out in the press and parliament. Questions are announced for to-morrow. The minister will reply that in answer to a question from the Dutch government he said that if he were obliged to express an opinion he should have to consult his fellow confederates and the signatories of the peace (of 1839). The crown prince has called upon him." A third telegram, sent immediately after, announces: "I have represented to Herr von Bismarck that everything is probably settled by now and that we can in no case withdraw. Goltz's despatches breathe the worst possible spirit. He says we want war." And about midnight Benedetti sent a fourth telegram, which ran: "A rumour is current that the seventh and eighth army corps have been mobilised to-day. I have written about it to Bismarck, who begs me by letter to contradict these rumours. This sort of talk, circulated by officers, will serve as a criterion of the excitement of men's minds and show you that we must be prepared for anything."

About ten o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April, Count Bismarck left his official residence in the Wilhelmstrasse to go to the diet where, amidst the tensest excitement of the nation, nay, of the world, the question of Deputy von Bennigsen awaited him. On the way he was met and joined by Count Benedetti, anxious to speak to him once more immediately before the decision.

Bismarck said: "I shall explain to the chamber that negotiations have been opened at the Hague, that a treaty may be signed at any moment; but I shall not be able to assure them that the matter is settled without incurring the risk of a denial from the Dutch government. Will you authorise me to add that the French ambassador has been commissioned to inform me of the fact? If you so authorise me I cannot deny that I shall find myself face to face with a demonstration of the utmost gravity, and perhaps by to-morrow the control of events may have slipped out of my hands."

Benedetti refused to take the responsibility. He said that letters had been exchanged between the emperor and the king of Holland; that no doubt these letters contained reciprocal pledges which it would be hard to retract; that consequently—strictly speaking—the cession of Luxemburg to France might be regarded as a *fait accompli*, even though no deed to that effect had been signed. Bismarck answered: "What you say is not enough for me. At least

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you must allow me to add to my explanation that I was notified of it by the French ambassador."

This Benedetti absolutely declined to do, and when he got back to the embassy he sincerely congratulated himself upon his course of action. For there he found a despatch from his minister, which had been sent off during the night, but so delayed on the way that it did not reach Berlin till eleven o'clock. It ran: "Herr von Tornaco has been called to the Hague to sign the deed of cession. The sentiments of the king and the ministers are excellent. The treaty will be signed to-day."

If Benedetti had received the news at ten o'clock he would have given Count Bismarck the authorisation he asked for. The latter would then have informed the diet that Luxemburg had actually been ceded to France, and this communication would have been followed by a resolution of the diet which would have forced upon the emperor the choice between war and renunciation, war without an army, or renunciation and indelible disgrace. As matters now stood, the fatal step, even if already taken, was not yet made public, and retreat was still possible if the king of Holland retracted his consent for fear of creating a *casus belli* with Prussia; which was what actually took place in consequence of the proceedings of the 1st of April in the diet.



COUNT BENEDETTI
(1817-1900)

Deputy von Bennigsen's Speech

Deputy von Bennigsen, in giving reasons for his motion, which was signed by seventy of his colleagues, took as his point of departure the rumours which grew more persistent from day to day, and according to which a treaty for the cession of Luxemburg to France was, it might be, already concluded. If such were the case, then a prince of German blood, unmindful of the great traditions of his house, which had once given an emperor to Germany, had entered into a bargain concerning a country which was no province of Holland, but had been German from time immemorial, and had fallen to the share of the reigning house of Holland only when the German Confederation was founded, as compensation for rights in other German countries. It was an urgent summons to the diet to come to a clear understanding as to what the confederated governments and the representatives of the German nation were minded to do in face of such a danger; and the liberal party had taken the first step to bring the question under discussion because it felt itself peculiarly bound to safeguard the differences of opinion which had come to light on particular points in the constitution of the North German Confederation against the misconstruction that they could extend to questions of foreign policy which involved the defence of German soil from the unjust aggression of foreign powers. "No!" he said amidst a storm of applause from all parts of the house; "internal dissensions of that kind will not exercise the slightest effect upon the attitude of the whole house when it is a question of presenting a

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bold and resolute front to the outside world and of giving the strongest support in our power to the vigorous policy which the Prussian government and the minister-president have hitherto maintained. It is no small temptation to foreign countries to take advantage of the dissolution of the German Confederation, to take advantage of the time before the new organisation of German states is fully complete, and while quarrels over domestic politics are raging in the country, in order to strengthen their own position in relation to Germany. If we do not oppose the first attempt of this kind, such attempts will be made again and again, and the remodelling of Germany at present proceeding will not result in the establishment of a strong federal state, but only in the permanence of the old condition of dismemberment and impotence."

The speaker recalled the lively response awakened years ago by the king's saying that not a village should be sundered from German soil, and solemnly declared, amidst the renewed applause of the assembly, that if King William found himself under the necessity of calling upon the nation to defend Germany from foreign foes, he would find no parties, but a united and determined people: "We do not seek for war. Should war break out the responsibility will rest with France alone. Any war waged between these two great nations will inflict deep wounds on the progress of prosperity and civilisation in Europe; no one feels that more keenly than we, the representatives of the German nation; for we have come together in the first instance for the discharge of peaceful tasks—the task of laying for Germany the foundations of a constitution which shall form the basis of justice and peace. But should foreign countries disturb us in our work, should they exploit its incompleteness for their own unjust beginnings, they will light upon a nation—and, as we doubt not, upon governments—prepared to combat all attempts of the kind with the utmost resolution."

The speaker concluded amidst loud applause from every side, and Count Bismarck then took up the word, to explain, in the first place, how the grand duchy of Luxemburg came to be in a position which rendered it liable to become the subject of European complications. The path of association with Prussia, upon which the north German governments had voluntarily entered immediately upon the dissolution of the old confederation, had never been trodden by the government of the grand duchy of Luxemburg; on the contrary, as early as October, 1866, a despatch from that quarter had tried to establish proof that Prussia had no longer the right to maintain a garrison in Luxemburg, and all reports of the temper that prevailed in the government and population of that small country had been concordant with this official step. The question as to whether pressure should be applied on the part of Prussia to enforce the accession of this little country (which was already a member of the customs-union) to the northern confederation had been answered by the government in the negative, because the grand duke of Luxemburg—who, as king of the Netherlands, had always had his centre of gravity outside Germany and would so have it in future—would have been a very questionable acquisition for the northern confederation.

For the rest, his majesty's government had been obliged to handle this question with exceptional caution because of the peculiar circumstances of Luxemburg, particularly those inseparable from its geographical situation. "No more than justice is done to the policy of Prussia by the statement, emanating from a high place, that 'Prussia's policy endeavours to respect the susceptibilities of the French nation—in so far, of course, as is consonant with her own honour.' The policy of Prussia found and finds a motive for this course in its just appreciation of the important bearing of friendly relations with a mighty nation, standing on an equal footing with ourselves, upon the peaceful development of the German question." While thus declining to ex-

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press a definite opinion on the question of the right of maintaining a garrison, he told the house that the government had no certain information on the subject of cession, except the question which had been asked of Count Perponcher a few days ago and answered as before stated. The government had no grounds for assuming that the treaty had already been concluded; but, on the other hand, it had no assurances, and therefore could give none, that its conclusion was not imminent.

This memorable speech concluded with the words: "The confederated governments believe that no foreign power will prejudice the incontestable rights of German states and peoples; they hope that they are in a position to secure and protect those rights by methods of peaceful negotiation, without imperilling the friendly relations which Germany has hitherto maintained with her neighbours, to the satisfaction of the confederated governments. The more fully we live up to the declaration which I was glad to hear made a while ago by the interpellant, namely, that by our deliberations we shall give proof of our steadfast confidence in the inviolable unity of the German nation, the more confidently we may indulge in this hope."

Thus at the moment when everything was finished except the signatures, a power had intervened whose existence had never been taken into account by either of the contracting parties—the public opinion of the German people, represented and expressed by the diet of the North German Confederation, and the halt they cried was not destined to pass like idle breath.

War Clouds

The emperor Napoleon was beside himself; he would have war rather than resign what he called his rights and the prize that was to be snatched away after he thought he had it in his hands. On the 3rd of April his minister received orders to telegraph to the Hague: "We persist in holding the king personally responsible. We will not compromise him, but take no fresh step like that which has had such evil consequences and of which Herr von Bismarck so bitterly complains. Nor is it permissible that Prince Henry should provoke counter demonstrations in the grand duchy; this is of the utmost importance."

Count Zuylen was in an awkward dilemma when Baudin pressed these considerations upon him. But on that same day, the 3rd of April, Count Perponcher, the Prussian ambassador, helped him out of all his perplexities by a declaration which left nothing to be desired in the way of positiveness. It ran: "In view of the agitation of public opinion in Germany, the cabinet of Berlin would be constrained to regard the cession of Luxemburg to France as a *casus belli*. The king of the Netherlands is free to act as he pleases, but he must likewise bear the responsibility for his actions, and if he has regarded the negotiations in which he has been engaged as a guarantee for the peace of Europe, it is my duty to undeceive him. My government would most strongly advise him not to give Luxemburg over to France."

Count Zuylen promised to apply for his sovereign's commands, but stated that in view of the imminent danger of a European war there could be no doubt as to the decision of the government. When Baudin came again and demanded that if the choice were between France and Prussia the king should abide by his pledges and decide for the former, he received the answer that the king of the Netherlands had stipulated for the assent of Prussia when he gave his promise, that France had persistently assured him of it, but that Prussia, instead of consenting, was threatening war. Under these circumstances there could be no thought of the cession of Luxemburg. A treaty of alliance, on the other hand, was superfluous and inopportune, the community

of interest between France and Holland was far too close for the former to entertain a doubt of the attitude Holland would assume in case of war. Such was Count Zuylen's last word, and that was the end of the matter. Rothan concludes the record he kept with documentary fidelity with the melancholy words, "Luxemburg was refused to us; the Dutch alliance slipped through our fingers; we were checkmated."^d

THE CUSTOMS PARLIAMENT IN BERLIN

The south German states of the Zollverein now issued the writs and completed the elections to the first German customs parliament. The youngest deputy who sat in that parliament has grown old, and after the vast changes in times and conditions which have taken place since then no one, even in the south, could be wounded by the unfolding of the whole tale of the passionate folly of reactionaries and particularists which raged throughout the electoral campaign in Bavaria, Swabia, and Baden. But it does not fall within the scope of this work. In Wurtemberg, thanks to the intervention of the ministers and prefects in favour of the ultramontanes and republicans, not a single deputy of the "German party" was elected. From Baden, on the other hand, only a few opponents of the union proceeded to Berlin. The same was the case with Hesse. Bavaria furnished the main strength of the opposition, although she also sent forth enthusiastic champions of the national cause in Prince Hohenlohe, Völk, Marquard, Barth, Feustel, Stauffenberg, Marquardsen, Kramer-Doos, and others. The total result of the south German elections was only forty-nine anti-nationalists to thirty-six supporters of the union.

If we consider the votes recorded from this point of view, and if we add the forty-five thousand lost votes of the German party in Wurtemberg to those polled by deputies with German leanings, then even the first elections to the customs parliament of Germany showed that a considerable majority in south Germany was in favour of Bismarck's national policy. On April 27th, 1868, the first German customs parliament met at Berlin and was opened by the king, in the White Hall (Weisser Saal) with a speech from the throne. He sketched in broad outline the development of the German customs union for the past forty years, enumerated the government proposals, and concluded with the words:

"Keep the common interests of Germany steadily in view, treat individual interests from that standpoint, and your exertions will be crowned with a success which will rightfully merit the gratitude of the nation. The friendly relations which the governments of Germany maintain with all foreign powers give grounds for confidence that the development of national prosperity, which the German races have met together to-day to promote, will continue to be fostered by that peace which the German states have bound themselves together to safeguard, and will ever be able, by God's help, to count upon the strength of the united German nation."

National Unity Furthered

In the first German customs parliament party divisions were not by any means based upon economic questions. Free trade and protection, tobacco, petroleum, and rags were not the points in debate, or were so rarely and for a brief while only. Party opposition existed solely upon political, nay, upon national questions, and there it was as complete as possible. The thirty-six partisans of union from south Germany were one and all enthusiastic champions of German unity; they had striven and suffered for it all their lives,

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and held the unalterable conviction that no power upon earth could prevent its consummation. But they had learned to wait, and not one among them cherished the childish illusion that the ultimate goal of national aspiration could be attained in the few weeks of discussion and resolution allotted to the first German customs parliament. But both they and their constituents felt the necessity of bearing open testimony to their nationalist sentiments before Germany and the whole world in this the first assembly since the year 1848 which represented the entire German race. The king's speech had done the same thing.

They therefore took the initiative in the resolution of the nationalist party to present an address to the king in reply to the speech from the throne. The masterly draft of an address drawn up by Deputy Metz-Darmstadt answered their purpose while observing the utmost moderation in tone. Referring directly to the king's own words, it stated: "We live in faith that the force of this national idea will bring about the complete unity of the whole of our native Germany by peaceful and prosperous ways; that national representation in every branch of public life, after which the German people has striven for decades, which has been recognised, at one time or another, as an imperative necessity by all German governments, cannot be permanently withheld from our nation. The love we bear our German fatherland will find a way to overcome all obstacles at home. Our national honour will gather the whole nation together without distinction of party if any attempt should be made from abroad to oppose the craving of the German nation for greater political unity. We trust that it may be given to your majesty, sustained by the united strength of the German nation and in accord with your majesty's distinguished allies, to complete the consolidation of our common work, the consummation whereof will guarantee safety, power, and peace without, and material prosperity and lawful liberty within."

The forty-nine south German opponents of union, on the other hand, acted as if bent on giving daily confirmation to Bismarck's saying that they were nearly a generation behind the north Germans. To them the year 1866 had by no means set the clock of development right for a century. To tell the truth, they had not the slightest idea what hour it had struck. They stood with flaming sword at the line of the Main, and fancied it a bulwark unsurmountable to all eternity. They dubbed themselves the "south German faction," and invariably said "we south Germans" in debate, as though there were no opinion but theirs south of the Main. On the national question they took up the same position as Herr von Beust, who even at the beginning of the current decade had understood the "reform of the confederation" to mean the prohibition of so much as a word on the subject of German unity. True to this obsolete political wisdom they opposed Metz's draft of an address by moving that the house should simply proceed to the order of the day.

Conservatives and Particularists Unite

It was the simplest and readiest means of putting a forcible end to this odious prate of German unity; for after that, according to the order of the day in the customs parliament, only the "referent" (reporter or one who sums up) Von Bennigsen might speak for the address and the co-referent Von Thüngen against it; and after them one might speak in favour of the motion for the order of the day, and one against it. The fate of this motion, which met with no opposition except from the eighty-seven members of the national liberal party, depended entirely upon the action of the north German conservatives. Then was witnessed the astounding spectacle of Prussian conservatives allying themselves with south German particularists to frustrate the de-

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sign of this national address, and informing everyone who cared to hear that Bismarck was quite of their minds.

After the breach of faith of which the national liberals had been guilty in the north German diet, on April 22nd, he was supposed to be seeking more trustworthy comrades in arms. This rumour found credence in many quarters, especially when Bismarck's bosom friend Moritz von Blanckenberg ascended the tribune, on May 7th, to speak in favour of simply passing on to the order of the day—and in what a tone! For the fundamental thought of his speech was nothing but insolent mockery of the national idea, nothing but raillery at the expense of the most sacred interests of Germany. His concluding words, "Let us get to work, and away with all humbug!" spoken with reference to an address to the king bearing the signature of nearly a hundred members of the house, would certainly have incurred a call to order from any president less forbearing than Simson. But since the so-called progressist party joined the confederacy of Prussian feudalism, south German hostility to Prussia, ultramontanism, and republicanism, the motion to pass simply over to the order of the day was carried on May 7th by one hundred and eighty-six votes to one hundred and fifty.

As for the myth that Bismarck had turned his back on the national liberal party since the occurrences of April 22nd, and was henceforth going to lean only upon the Prussian squirearchy and Prussia's enemies in south Germany, and that he had accordingly taken exception to the address, the wish had once more been father to the thought. Bismarck himself expressed his real sentiments on the subject with his habitual frankness, on April 30th, to Deputy Bluntschli of Heidelberg, the famous professor of constitutional law and the champion of the idea of nationality in Baden. Bluntschli had been put forward by the nationalist party to speak against the motion for proceeding to the order of the day, and was therefore desirous of learning in confidence what position Bismarck actually took up with regard to this burning question. Bismarck received him readily in his study "with a glass of beer and cigars," and in the course of conversation made no secret of his profound annoyance at the conduct of the national liberals. They could not get quit of party vanity and the trick of theorising, and thus frequently placed very considerable difficulties in his way. It was true that he had declared, "Let them put us in the saddle, and we will manage to ride"; but considering the peculiar conditions that prevailed in Germany he ought not to be required to ride "like a riding-master," strictly according to rule. He would not pronounce against an address though it might be very well to give these rabid particularists the chance of spurning venom and showing themselves in their true colours; neither would he go in for it whole-heartedly, lest it should be said that the address and the debate on it had been done to his order. The conversation then turned upon "greater matters." In this place we can insert only the following observations of Bismarck's.

He said: "It may seem fanciful to you if I say that it is with nations as with the rest of nature, some are masculine, others feminine. The Teutons are so masculine that by themselves they are absolutely intractable. Each man lives after his own good pleasure. If they are welded together they are like a flood that carries all before it, irresistible. The Slavs and Celts, on the other hand, are feminine. On their own initiative they accomplish nothing, they have no procreative force. The Russians can do nothing without the Germans. They cannot work, but they are easily led astray. They have no power of resistance, but simply follow their master. The Celts, again, are nothing but a passive mass. Not till the Teutons appeared on the scene did nations in the political sense arise from the intermixture. So it was with the English, with the Spaniards, as long as the Goths took the lead; with the

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French as long as they were directed by the Frankish element. The French Revolution thrust it forth, and so gave the preponderance once more to the Celtic type. That is why the French are prone to submit to authority. The Westphalians and Swabians are genuine Teutons with but little admixture, and that is why they are so slow to accustom themselves to government. If they are seized upon and possessed by a national idea they will weld rocks together. But that seldom happens. As a rule every village and every peasant is for itself or himself alone. The Prussians are Teutons with a strong admixture of the Slavonic element. That is the principal reason why they are politically serviceable. They have something of the docility of the Slavonic character and something of the strength and virility of the Teuton.

"Then there is another thing. From the outset the Hohenzollerns established a real monarchy and subdued the refractory nobles to the state. My family belongs to the aristocracy that lived on the left bank of the Elbe and fought on the side of the sovereign power to coerce the nobles on the right bank. In every other part of Germany the aristocracy maintained an independence incompatible with the existence of any state. In Prussia alone it learned to yield to the state and serve it. The sovereigns were absolute rulers, but their absolutism served the state and not their own persons. They sometimes hanged even gentlemen of rank, to show that in Prussia no man might infringe the law. Thus Prussia has grown. How small she was, even under Frederick the Great, who said that the sovereign was the first servant of the state! The Hohenzollerns have not forgotten this precept. They are bred in its spirit, and it has passed into their blood."

He fully corroborated Bluntschli's opinion that above all things there must be no halt. "We can let things develop quietly only if we are really taking thought for their development. To stand still is to go back." With reference to Baden's accession to the North German Confederation, Bismarck observed: "We must deal gently with Bavaria. If Baden belonged to the confederation, Würtemberg would have to follow. Well, that is no great matter. But Bavaria would look upon this embrace as a menace to herself, and it might incite her to take a false step. We should then be forced in the long run to coerce Bavaria by force. That I wish to avoid. No German blood shall henceforth be shed with my good will by Germans at war with Germans. We will give the Bavarians time to bethink themselves. They will feel all around the walls for a way out, and they will find none. Then they will end by submitting to their fate. We have time enough, because we have no reason to fear war. Everything can be peacefully settled with Bavaria. We must certainly not stand still. We must go forward. But we will deal gently with the Bavarians. I have told your grand duke (of Baden) so."

The statesman who thus judged on April 30th, 1868, was far above the suspicion cast upon him by his conservative friends, by the insinuation that their obsequious following in the train of the "south German fraction" on May 7th had been to Bismarck's mind. The victory of the feudal-particularist-progressist coalition on that day drove the "south German fraction" into presumptuous exaltation. The rallying-cry of victory had been the "competency objection"—that is, the assertion that an address dealing with any other matter than duties on rags, tobacco, and petroleum (such subjects to address the king of Prussia on!)—would go beyond the competency of the customs parliament and violate the treaty of July 8th, 1867. This "competency objection" was raised in every subsequent debate, and always successfully; for Blanckenberg and his conservative following voted with the "we south Germans" to put an end to the "national humbug" in the customs parliament. This same German customs parliament on which all Germany had set such great hopes began, to the horror and distress of all patriotic souls, to play a ludicrous part, "to be-

have," as Ludwig Bamberger, deputy for Mainz, aptly put it, "like a customs parliament pure and simple." At home and abroad men began to scoff at the *Parlement douanier* of the Germans.

The favourite "competency objection" was raised again on May 18th, in the final debate upon the commercial and customs treaty with Austria, when deputies Bamberger and Metz, with twenty-nine others, brought forward a motion to bring the reduced duty on Hessian wines into accord with the "existing system of indirect taxation" in a manner profitable to the wine-growing industry in Hesse. On this occasion, however, the stock objection was not raised by mere deputies, but by one of the ablest members of the customs confederation council, Geheimer Hessischer Legationsrath (privy councillor to the Hessian embassy) Hofmann. "According to the provisions of the customs union treaty," he briefly and decisively said, "the customs parliament is not called upon to deduce the consequences to internal taxation which may ensue from the reduction of import duties. I hold that the house is not competent to come to a resolution upon motions of this character." The tone of these words conveyed a sense of infallibility, *i.e.*, a certainty beforehand of the unanimous assent of the customs confederation council.

Speeches in the Customs Parliament

It was then that Bismarck rose to make his first speech in the customs parliament; to express, no doubt, the unanimous feeling of the customs confederation council. The anticipation that so it would be was clearly manifest in the smiling faces of the ultra-Main and conservative members. But the whole assembly listened with breathless attention as Bismarck said: "I am naturally no better qualified than my colleague of the grand duchy of Hesse to speak in the name of the council at this moment, and to say whether it, or a majority of its members, would hold itself competent to judge of the motion with which I have now for the first time become acquainted. But since doubt has been cast upon its competency by a member of the council itself, I feel constrained to state that, in saying that we are not in a position to express an opinion on this question in the name of the council, the honourable member is merely giving his personal views on the subject, and that my own impression *prima facie* is diametrically opposed to that of my colleague of the grand duchy of Hesse [loud applause]; for I am strongly of opinion that the confederation council—should it have reason to suppose that the modality of taxation was interfering with or endangering the freedom of commerce at home which is guaranteed by the institutions of the customs union—might well feel itself competent to apply the remedy." [Loud applause.]

Count Bismarck's "colleague of the grand duchy of Hesse" was not the sort of man to submit tamely to correction in presence of the assembled house. He made, for the first time, a public exhibition of the sharp divergence of opinion among the members of the council of the customs federation. He set Bismarck right at some length on the tenour of the customs union treaty, and insisted on his assertion that, "with regard to the question of competency, there cannot be the slightest doubt that internal taxation, in so far as it is not common, is subject to local legislation." Bismarck replied immediately: "Without anticipating a discussion that may arise within the council itself, I may remark that, in my opinion, the question at issue is not whether the legislation of the grand duchy of Hesse is contrary to the spirit of the customs union treaty, but whether the legislative organs of the union are justified in concerning themselves with the question of whether this is the case." [Acclamation.]

Up to this time the debate had moved within the limit of a "customs par-

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liament pure and simple." For Advocate Probst, deputy for Stuttgart, "the best orator in Swabia," as his ultramontane-republican constituents boasted, was reserved the involuntary merit of giving it a national scope by appealing to "the fear of foreign countries and the disturbance of peace which must ensure from outspoken opposition between south and north Germany." Bismarck rose at once to make an explanation. He could appeal to all men, even to the gentlemen from south Germany, to witness that he, his government, and his "colleagues of the northern confederation" had avoided anything that might lay them open to the insinuation that they desired to exercise coercion of any sort, even by way of the mildest persuasion, upon the gentlemen of south Germany, to induce them to lend themselves to an extension of the competency of the customs parliament. How little thought he had of such a thing best appeared from his circular letter of September 7th of the current year. He proceeded:

"Even were you to express a wish to give up your independence—it is you and not I who call it so—to draw nearer to the North German Confederation, as I should prefer to put it, you would have to give such reasons for your wish as would insure it favourable consideration by both parties. You think us far more eager than we are. [Laughter.] But though I thus protest against the attempt to extend the competency of the customs union, I am no less bound to oppose any attempt to diminish that competency as established by treaty. Whether such an attempt is here involved I will not profess to say, but I will remind the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, and all others who may treat of the same theme, that the appeal to fear never finds an echo in a German heart." [Vehement applause.]

These significant words prepared the way for the greatest speech of that great day, the greatest ever made in the German customs parliament—the speech of Doctor Volk of Augsburg, which concluded with the words: "There are still some people who take pleasure in pelting one another with snowballs; but the increasing warmth of the sun will soon deprive them of their material: yes, gentlemen, it is spring in Germany!" The whole speech, as well as this peroration, was so absolutely free from clap-trap that it remained imperishably enshrined in the heart and mind of Bismarck, the great enemy of all clap-trap, and he always retained an affection for the honest Swabian from Bavaria. When the worthy Volk died in 1882, too soon for his country, Prince Bismarck, then imperial chancellor, testified to the value of his faithful helpmeet, and expressed his grief at the passing away of "one of the best of Germans."

In the division which followed upon Volk's speech on Bamberg's motion, the unnatural alliance between the north German conservatives and the "south German fraction" was completely and finally dissolved. Bismarck's few words had sufficed to bring his old political allies to a better state of mind. Among the economic labours of the first German customs parliament we may mention the conclusion of the commercial treaty with Austria and the ratification of the tobacco tax law. Some advance was made in the recasting of the tariff in accordance with free-trade ideas, and the duty on petroleum was rejected. On May 21st the mercantile world of Berlin gave a breakfast to the deputies of the customs parliament in the new Bourse. After President Simson had replied to Doctor Siemens' toast, "the customs parliament," by calling for a cheer for the mercantile and industrial classes of Berlin, Bismarck rose and spoke the following words:

"I cannot absolve the toast just given by my right honourable colleague the president of the customs parliament [Bismarck himself was president of the customs federation council] from a certain egoism, since he addresses a *captatio benevolentiae* to the jury [*i.e.*, the mercantile and industrial classes of

Berlin] which is to sit in judgment upon us, and pronounce 'You have done well!' Yet if I myself steer clear of this rock, will you permit me to express the feeling by which we north Germans are actuated in our farewell greetings to our south German brethren? The short time we have been together has passed as quickly as a day in spring; may its after effects be those of spring upon the coming season! I believe that after our common labours for the interests of Germany you will carry home the conviction that here you will find the hearts and hands of brothers in every circumstance of life, and that every fresh meeting will and must strengthen these relations. Let us hold this kinship fast, let us cherish this family life! In this sense I wish our south German brethren a hearty 'Au revoir.' These words were greeted with loud and long-continued applause.

The speech from the throne with which King William closed the customs parliament on May 23rd likewise expressly vindicated the national prerogatives of the presidency, the customs union, and the German nation against the "south German fraction." At the end the king said: "Since I have been called to this high position in our common fatherland of Germany by the unanimous and lawfully expressed will of the legislative authorities of the same who are entitled to do so, I feel myself bound in honour to declare, before the representatives of the German nation elected to this parliament, that I will maintain and turn to good account the rights conferred upon me, as a sacred charge confided to me by the German nation and its princes, in conscientious reverence for the treaties concluded and the historical title upon which our country's commonwealth is based."

Delbrück had opened the second session of the German customs parliament on June 3rd. Bismarck's state of health and the journey to Hanover in attendance on the king, prevented him from speaking before the final sitting of June 21st, which was to decide upon the petroleum duty which the government had demanded. He set forth before his opponents the ideal of pure revenue taxes (*Finanzzölle*) just as he had done, on May 21st, in the diet: "I am seized with a certain regret that we do not express ourselves to one another with complete and genuine frankness whenever I hear sentimental lamentations over the poor man who is to see taxes imposed on his petroleum, his eyesight, his intelligence, and his pipe of tobacco, proceeding from the same mouth which gives its assent without the least scruple of conscience to the taxation of flour, bread, fuel (under certain circumstances), meat, and salt, at the expense of the same poor man." The duty on petroleum was nevertheless rejected. On the other hand, a new customs union law was enacted this session, commercial treaties were ratified with Japan and Switzerland, and a sugar tax was imposed. The rejection of the petroleum tax put an end to tariff reform. On the same day, June 22nd, on which the diet was closed, the king made the closing speech in the customs parliament.^e

THE HOHENZOLLERN CANDIDATURE (1870 A.D.)

Whilst such steps as this were being taken towards the attainment of harmony among the various German states, the external menace offered by the attitude of France was by no means removed. Austria had watched with a jealous eye every movement of the Prussian king, and of his chief adviser, Bismarck.^a The visit of the emperor Alexander of Russia to Berlin in May, 1870, and the journey of King William to meet Alexander at Ems in the following June, were only natural courtesies between near relatives. But the courts of Paris and Vienna could not but regard as significant the fact that both the chancellor of the confederation, Count Bismarck, and Oubril, the Russian ambassador to Berlin, were present at the meeting at Ems. Bismarck,

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with his keen penetration, saw clearly what might be expected from France since the accession of the incapable duke de Gramont to the guidance of foreign affairs, and at the conference he sought to provide himself with a support in Russia in case of war with France, offering her, if Prussia were victorious, the revision of the Peace of Paris, of 1856.^{af}

From a Madrid telegram of July 3rd Paris learned the news that Prince Leopold Hohenzollern was to be king of Spain, and the *Constitutionnel* which was Gramont's organ, in its issue of July 4th published an article drawn up by the duke himself, or at least inspired by him, in which it was indeed conceded that the Spaniards were at liberty to regulate their own destinies, according to their own discretion, but at the same time astonishment was expressed that matters should have gone so far that France was obliged to see the sceptre of Charles V intrusted to a Prussian prince. This candidature was no new thing to the French government. The French cabinet, like those of the other great powers, had known for at least three weeks of the Spanish government's negotiations with Prince Leopold. But it purposely represented itself as ignorant, in order that it might pose before the country as the innocent lamb, tricked and taken unawares, and so give vent to its virtuous indignation at this unscrupulous game of intrigue in the most vehement and provocative fashion. For it is clear that it lay with the French government to determine whether it would solve this Hohenzollern-Spanish question in a peaceful or a warlike manner. If it desired the former, Gramont had only to try diplomatic methods, to negotiate with Prussia, request the co-operation of the other chief powers, and success was insured. For it is not conceivable that Bismarck, who three years before had not gone to war about the Luxemburg question, popular though that was in Germany, now, in a case which did not specially touch the interests of Germany, and which, as it concerned a prince who was not a Prussian but a Hohenzollern, could hardly rise to the importance of a national affair, should leave out of account the apprehensions and wishes of France, and press this very question to the point of war.

But Gramont, who thought to be a Bismarck to France, would not enter on this peaceful course, but by the advice of his friend Beust chose rather to make a pretext for a war out of a question that was not national but purely dynastic. He laid the whole matter before the legislative body, and here indulged in such warlike threats that war could no longer be avoided. Breaches of tact and instances of insolence towards Prussia and her king followed one another. Roughly speaking, the conduct of France towards Prussia greatly resembled the situation from 1805-1806, but with this difference—that King William's father had taken up arms only after allowing a series of insolences to be heaped upon him, while the son at the very first manifestation of France's ambitious madness had taken up the gauntlet. But the same fate was intended for him. "Submission or war," rang the word in the Tuileries. And if Prussia had conceded the first submission the second would have followed in a few weeks, and so on continuously till finally the son like his father would have had to begin the war all the same, under perhaps far more unfavourable conditions. For the aim of Gramont's policy was conquest, the seizure of Belgium and Luxemburg or of the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, or both together; for the annexation of the one implied also that of the other, and the much-talked-of extension of the French rule as far as the Rhine from Bâle to its mouth would then be an accomplished fact. Since Prussia had refused any treaty of alliance with France, an attempt was now to be made to see whether the aggrandisement of France could not be effected in war with Prussia instead of in alliance with Prussia.

Although the Spanish ministers and ambassadors asserted in the most positive terms that they had never negotiated with the Prussian government, but

only with Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern; although everyone knew that this prince occupied an entirely independent position, and in a question like that of accepting the Spanish throne it was not the part of the king of Prussia either to command or forbid; although in any case the occupation of the Spanish throne by a German prince was of no conceivable benefit to Prussia and at the very most secured but the negative advantage that then a Franco-Spanish alliance, such as had been planned in the year 1868 between Isabella and Napoleon, would be relegated to the domain of impossibilities—yet from the very first the French government put the person of the Prussian king into the foreground, made him responsible for the whole quarrel, treated the whole matter as a purely Prussian and indeed dynastic intrigue, and thus deprived the king of the possibility of a peaceful arrangement.

Events followed one another with unexampled swiftness and precision. On the 4th of July Gramont caused the French *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin to question the secretary of state, Thile, on the subject of the candidature for the throne; and received for answer that this affair was absolutely no concern of Prussia's. The same day Gramont charged the Prussian ambassador at Paris, Freiherr von Werther, who was just about to start for Ems, to tell the king that the French government expected that he would induce Prince Leopold to refuse the crown offered him by Spain, and that France made this a question of war. On the 6th of July, without waiting for a word from Ems, Gramont in the legislative body answered the interpellation made on the preceding day by saying: "We do not consider that respect for the rights of a neighbouring people obliges us to endure that a foreign power, by placing one of her princes on the throne of Charles V, should disturb the present balance in Europe and be enabled to endanger the interests and honour of France. We hope that this eventuality will not be realised; in this we rely on the wisdom of the German and the friendship of the Spanish people. If it should turn out otherwise, we should be compelled to do our duty, without hesitation and without weakness, strong in your support and that of the nation." At the same time warlike preparations were set in hand both by land and sea, and the French press assumed towards Prussia such a tone as might have led the reader to suppose that the latter country had already a second Jena behind it.

Benedetti's Mission

The French ambassador to the court of Berlin, Count Benedetti, was then sojourning at the baths of Wildbad, in the Black Forest region of Wurtemberg. On the 7th of July he received from Gramont telegraphic instructions to proceed instantly to Ems. On the 9th of July he had his first audience of the king, and demanded in the name of his government that the king should issue a command to Prince Leopold to recall his acceptance of the Spanish crown. The king answered that he had neither commanded the prince to accept the crown, nor could command him to take back his word. This answer was regarded by the French government as a mere evasion, and it again emphasised the exclusive responsibility of the king. Then, on the 12th of July, a telegram from the castle of Sigmaringen was published, which announced the withdrawal of Prince Leopold from the candidature for the Spanish throne. With this the conflict seemed laid aside and all solid grounds for it done away with. Indeed, on the 8th and 10th of July, Gramont had said in conversation with the English ambassador that the matter could find its simplest and happiest solution in the voluntary retirement of the prince; and on the receipt of the Sigmaringen telegram the minister of justice, Ollivier, had immediately sent round a declaration to the deputies that this closed the incident.

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But what about the war by which it was hoped to win back France's lost prestige? Gramont therefore went a step farther, though he might have told himself that if France did not content herself with the prince's withdrawal, but instituted still further demands, she would be taking on herself the whole responsibility of the question of war, and must allow the judgment to be passed on her that she was not working for peace but for war. Would the question then remain a purely dynastic one? Or would it not rather become a national one which might set half Europe in flames?

Indifferent to such considerations, Gramont preserved his dictatorial demeanour. On the 12th of July he said to the Prussian ambassador who had just returned from Ems: "The prince's abdication is a minor affair; in any case France would never have suffered him to ascend the throne: the main thing now is to allay the ill feeling excited by his candidature and to quiet the excitement among the French people; with this object the king of Prussia should write the emperor a letter which may be published, saying that the king in authorising the prince to accept the Spanish crown could not have supposed that he was touching too closely the interests and honour of the French nation, and that he acquiesces in the prince's abdication with the wish and hope that any grounds of a breach between the two governments may thus disappear." Freiherr von Werther had at least sufficient tact not to telegraph so shamefully unreasonable a demand direct to the king as Gramont wished, but not enough to reject it altogether and leave to Gramont himself the form in which it was to be presented. He sent an official report of it to Count Bismarck, and the latter returned no answer whatever, made no attempt to lay the report before the king, and immediately gave the ambassador leave of absence.

After the conversation with the Prussian ambassador, Gramont commissioned Count Benedetti by telegram to demand of the king that he would expressly signify his approval of Prince Leopold's renunciation, and give assurance that he would never give his consent to any future candidature of the prince of Hohenzollern. Benedetti executed this commission in a very tactless fashion, in the morning of the 13th of July, on the Brunnenpromenade at Ems. The king answered that he could indorse the renunciation only as a private person, not as king of Prussia, but that in the interests of Prussia he must emphatically refuse any engagement for the future in this and all other matters. When, a few hours later, Benedetti requested a fresh audience in order to discuss the same subject once more, the king sent a message to say that he must not return to the subject: he had already spoken his last word on the matter; if the ambassador could not let it rest he must turn to the Prussian ministry of foreign affairs. On the evening of the 13th of July the proceedings at Ems were communicated to the Prussian ambassadors at foreign courts by the Prussian government in a telegram which merely stated the facts, and were brought to the knowledge of the German nation in an extra edition of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the organ of Count Bismarck.

This firm, manly attitude on the part of the king ill suited the plans of the French war party. The news spread by Benedetti roused great excitement and confusion in Paris. Some held the conflict at an end; others who had already gone too far were unwilling to retreat, and preferred to plunge the dynasty and the country into a very hazardous war rather than have it said of them that they had again laid demands before Prussia and had again received an unfavourable answer; so that, in fine, it was not the king of Prussia but themselves who had suffered a humiliation. Napoleon wavered. For a cause like this to begin war with the united power of the North German Confederation, perhaps even with all Germany, appeared to him a dangerous proceeding. For a long time he could come to no decision, listened while all and

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sundry gave their views, and brooded over them in his wonted fashion. In a short time peace was all but decided on. But in the night of the 14th to the 15th of July, in which the decisive sitting of the ministerial council was held at St. Cloud, the ministers Gramont and Lebœuf, both anxious for war, and the empress Eugénie, instigated and instructed by the Jesuits, urged on the emperor no longer to take these perpetual rebuffs and humiliations from Prussia but, for the safety of his throne, which rested on the respect of the French people, to declare war, and in alliance with the great Catholic nations fall on heretic Germany. The emperor finally yielded, manifestly with a heavy heart, and the empress cried triumphantly: "This is my war! With God's help we will overthrow Protestant Prussia."

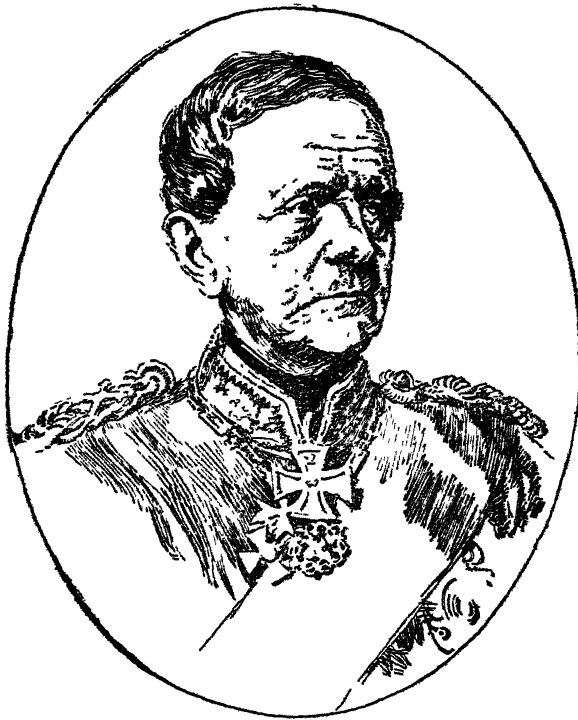
In the sitting of the senate and legislative body, on the 15th of July, an official memorial was issued by the ministers Gramont and Ollivier—the latter of whom, though no enemy to Germany and averse to war, had been drawn along by his colleagues. In this memorial the facts of what had passed at Ems were completely distorted. It spoke of an affront to Count Benedetti, who had been shown the door, and of a telegram to the foreign powers, damaging to the honour of France, and it drew attention to the Prussian preparations for war which had been already begun on the 14th of July. In consequence of this the government had summoned the reserves and was about to take further measures. At the same time a demand for credit for the army and navy and a law concerning the summoning of the *garde mobile* to active service and the enrolment of volunteers were brought in. The senate approved unanimously all the demands of the government; the legislative body granted the credit for the army by 245 to 10 votes and the rest of the demands with only one dissentient voice. It was in vain that a few members of the opposition, who saw through the ministerial web of lies, pointed out that the king had done all that could be expected of him and that no actual affront could be cited; in vain they demanded that the despatch containing an affront to France should be laid before them as evidence; in vain did Thiers, who for years had worked on the vanity of the French nation and incited them to war, declare that the occasion for war had been unskilfully chosen and that the preparations for war were not complete: the ministers of the Bonapartist majority shouted down these individual warning voices. On the evening of this day a mob of ragged men was to be heard calling in the streets of Paris, "To Berlin—to Berlin!" and the official press spoke of the defeat of Prussia and the seizure of the left bank of the Rhine as a matter of course. The official declaration of war was handed to the Prussian government by the French *chargé d'affaires* on the 19th of July.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR OF 1870

France had spoken. After the ballot of the 15th of July no one could say that it was only the emperor who had desired war. Since the senate unanimously and the legislative body by 245 to 10 votes had declared for the proposals, all the people's representatives—that is, the whole country—were responsible for the war. In Germany the gauntlet which had been flung down was accepted with determination, even with enthusiasm. There was no more talk of a dynastic war. Since Gramont had not contented himself with Prince Leopold's resignation, though this had gone so far as to ask of the king the despatch of a letter of excuse to be published before all the world and the formal promise to keep the house of Hohenzollern forever out of Spanish affairs—everyone in Germany perceived that the question of the Hohenzollern candidature was a side issue, that the real question was war at any price, that its object was interference in

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German affairs, destruction of the process of unification, and annexation of German territory. Consequently all Germany felt the humiliation intended for the king as one destined for the whole country, looked on the war as wholly national, and indulged the hope that the time had now come for completing the work of 1866 and at the same time paying off the grudges of a



VON MOLTKE
(1800-1891)

century. The aim of 1866, the foundation of German unity, had been defeated by France's intervention; France meant that the new war should render this interference permanent and all-powerful, but the German nation was determined to utilise this war for the completion of her own unity. As in the year 1866 the Schleswig-Holstein question gave an opportunity for a war of Prussia with Austria and her allies, but immediately widened into a German question, so in 1870 the question of union was the inducement to the war between France and Germany; and with the first hopes of victory, and completely with the first victories, this question irrevocably broadened into an Alsace-Lorraine question.

A war in which such great possessions were at stake was the more popular in Germany since there men were for the moment keenly aware of what a serious block the process of German unification had come to. The hopes set on the customs parliament had not been fulfilled, thanks to the south German fraction and the governments which stood behind it; it seemed that a full parliament would never proceed from this customs parliament unless external conditions were to give a fresh turn to affairs; the political condition of Bavaria and Wurtemberg was such that a union of these states with the North Ger-

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man Confederation had been relegated to an incalculable distance, and even the stoutest hearts despaired of living to see this union. On the contrary, a backward step had to be taken; for the clericals and democrats of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were in a fair way to get the better of their governments, and so to procure the abrogation of the treaties with Prussia and bring on the scenes a wonderful mixture of state institutions compounded according to the ideas of those who favoured the union of church and state, republican principles, and the confederation of the Rhine, and this southern confederation would not appear as an alliance in aid of north Germany but as an alliance against her, relying on Austria on the one hand and on the other on France.

Such was the state of affairs in Germany when Gramont seized the occasion for war, and by his manner of doing so provided for the sudden removal of the obstacles in the way of German unity, so that all that great Germany which extends from the Kongs-Aa to the Alps rose up and sang the *Wacht am Rhein*. And it did not stop at singing. The most decisive steps followed one after the other. As early as the 12th of July Bismarck and Moltke came to Berlin and conferred with the ministers. On the 13th Bismarck declared to the English ambassador that the king had already shown far too much rather than too little moderation, and that it was now Prussia's turn to require France to take back her threatening language and give an explanation of her warlike preparations.

The Army is Mobilised

On the 15th of July the king left Ems and returned to Berlin. His journey was a triumphal progress; wherever he stopped he received patriotic addresses and replied to them. The crown prince, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon came to Brandenburg to meet him. In Berlin a vast throng of people awaited the king's arrival. It took place shortly before nine o'clock in the evening, and only now, at the railway station in Berlin, did the king learn that in Paris the decision had already been submitted to the two chambers. On the evening of July 15th the king resolved on the mobilisation of the army, on the 16th directions were given for precautionary measures on the northern coasts, and the council of the North German Confederation was summoned to an extraordinary sitting. A resolute acceptance of the arrogant challenge was unanimously agreed upon by the representatives of the states of the confederation. On the 19th of July King William opened the north German diet. The speech from the throne was full of lofty patriotism, boldness, and confidence:

"If in former centuries Germany has borne in silence such violations of her rights and her honour, she did so only because in her distracted state she knew not how strong she was. To-day when the bond of spiritual and legal unity, which the wars of liberation began to twine, is ever drawing the German races more closely together; to-day when Germany's armour no longer offers a weak spot to the enemy, Germany bears within herself the will and the power to cope with new acts of French violence. And since the allied governments are conscious that all honour permits has been done to preserve to Europe the blessings of peace, and since it is indubitably manifest to all eyes that the sword has been forced into our hands, with so much the more confidence do we turn, strengthened by the united support of the German governments alike of the south and north, to the patriotism and readiness for sacrifice of the German people, with the summons to the defence of their honour and their independence." On the 21st of July the diet unanimously granted the £24,000,000 required by the government. On the 29th Bismarck published the various proposals offered by France as the basis of a treaty in 1866 and

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1867, and thus disclosed to Germany and the foreign powers the plans of conquest cherished by the Napoleonic government.

The south German governments had already received this information and had been able to conclude that in dealing with so faithless a power as France, they would if they preserved their neutrality have absolutely no guarantee that they would remain uninjured, but that on the contrary it was far more likely that on the conclusion of peace an understanding would be arrived at at their expense. This made them all the more ready to adhere to their resolution, faithfully and honourably to observe the treaties of alliance. On the 16th of July King Ludwig of Bavaria gave orders for the mobilisation of the army, and the chamber of deputies did not hearken to the committee, composed chiefly of ultramontanes and their spokesman Dr. Jorg, which brought in a motion in favour of an armed neutrality, but to the demands of honour and good faith, and on the 19th of July, by 101 to 47 votes it granted the sum of 18,260,000 florins for the purpose of equipping and maintaining the army. The Reichsrath chamber unanimously agreed to this resolution.

In Wurtemberg, after the Bavarians had shown the way, the democrats and "great Germans" ventured on no further opposition. They saw how almost the whole country had laid aside its hatred of Prussia to attend to the matter in hand, and agreed to the resolutions passed in an assembly of the people at Stuttgart on the 16th of July whereby the government was requested to take part in the national war. King Charles, returning from Switzerland on the 17th of July, immediately issued an order for mobilisation, and the chambers, summoned on the 21st of July, granted the required credit on the 22nd—the second chamber by eighty-five votes to one, the first unanimously. At the same time the king appointed the Prussian lieutenant-general Von Prittwitz, who in the forties had conducted the building of the fortress of Ulm, governor of that fortress; and the Prussian lieutenant-general Von Oberritz, formerly military plenipotentiary in Stuttgart, commander of the Wurtemberg troops. In Hesse the minister, Von Dalwigk, hard as it was for him to do so, had to ask the chamber for a credit. It was unanimously granted. The grand duke of Baden, knowing himself in harmony with the wishes of his people, ordered a mobilisation of the army on the 16th of July, and on the 22nd sent the French ambassador his passports. On the 16th communication between Kehl and Strasburg was interrupted by the withdrawal of the bridge of boats and the removal of the rails from the railway bridge, and on the 22nd any possibility of a surprise by rail was destroyed by the blowing up of a pier of the railway bridge.

The day previously, on the groundless rumour that explosive bullets had been distributed to the troops of Baden, an official of the French ministry had informed the ambassador of Baden in Paris that if this were so France would resort to reprisals, would regard Baden as outside the pale of the law of nations, and would waste the country as had been done in Melac's time, not even sparing the women.

Thus by the 22nd of July the whole of Germany, the south as well as the north, was resolved on a great and decisive struggle, and a national enthusiasm, an emulous co-operation, a self-devoted zeal for sacrifice, such as had never before been seen in Germany, were shown amongst all races and all orders of the population. "Now or never!" was the watchword of the whole nation; to repel the enemy whose challenge had been given with such arrogant brutality was the first aim; if this were attained the political union of Germany, as yet still split up into small sections, would certainly follow, and the centre of Europe would then be occupied by a nation respected for its intellectual cultivation and dreaded for the steadfast commanding force of its arms.

It was the idea of being now able to attain these objects by a single blow

which lent the German movement of 1870 that marvellous impetus, equipped the soldiers with such incredible bravery and endurance, and made victory appear to them as an absolute command of duty and necessity. From all sides, even from the most distant lands, volunteers had hastened to the country, the most desirable posts were forsaken by young men engaged in manufactures and trades, and the lecture rooms of the universities by the lecturers and students, all with the one sole object of preserving their fatherland. "Germany before everything," was the proud word with which the *Landwehr* seized the rifle, and he who was left behind sought to heal the wounds of war.

At no time and amongst no people was care so patriotically and magnanimously bestowed on the wounded and those who remained behind, on the families of the reservists and the *Landwehr*, as was done by the German people throughout the war, without remission and without neglect. State, general, and private resources were brought into play. Private persons also gave large sums for remarkable deeds performed during the war. On the 19th of July the King of Prussia renewed for the whole German army the order of the Iron Cross, which his father had founded.

German Military Plans

The excellence of the Prussian military institutions, the exactness of Moltke's plan of campaign which went into the minutest details, and in co-operation with it the energetic military administration of Roon, made it possible for considerable masses to take the field at the outset, so that the mobilisation for which orders were given on the 16th of July was completed by the evening of the 26th, that is, in eleven days; and eight days later the German army had already taken up its position on the left bank of the Rhine. The strength of the German army was 1,183,389 men and 250,373 horses.

On the supposition that the French could not effect a rapid mobilisation, and be the first to take the offensive and cross the Rhine, Moltke's plan provided that the first army under General Steinmetz should march from its place of assembly at Coblenz to the Saar at Saarbrücken; the second army, under Prince Frederick Charles, should also take the direction from Bingen and Mainz towards the Saar at Saarbrücken and Saargemünd; whilst the third army under the crown prince of Prussia marched from Mannheim and Rastatt towards the Lauter in the northeastern angle of Alsace. The further plan was that the crown prince, whose army, according to the first disposition, already stood near the French border, should begin the campaign, hurl the right wing of the French position across the Vosges, and advance as far as the Moselle; that at the same time Prince Frederick Charles and Steinmetz should push the French forces, which had taken up a position before Metz, back on that fortress, cut off their retreat to Châlons or Paris, deliver a decisive battle at Metz, either throw back the beaten foe into the fortress or drive him towards the northern border, and so lay open the way to Paris for the third army and the other troops that could be disposed of. This plan was as skilful as it was bold, and in the main the military operations followed the course intended.

Besides these three armies, with thirteen army corps, at the time of the first disposition there were still three and a half army corps with about 112,000 men as a first reserve in Germany. Of these the first and second army corps, which were intended to oppose a body of French and Danish troops sent to land on the north coast, were summoned to the battle-ground of Metz soon after the first victories, whilst the sixth army corps, which covered Silesia against Austria, then mustering her troops, in the month of August joined the army of the crown prince, and similarly in September the seventeenth division

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marched towards France, where it was subsequently to display a glorious activity on the Loire.

The provinces lying near the seat of war and the coast districts of the North Sea and the Baltic were declared to be in a state of war; five governors-general were appointed for them, and General Vogel von Falckenstein, who had won fame in the campaign on the Main in 1866, was appointed governor of Prussia, Pomerania, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hanover. The seventeenth division and the other *Landwehr* divisions set apart for the defence of the coast districts were under the command of the grand duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

The commanders of the three great armies left Berlin on the 26th of July for the appointed places of assembly of their troops. On the 31st of July the king of Prussia, who held the chief command over all the German forces, left his residence at Berlin. He was accompanied by Count Bismarck and generals Moltke and Roon. On the morning of the 2nd of August he entered Mainz. Here the general headquarters had been erected, and from here a proclamation was issued to the German army. Here in the general headquarters and there in the three great armies was concentrated the whole force of Germany. The gaze of the whole German people was directed towards the Rhine and the Saar; anxious, but confident, it expected the first tidings.

French Plans; Outline of the War

It is characteristic of the peculiarities of French diplomacy that France, which could have deferred the outbreak of the war until she was ready to strike, had declared war at a time in which she was so far behindhand with her preparations that not only was an offensive advance out of the question, but also an adequate defence. Already the attitude of south Germany had greatly thwarted Napoleon's plans. Imagining the wrongheadedness of the ultramontanes and democrats to be irresistible, he had a firm belief in the neutrality of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and had now to learn on the 16th and 17th of July that the order for mobilisation had already been given there. To prevent the union of the south German troops with the north German, he wished to execute a part of Niel's plan of campaign and by the rapidity of his operations to make up for what his troops lacked in numbers. The strength of the German field force he reckoned at 559,000 men, that of his own at 300,000. This almost double superiority of the enemy he hoped to reduce to a considerable extent by a swift and powerful attack; 150,000 men were to assemble at Metz, 100,000 at Strasburg, 50,000 in the camp at Châlons. He would unite the first two armies, and at the head of 250,000 men would cross the Rhine at Maxau, place himself like an iron bar between north and south Germany, and reduce the south German states to neutrality, or perhaps even compel a new confederation of the Rhine. If this succeeded, he hoped to secure the alliance of Austria and Italy, with which favourable negotiations had already been opened, and then it would be time to look for the Prussian army, which he reckoned as at most 350,000 men, and subdue them by means of the proverbial *élan* of his victorious troops. Meantime the 50,000 men assembled at Châlons were to march towards Metz, to cover the rear of the operating army and watch the northeastern frontier, and the appearance of the French fleet in the North Sea and the Baltic, with the French troops to be landed with their Danish auxiliaries, would retain a portion of the Prussian forces in the coast districts.

The execution of this plan was possible only if Napoleon could cross the Rhine with 250,000 men at the very moment of declaring war. But there were at that time only 100,000 men in Metz, in Strasburg only 40,000; in

Onions two divisions were missing, artillery and cavalry were not ready for service, not a single army corps had a complete field equipment, and when Napoleon gave orders to hasten the arrival of the missing regiments, obedience was only indolently rendered on the plea that Algeria, Paris, and Lyons could not be denuded of garrisons. But other necessities were also wanting. Great stores of provisions, munitions, and equipments had been collected, but unfortunately not where they were needed. The railway administrations were not organised for and not accustomed to such colossal transports of men and stores. Consequently there was huge confusion; the railway stations were overflowing with materials required for the war, while the fortresses were suffering for want of them.

In such a state of affairs there was no question of executing Napoleon's plan of campaign and taking the offensive. With this, other hopes fell to the ground: south Germany completed her military union with the north, troops for landing might well be hard to produce when there was a lack of land forces, and the conclusion of alliances with Denmark, Austria, and Italy probably depended on the question of who should gain the first successes. The desire for an invasion of Schleswig-Holstein and other Prussian territories was not wanting in Denmark; but the recollection of the blows of 1864 was still too keen for the Danes to venture on any sort of hostilities before the appearance of at least 40,000 French troops for the landing and before Napoleonic successes were announced. In Austria, where, ever since the Salzburg interview negotiations had been going on for an alliance with France, the moment for war was indeed regarded as very ill-chosen; but the war party, strengthened by Beust's intrigues and by hatred for Bismarck, still thought it inexpedient not to take advantage of the opportunity to humiliate Prussia and recover the Habsburg position in Germany, and gave a promise that the preparations for war should be immediately taken in hand, and after their completion, in the month of September, war should be declared against Prussia and the Austrian troops should march into Germany. A formal treaty of alliance between France and Austria had been already drawn up at St. Cloud and awaited signature; but this never took place; for the mobilisation could not be effected so quickly in Vienna as at Berlin, and before preparations were completed the temple of St. Cloud was already behind lock and key.

Italy occupied the peculiar position of having both France and Prussia for her allies. To the latter she owed the possession of Lombardy, to the former that of Venetia. Thus the necessity of Italy's neutrality was a foregone conclusion. Yet it appears that the king and a notable party of generals and statesmen might have been won over by Napoleon if he had assured them the delivery of Rome into their hands as the price of the alliance. Perhaps at this price alone could the dislike of the parliamentary opposition to a French alliance have been overcome. But Napoleon, in whose military programme the Pope and the Jesuits played so important a part, rejected the request of the Italian government; Italy then remained neutral and seized the favourable opportunity to take what she wanted herself. The events of 1866 were here repeated in their results.

Thus France was isolated. She had begun the war by herself, and must also go through with it alone. The fair speeches of French diplomatists and the later journey of the French statesman, Thiers, to London, Petersburg, Vienna, and Florence, changed nothing of this. All the states showed a marked preference for neutrality, though they did not all observe it very strictly—as, for example, England and the United States of North America, which provided the French ships with coal, and in the second stage of the war sold to the French army weapons, without which those in power would not have been able to continue the struggle. The Spanish government, which



NAPOLEON III AND BISMARCK ON THE MORNING AFTER SEDAN
(After the painting by Camphausen. Reproduced by permission of the Berlin Photographic Company, New York)

[1870 A.D.]

had been forbidden by Gramont's declarations to persist in the Hohenzollern candidature, showed very little sense of honour in face of this arrogance. It confirmed Prince Leopold's declaration of July 12th, declared that the whole affair no longer interested Spain, and the prime minister, Prim, looked about for another candidate. Only one state showed a regard for right and honour, and that was Russia. Germany went to war without a single ally, and might esteem herself fortunate that she had none; for in 1814 and 1815 she had had to perform the hardest part of the task, only to receive the most insignificant share of the booty and to see her most important and reasonable suggestions and demands treated as waste paper. In 1870 Germany was strong enough to enter alone on the struggle with France; if the struggle ended victoriously, she was also strong enough to turn a deaf ear to the urgent voices in favour of peace, and to keep at arm's length the compassionate brothers from London and other places while she dictated conditions of peace at her own discretion, and in this as in the war to act only in accordance with her own interests.

But still it was fortunate for Germany that she had some one to cover her rear and make it possible for her almost entirely to denude her eastern provinces of troops and bring whole army corps to the seat of war. It was the declaration made by the emperor Alexander at the beginning of the war which kept the sword of Austria and, perhaps, those of other states, in the sheath. He would, he said, remain neutral so long as the other powers did the same; but so soon as a third power joined in the war and appeared on the side of France he would likewise do his part and come forward as the ally of Prussia. By this firm attitude of the emperor Alexander the Franco-German War was localised and hindered from developing into a European one. If at any stage of the war Austria sent troops into Germany, the Russians would march into Austria and take the opportunity to revenge themselves for 1854. At the close of the war King William addressed a telegram on this subject to the emperor Alexander; it was dated the 27th of February, 1871, and ran thus: "Prussia will never forget that she owes it to you that the war did not assume the utmost dimensions."^f

The story of the war has already been told in our history of France (Volume XIII), and need not be repeated here. Every reader will recall the chief incidents of the brief but epoch-making conflict—the decisive engagement at Sedan, which resulted in the surrender of the French emperor; the capitulation of Bazaine at Metz; the investment and final capture of Paris. There are but two scenes in this dramatic story which we shall dwell upon here. One of these has to do with the victory of Sedan, through which the foundations were laid for all the successes that followed; the other depicts that culminating event in which King William of Prussia became Emperor William I of a united Germany. We shall introduce the picture of Sedan, not to add any new facts to the story as it has already been told in our earlier volume, but to illustrate the personal character of the Prussian king; for the account which we present is given in his own words, in three messages to his wife. These messages speak for themselves and make comment superfluous:^a

BEFORE SEDAN, September 2nd, 1:30 P.M.

TO QUEEN AUGUSTA AT BERLIN:

The capitulation by which the whole of the army in Sedan yield themselves prisoners of war has just been concluded with General Wimpffen, who takes command in place of Marshal MacMahon, wounded. The emperor surrendered only his own person to me, as he does not hold the command, and leaves everything to the regency at Paris. I shall settle his place of residence after I have spoken to him in a rendezvous which is to take place immediately.

What a turn of fortune, by God's providence!

WILHELM.

[1870 A.D.]

VENDRESSE, September 4th. 8 A.M.

What an agitating moment, that of the meeting with Napoleon! He was cast down, but dignified in bearing and resigned. I have assigned Wilhelmshöhe near Cassel to him as a residence. Our meeting took place in a little château in front of the western glacis of Sedan. You can imagine my reception by the troops! Indescribable! By the fall of dusk, 7.30, I had finished my five hours' ride, but did not get back here till one o'clock.

God help us farther!

WILHELM.

VENDRESSE, SOUTH OF SEDAN, September 3rd

TO QUEEN AUGUSTA AT BERLIN:

From my three telegrams you know the full magnitude of the great historic event that has come to pass! It is a dream, even to us who have seen it unfold from hour to hour.

When I reflect that I who, after one great and successful war, could not reasonably expect to witness anything more glorious in the course of my reign, now see this epoch-making act ensue, I humble myself before God who alone has chosen me, my army, and my allies, to bring that about which has come to pass and has appointed us the instruments of his will. This is the only light in which I can look upon it, and praise the mercy and guiding hand of God. Now listen to a description, in briefest outline, of the battle and its consequences.

On the evening of the 31st and the early morning of the 1st the army arrived at the positions it had been directed to take up round about Sedan. The Bavarians were on the left wing at Bazailles on the Maas, next to them were the Saxons, towards Moncelle and Daigny, the guards were on the march to Givonne, the 6th and 11th corps to St. Menges and Fleigneux. Here the Maas makes a sharp bend, so that no corps was posted between St. Menges and Donchery, but the Württembergers were at the latter place, where they served the further purpose of protecting the rear from sorties from Mézières. Count Stolberg's division of cavalry formed the right wing, on the plain of Donchery. On the front, towards Sedan, were the rest of the Bavarians.

In spite of the thick fog the fight began at Bazailles early in the morning, and gradually developed into a very fierce engagement, in which the houses had to be taken one by one, which lasted nearly the whole day, and in which Schöler's Erfurt division (from the reserve, 4th corps) had to lend a hand. When I reached the front of Sedan, at eight o'clock, the great battery was just opening fire upon the fortifications. A fierce artillery fight now arose on all sides, which lasted for hours, and during which our men gradually gained ground. The villages I have mentioned were taken.

Very deep ravines clothed with forest impeded the advance of the infantry and favoured defensive operations. The villages of Illy and Floing were taken and the circle of fire gradually contracted about Sedan. It was a magnificent sight from our position on a commanding height behind the battery I have mentioned, in front and to the right of Frénois and above Petit Torcy. The vigour of the enemy's resistance began to slacken by degrees, as we could see from the scattered battalions which hastily retreated at a run from the woods and villages. The cavalry attempted an attack on some of the battalions of our 5th corps, which behaved admirably; the cavalry dashed through the open spaces of the battalions, wheeled round, and came back the same way; this was done by three different regiments in turn, so that the ground was strewn with the bodies of men and horses—all of which we could see from our position. I have not yet been able to find out the number of this brave regiment.

In many places the enemy's retreat had resolved itself into flight, and infantry, cavalry, artillery, all were crowding into the town and its immediate neighbourhood, and yet there was no sign that the enemy purposed to extricate themselves from this desperate situation by capitulating, and consequently we had no choice but to bombard the town with the battery before spoken of. In about twenty minutes it was on fire in several places—which combined with the many burning villages within the area of the fight to present an awful spectacle—and I therefore silenced the fire and sent Lieutenant-Colonel Bronsart von Schellendorf from the staff with a white flag to parley and offer terms of capitulation to the fortress and army. He was met by a Bavarian officer despatched to tell me that a French officer with a flag of truce had appeared at the gates. Lieutenant-Colonel von Bronsart was admitted, and on asking for the general *en chef* was to his surprise taken to the emperor, who desired to intrust him with a letter for me. When the emperor inquired what his orders were and received the answer, "To call upon the army and fortress to surrender," he answered that on this point he must address himself to General von Wimpffen, who had just taken over the command from MacMahon, who was wounded, and that he himself would send his letter to me by Reille, his adjutant-general. It was seven o'clock when Reille and Bronsart arrived, the latter somewhat the earlier of the two, and from him we first learned the certainty of the emperor's presence. You can imagine the effect of the news upon all of us and on me above all! Reille sprang from his horse and handed me the emperor's letter, adding that he had no further orders. Before opening the letter I said to him, "But I require as a primary condition that the army shall lay down its arms." The letter begins, "*N'ayant pas pu mourir à la tête de mes troupes, je dépose mon épée à votre majesté*"; leaving everything else to me.

My answer was that I deplored the way in which we met and begged him to send an offi-

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cer with full powers to conclude a capitulation. By two o'clock on the morning of the 2nd no word had come from Moltke concerning the negotiations for capitulation which was to have taken place at Donchery, and I therefore drove to the battle-field at eight in the morning, as had been agreed, and met Moltke, who was coming to me to get my assent to the capitulation proposals, and who informed me at the same time that the emperor had left Sedan at five in the morning and had come to Donchery too. As he wished to see me, and there was a little château in the neighbourhood with a park, I chose that as our meeting-place. At ten o'clock I reached the heights in front of Sedan, at twelve Moltke and Bismarck appeared with the deed of capitulation executed, at one o'clock I started off with Fritz, accompanied by the cavalry staff officers. I dismounted in front of the château, where the emperor came to meet me. The visit lasted a quarter of an hour, we were both deeply moved at meeting again thus

What I felt, who had seen Napoleon at the height of his power only three years ago, I cannot describe. After this interview I rode through the whole of the army before Sedan, which took from two-thirty to seven-thirty. I cannot describe to you to-day my reception by the troops nor the meeting with the decimated guard; I was profoundly moved by so many proofs of love and devotion. Now farewell, with a heart full of emotion at the end of a letter like this!

WILHELM. g

These despatches and this letter, as Sheibert,^g from whose work we quote them, says, "show forth the noble and devout spirit of the German monarch, and the feeling of the times." It is not difficult to imagine the excitement which such news created in Germany.^a Berlin gave way to a tumult of joy. Crowds swarmed in front of the royal palace, sung the national hymn, and gave vent to their joy by shouting "Hurrah! *Hoch! Hoch!*" and in every possible way. Her majesty the queen herself came out upon the balcony, ordered a chamberlain to read aloud the king's despatch once more, and constantly waved her handkerchief to the assembled people.

The monument to King Frederick II opposite the palace was gorgeously decorated with flowers, and a boy had climbed to the very top in order to crown the statue with a wreath. Arrested in this act by the police, he was nevertheless immediately after summoned by one of the royal lackeys to the queen, who regarded his patriotic venture from another aspect, and rewarded him with a cup full of hard thalers. For hours together the people swarmed in front of the palace, all of them wishing to see the queen.^b

KING WILLIAM PROCLAIMED EMPEROR (JANUARY 18TH, 1871)

This was in September. The other great dramatic episode to which we have referred took place four months later at Versailles, whilst the army of invasion lay about the doomed city of Paris.^a Following the lead of the grand duke Frederick of Baden, the south German states had approached the North German Confederation, or rather put their hands into the one which was offered to them. Already at the end of October began the negotiations at Versailles, where little by little the structure was built up which we now call the German Empire.

Baden and Giessen concluded on the 15th, Bavaria on the 23rd, and Würtemberg on the 25th of November the treaties of union, to which separate treaties with Baden and Würtemberg containing special conventions regarding the army were added. And in the first days of the New Year the decree was to go forth concerning this structure, and King William, the leader of the German army, was to be proclaimed emperor of Germany. On New Year's Day the official announcement of the foundation of the German Empire had been made; on the 18th of January the great day of commemoration for the Hohenzollern-Prussian dynasty, the solemn proclamation of the emperor was to take place. All the generals of the troops which were in the neighbourhood, as well as delegations from the different regiments, assembled with their flags in the "Hall of Mirrors" in the old royal castle at Versailles, in which

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plans had so often been made for the destruction of Germany; and here, in the midst of the armed and unarmed representatives of the German nation and its princes, old King William accepted the German imperial crown. The resounding shouts which hailed the German emperor found an enthusiastic echo in the fields beyond and at home in the new German Empire.

But to the German army the following order of the day was addressed by the emperor:

On this day, memorable for me and my house, I, supported by all German princes and with the consent of all German peoples, assume in addition to the dignity of king of Prussia which I inherited, by God's grace the dignity of German emperor. It is owing to your bravery and steadfastness in this war, for which I have repeatedly expressed to you my fullest appreciation, that the work of the internal unity of Germany has been hastened—a result you have fought for at the risk of your blood and of your lives. Always remember that the sentiment of honour, faithfulness, comradeship, courage, and obedience make an army great and victorious; keep up these old traditions, and the "fatherland" will always look upon you with pride as it does to-day and you will always be its strong arm.

(Signed)

WILLIAM.

VERSAILLES, January 18th, 1871.

"Feelings not to be expressed were inspired in us," says a hearer, "when these simple yet forcible words which spoke such great things to us were read out. All toils, all fatigues were forgotten. A change of world-wide import had taken place in our own vicinity and by our means—a change whose consequences we were not yet able to measure, only to guess at. The humiliation of centuries had been wiped out, a deep-seated longing of all Germans had found its fulfilment. Strongly united the German races stood there: a powerful German emperor once again held the protecting sword over the German land. And we had helped to bring all this about by our own toilsome labours during the war; the great object had been attained. If now, after the lapse of years, we wish to recall the feelings of that great day, we shall scarcely succeed; the enthusiasm of that time was too great, the flight too high."

THE END OF THE WAR

On the day following the coronation of the German emperor Trochu made the last sortie from Paris with 100,000 men, but was everywhere driven back. On the 21st Trochu was deprived of his command, disturbances arose, and on the 23rd Jules Favre began the negotiations for surrender. On the 28th of January the convention was concluded before Versailles. The following were the terms of the armistice:

Article 1. A general armistice of twenty-one days is to begin; the line of demarcation is defined. Article 2. Elections are to take place for an assembly in Bordeaux. Article 3. All forts on the outer line of defence are to be surrendered. Article 4. During the armistice the German army shall not enter Paris. Article 5. The guns are to be removed from the ramparts. Article 6. The garrisons of Paris and the forts are prisoners of war. Article 7. The national guard is to retain its weapons and take charge of the protection of Paris. Articles 8 and 9. The provisioning of the town is permitted. Article 10. Stipulations concerning the surrender of the town. Article 11. The town is to pay 200,000,000 francs. Articles 12 and 13. Prohibition of the removal of valuables and the introduction of weapons. Article 14. Exchange of prisoners. Article 15. A postal service for unsealed letters is to be instituted.

In Germany 385,000 French soldiers were prisoners, in Paris 150,000, almost 100,000 in Belgium and Switzerland; 22,000 fortresses and 25 departments were in the hands of the Germans, besides a large quantity of war material. Nearly 1,000,000 Germans were on French soil. Yet although under



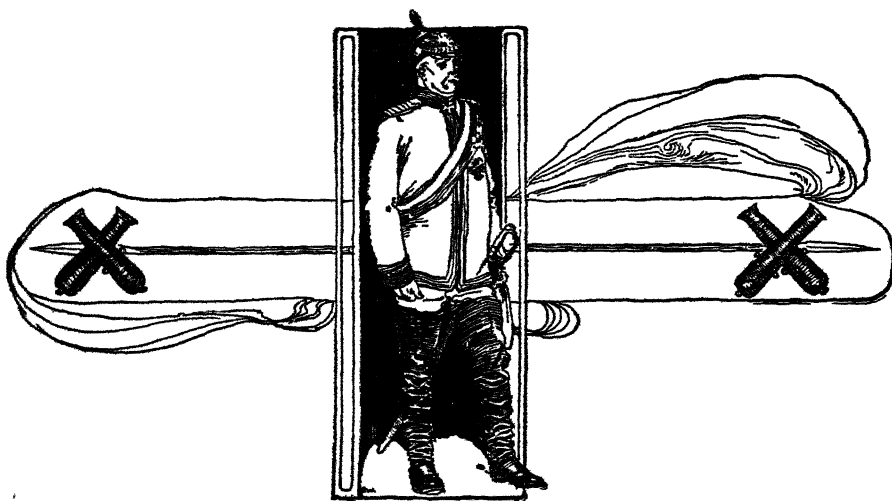
KING WILLIAM I OF PRUSSIA PROCLAIMED GERMAN EMPEROR AT VERSAILLES, JANUARY 18, 1871
(After the painting by Anton von Werner Reproduced by permission of the Berlin Photographische Company, New York)

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such circumstances the continuation of the war was a folly, Gambetta protested against the armistice and sought to put difficulties in the way of the elections; but on the 6th of February he resigned. On the 13th the national assembly in Bordeaux was opened and elected Thiers head of the government. On the 21st of February he appeared at Versailles, where extremely excited negotiations took place. Thiers, who was anxious to save Metz, Belfort, and several milliards, won England's intercession for the latter, and obtained the relinquishment of Belfort and some milliards. On the 26th of February the preliminaries were signed by Bismarck, the Bavarian minister Von Bray, the Württemberg minister Von Wachter, the Badenese minister Jolly, and Thiers and Favre.

Article 1. Alsace, except Belfort, German Lorraine with Metz, are to be surrendered. Article 2. Five milliards of francs are to be paid, one at least in the course of the year 1871, the rest in the course of three years. Article 3. The evacuation to begin after the ratification by the national assembly, but as a pledge six departments with Belfort to remain occupied by fifty thousand men. Articles 4 and 6. Stipulations concerning the maintenance of the troops, commercial facilities for the districts surrendered, and permission to emigrate from them, and restoration of prisoners. Article 7. The definitive peace to be considered at conferences at Brussels. Articles 8 and 10. Stipulations concerning the administration of the conquered districts and concerning the ratifications. In two supplementary conventions it was agreed that on the 1st of March a portion of Paris should be occupied by thirty thousand German soldiers. On the 1st and 2nd of March a parade was held at Longchamps; the troops made their entry undisturbed, though Eugénie had begged by telegram that this might be omitted. The rest of the troops were also allowed to enter without arms for the purpose of inspecting the city. On the 2nd of March the preliminaries were ratified, and on the 3rd the evacuation took place. On the 7th the emperor William I quitted Versailles.





CHAPTER XII

GERMANY SINCE 1871

THE overthrow of the first European power and the establishment of a German central power were bound to have a decisive significance for European relations. This was already apparent during the war. After the catastrophe of the Napoleonic empire, Rome, which had been evacuated by the French at the end of July, was occupied by the Italians on the 20th of September, 1870, this being the crowning point of their national unification. By a note of the 1st of October, however, Russia broke the treaty securing the neutrality of the Black Sea, the chief accomplishment of the Crimean War, and united her relations with Germany more closely, as was in harmony with the personal inclination of the emperor Alexander II and the interests of both empires. But Austria, too, abandoned the policy she had followed since 1866 and drew nearer to the German Empire, and as early as September, 1871, both emperors met in Salzburg for the first time since 1865. Moreover, after the retirement of Count Beust on the 1st of November, 1871, his successor, Count Julius Andrassy, maintained the attitude assumed by his predecessor, under stress of political necessity, with the deepest conviction. And so at the meeting of the three emperors in Berlin in September, 1872, most brilliant expression was found for the close understanding between the three eastern powers in the "league of the three emperors" (*Dreikaiserbündnis*). Italy, too, liberated from the oppression of French supremacy, made friendly overtures to the league of the three emperors, and King Victor Emmanuel of Italy exchanged visits with the rulers of Germany and of Austria (1873 and 1875). For two decades the pivot of European policy was in the German capital.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

Not to dominate Europe, however, but to win peace for Germany and Europe was the motive actuating Prince Bismarck in his manipulation of German superiority—a policy of unexampled moderation after unexampled

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victories, which made it difficult for the world to grow accustomed to believe in him. But peace rested on the fact that France was kept in that isolated position into which the war had plunged her, for only thus was her burning desire for revenge to be cooled. Under the guidance of Adolphe Thiers she rose with surprising power from the depths of her destruction. He retired on the 24th of May, 1873, under the presidency of Marshal MacMahon, the "gloriously defeated hero" of Sedan; it was now attempted to restore the monarchy of the house of Bourbon-Orleans in the person of Henri, Comte de Chambord; but the plan failed in October, 1873, and the tottering French Republic steadied itself, and on the resignation of the marshal, whose views were really monarchical, on the 30th of January, 1879, it put at the helm honourable adherents of its own, like Jules Grévy and Léon Gambetta. Certainly it founded no general democracy, but rather a moneyed oligarchy of stockbrokers and advocates, in which, side by side with the financial interests of the different groups of adventurers, the principal sources of opposition between clericalism and the religious liberalism of the free-thinkers contended with one another, and all that was left to unite them in a single idea was the lust for revenge. But France did not acquire the capability to command alliance.

This state of affairs began to change its aspect when Germany's relation to Russia grew looser, for in Russia the influence of the Panslavists grew stronger and stronger; they thought to erect a radical democracy under the national despotism of the czar, and with it to reduce the "debased West" to the supremacy of the young Slav movement under the guidance of orthodox Russia; but for the attainment of this future ambition they recognised the German Empire and Austria as most serious obstacles. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 to 1878, a campaign for the liberation of the Christians in the Balkan states, led only to a partial success, for Austria and England were determined on war when the Russians stood before Constantinople in February, 1878, and the congress of Berlin (from June 13th to July 13th, 1878) under the presidency of Prince Bismarck compelled the Russians to content themselves with a moderate acquisition of territory in Asia, with the extension of their frontiers to the mouth of the Danube, and with the formation of two Bulgarian vassal states; they were even obliged to acquiesce in the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria (1878).

As all the deep rancour of the Russians was directed against Prince Bismarck, the "honest jobber" (*ehrlicher Mäkler*), he concluded a defensive alliance on the 7th of October, 1879, with Count Andrassy in Vienna. This German-Austrian defensive alliance provided that the two empires should assure each other full support in case one of them was attacked on two sides simultaneously (thus if Germany were so attacked by France and Russia); and in any war at least a friendly neutrality was to be observed. Thus the "further bond" (*weitere Bund*) planned in 1849, the national connection of Austria with the German confederate state, was brought to completion. It was renewed in 1883, and now brought Italy into the alliance. From this time the triple alliance of central Europe formed the strongest bulwark of the peace of Europe.

The emperor Alexander II was brutally murdered on the 13th of March, 1881. He was succeeded by his son Alexander III (1881 to 1894), and anti-German Panslavism now governed Russia. In spite of all this, Prince Bismarck yet understood not only how to preserve the alliance of the three emperors, but even on its expiration, on the 1st of April, 1884, to renew it in such a form that the three powers guaranteed to one another that they would preserve peace, and in case of dissension would attempt a peaceable settlement amongst one another. When this treaty also came to an end in 1887 and Austria refused to renew it in order to preserve a free hand over Turkey in the

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But, Prince Bismarck still succeeded in guaranteeing the friendly neutrality (in case of a collision with England) of Germany towards Russia for three years by a treaty with her, and similarly he secured for Germany the neutrality of Russia in case of a war with France, while he protected at the same time the interests of Austria and of Italy. Thus the German Empire powerfully maintained her position as an instrumental and so a leading power, and preserved peace for herself as well as for all Europe.

FERMENTATION OF NATIONALITIES

The same principle of nationalities, on which the new configuration of central Europe rested, had an inherently disintegrating effect upon ancient Austria, especially in her parliamentary organisation. While in Hungary the Magyars recklessly maintained the supremacy of their national existence and of their language, and encountered but little resistance from the Germans in Hungary, except from those brave Transylvanian Saxons who at all events maintained their Protestant German churches and schools, the Germans in the west part of the empire had neither the geographical nor the national consolidation necessary for the attainment of a great position in European affairs. So there continued to exist a state of affairs that hesitated between the Slav clerical federalist tendency and the German liberal centralist tendency. A short rule of the former party under Count Hohenwart (1871) was followed, after the retirement of Beust, when his successor, Count Andr ssy, took up office (14th of November, 1871), by the hegemony of Hungary which has prevailed from that time. In Austria it was succeeded during a series of years by the supremacy of German liberalism under the Auersperg ministry.

Acting in the spirit of centralism this ministry changed the Reichsrath from an assembly of delegates from the diets into a national assembly composed of direct representatives. The Czechs however obstinately refused to take part in it, and the ministry formally abandoned the concordat of 1874, without eradicating, it is true, the ultramontane sympathies of the clergy. Equally incapable was it of preventing the Czech population, which was favoured by an almost exclusively Czech clergy, by large land holdings and by the development of industry, from pushing farther and farther into the German border-districts of Bohemia and Moravia.

At last the German liberals themselves dug the grave of their supremacy; for, afraid of a strengthening of Slav superiority, they were short-sighted enough to oppose an occupation of Bosnia which was indispensable to the interests of the monarchy. The Auersperg ministry returned in February, 1879, and in August Count Edward Taaffe, a friend of the emperor's youth, led the government with a programme which aimed at the reconciliation of national differences by a policy of concession. When, further, the German liberals refused to pass the military law embodied in a proposal for the establishment of a ten years' peace, Taaffe for the first time granted in principle an official equality to the Czechs in the Bohemian and Moravian ordinance for the regulation of languages, of April, 1880, and replaced the German liberal members of his cabinet by Czechs and Poles. The Germans now drew closer together and attempted to protect by the German *Schulverein* their *Deutschthum*, but in Bohemia the opposing tendencies grew stronger from year to year. In 1882 the Czechs carried through the division of the University of Prague into two halves, and at the end of 1886 the German minority retired from the Bohemian diet. Also the Slovenes, a small peasant race without any written language, succeeded in impressing the Slav influence upon their schools.

This backward process of German culture before the advance of the less valuable semi-culture of small races was but imperfectly compensated for in

[1869-1899 A.D.]

the brilliant improvement of domestic concerns, the development of industry, chiefly in Bohemia, the expansion of a network of railways that grew thicker and thicker, the spread of trade especially in the Levant, the superb improvement of Vienna, etc.; and the sudden death of the talented crown prince, Archduke Rudolf, on the 30th of January, 1889, shrouded as it was in mystery, placed the future of the monarchy in a still more uncertain light. Finally, out of all this confusion the only points firmly established came to be the absolutely natural geographical and economic association of these masses of territory with one another, the old tradition of the coherence of the state, and the ruling house, especially the personality of the emperor Francis Joseph, who, although insisting on the clear emphasis of his will, has always known in a marvellous way how to produce the feeling that he was equally close to all his peoples.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL INTERESTS

Quite different was the impression made upon the Germans in the empire by the emperor William I and his imperial chancellor Prince Bismarck, who were regarded not only as the founders but also as the embodiment of the national greatness of Germany. For this Hohenzollern was a king from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. He combined a dignified majesty with willing mildness, a princely consciousness of his own qualities and an iron will with a simple modesty, an almost unerring knowledge of mankind with a touching devotion to his great counsellors, an honourable piety with a large-hearted tolerance, and even in his extreme old age he combined a tranquillity of demeanour with a wonderful capacity for projecting himself into the mysteries of new enterprises. Thus he acquired the unanimous veneration of all races and all circles, from the princely palace to the simple hut, and with every year he grew more firmly attached to the hearts of his Germans. But in Prince Bismarck the nation came more and more to recognise the mightiest embodiment of German character since Martin Luther. While he conducted the foreign policy, first of Prussia, then of the empire, with the most brilliant results, his inspired vision and his iron will made quite new paths for the inner development of the nation as well, so that attaching himself now to this party, now to that, changing his methods according to his circumstances and always victorious over all "frictions" even in court circles, he steadfastly and unceasingly pursued his sole aim: the greatness of his fatherland.

In constructing the empire like this, the national liberal party, that is to say, the heart of the property-owning bourgeois classes, was in the nature of things in the foreground; for in this party the yearning after national unity had been the liveliest, and the conservatives followed the new and daring flights of the great chancellor only after much hesitation. In this most doctrinaire of nations there grew up side by side two international parties, which were either hostile to the new national unity or indifferent to it. Separated from the adherents of Lassalle, whose programme was still national on the whole, A. Bebel and W. Liebknecht formed an international social democratic party under the influence of the London agitators Marx and Engel. In 1869 the programme of its "future state" (*Zukunftsstaat*) was announced at Eisenach; it included: "Cooperative production, a universal, equal and direct vote for all representative bodies at a majority of twenty years, direct legislation by the people, national defence, abolition of all indirect taxation, and a progressive income tax." With the rapid growth of national well-being, and the increased facilities for communication, above all with that "boon of the milliards" which covered the country with stock-companies of the most different

[The five milliards war indemnity paid by France to Germany after the war of 1870-71.]

kinds, and everywhere increased the demands on life, the labouring classes, the "fourth estate," acquired self-assurance and greed. They saw in social democracy that they were all the more represented, inasmuch as the liberalism of the bourgeois classes was still entirely removed from all thought of yielding state help for the grievous and undeniable needs of the fourth estate, in marked contrast with their frequent readiness to pursue their own self-seeking enterprises, and with their widespread material view of the world, in which terrestrial well-being was made to appear the highest of all blessings. Thus Bebel's teaching brought over even the adherents of Lassalle to the Eisenach programme in 1875, made common cause with his fellow-thinkers all over middle and western Europe, resulted in the formation of a great international league in September, 1877, and won, by means of restless and unscrupulous agitation, in debate and in the press, one seat after another in the Reichstag.

THE HIERARCHY OF THE CHURCH

If the social and economical interests may be seen here to have submerged the national instinct, so too this instinct in other circles was forced into the background by the hierarchy of the church. Even the German bishops after some opposition at the beginning had submitted to the new dogma of papal infallibility. The "old Catholic" movement which refused to go beyond what was laid down in the council of Trent was conducted by only a few scholars, like J. J. I. von Döllinger, J. H. Reinkens, J. von Schulte, and confined itself to narrow circles; the great mass of priests and laymen submitted to the dogma now expressly represented by the bishops.

At first Prince Bismarck had allowed this theoretical declaration of war by the papacy against the modern state to remain unnoticed. But immediately after the war Ludwig Windthorst and Peter Reichensperger formed a confessional Catholic party of sixty-three members for the Reichstag, the Centre party, in order thereby to furnish the interests of their church with such backing as they had lost by the secession of Austria from the German state community. They demanded restoration of the ecclesiastical state "freedom" of the church and the expansion of the empire on a "federative" basis. In June, 1871, the Prussian government abolished the Catholic section of the ministry of public instruction, because it had become a church weapon against the state, and an imperial law of December, 1871, threatened with punishment every abuse of the pulpit with a view to raising agitation.

Hereupon the new minister of public instruction (from January, 1872), Adalbert Falk, who, jurist and doctrinaire as he was, went much further in resistance to the aggressions of the Roman Church than was wise or necessary, introduced for Prussia a law of school inspection, and for the empire a law compelling the expulsion of the Jesuits (on the 4th of July, 1872), and finally, in 1873, the "May laws," which included the limitation of ecclesiastical vindictive jurisdiction to purely ecclesiastical matters, training of priests exclusively in German institutions, state inspection of ecclesiastical institutions, compulsory notice by ecclesiastical superiors on appointment of their inferiors to office, and a royal disciplinary court of justice for ecclesiastical concerns. Other laws transferred the pecuniary control of vacant bishoprics to royal commissioners (May, 1874) and that of parishes to a secular body representing the parish (June, 1875); that of all dioceses was placed under state supervision (July, 1876), priests at loggerheads with one another were deprived of state fees (April, 1875), and all religious foundations not devoted to healing the sick were abolished (May, 1875). The introduction of civil marriage into Prussia in 1874, and into the whole empire in 1875, was calculated to preserve the solemnisation of marriage from all abuse at the hands of the ecclesiastical

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power. But the hope that was entertained of separating the Catholic laymen from the clergy, and so compelling the latter to submit, was a total fiasco, and the clergy, starting with the assumption that all these laws were invalid because they lacked the sanction of the church, offered the most obstinate resistance. So, at the end of 1876, seven out of twelve Prussian bishops gradually came to be dispossessed by sentence, a thousand parsonages were left vacant, and ill feeling was further increased by frequent agitation in the *Kaplanspresse*, which shot into rapid notoriety, agitation that was demagogical and knew no bounds, so that on the 13th of July, 1874, a fanatic in Kissingen went so far as to attempt to murder Prince Bismarck.

These contests between the sovereign state and the church, which at the same time disputed with it that sovereignty, prehistoric conflicts receiving illustration anew in modern form, naturally impeded to no small degree the expansion of the empire. And yet it made vigorous progress. The French war indemnity was devoted to compensating the damage done in the war, repairing the material of the army and the barracks, building ships, helping the wounded, rewarding especially deserving generals and statesmen, and forming an imperial war fund of 120,000,000 marks. Alsace-Lorraine, being "imperial territory" under the joint sovereignty of the empire, received a new university as early as 1872 in Strasburg, and, after a short period of dictatorship, a kind of representation in the governing committee (*Landesausschuss*) and the right of sending its members to the Reichstag; it was also made secure by strong fortifications in Strasburg and Metz, as well as by the formation of a new army corps (the 15th). At last in 1879 the supreme control of the country was transferred from Berlin to Strasburg, and General Edwin von Manteuffel was placed at the head as imperial governor. In spite of the greatest precaution the population was won for Germany only by slow degrees. About one hundred and fifty thousand emigrated to France, and the Catholic priests as well as the upper classes who had become half French were for long in the main hostile.

UNIFICATION AND HOME RULE

New rivets to make the empire fast were found in the new ordinance for a single standard of measures, coinage, and weights (1873); in the magnificent development of the imperial postal and telegraphic system due to the intelligence of the imperial postmaster, Heinrich von Stephan (from 1870); in the army, the peace establishment of which was fixed for seven years in 1874 at 401,000 men; in the imperial navy, which in 1872 was placed under the imperial admiralty and built up according to the naval scheme of 1873; finally, in the unification of the regulations governing the courts of law in 1876, of which the crowning point was the establishment of the imperial court at Leipsic in 1879.

Meanwhile the separate states were concerned in an attempt to secure control in state and church matters by a more vigorous expansion of home rule. Prussia received a new classification in circles for the eastern provinces in 1872, gave a liberal spirit to its provincial diets in 1875, and gave the provinces a larger proportion of the French war indemnity for their own use. The provincial churches (*Landeskirche*) of the eastern provinces received a new parochial and synodal organisation in 1873, and in 1876 a general synod for all the old provinces. Saxony fared similarly under King Albert (from 1873); a single school system regulated and unified the whole province. In Bavaria, whose idealistic king, Ludwig II (1864 to 1886), took small pleasure in business, the diet was divided by a contest between two almost equally strong parties—the clerical old Bavarian particularists and the nationally dis-

posed liberals—so that the whole of legislation was obstructed; yet the minister Von Lutz knew at all events how to avoid a religious conflict. In Württemberg the ministry of Mittnacht had to go through many a hard fight with a tough bourgeois particularist democracy; in Baden the ministry of Jolly continued for many years on the basis of a sound national liberal majority. Meanwhile the imperial idea in south Germany made decided progress.

In no respect was the empire so closely bound up with its co-ordinate states as in its finance. For to meet the ever-increasing tasks that were imposed upon it the empire had to look to the income from its indirect taxes, its duties, and its imperial regalia (post and telegraph); but besides this it was bound to continue to lay claim to the monetary contributions (*Matrkularbeiträge*) of the individual states; in this respect, therefore, it was dependent on them, and in other ways often influenced their finances in an irregular and damaging manner. For this reason Prince Bismarck wished to put the empire on its own feet by increasing its own income and to make the single states its boarders (*Kostgänger*), that is to say, its financial dependents. The first move was to carry out the splendid plan of bringing all the German railways into the possession of the empire, and so making an end at one blow to the ever-increasing confusion caused by eighty-two independent railway districts with sixty boards of directors, forty-nine of which were private undertakings; but this plan proved impracticable in 1876, for the secondary states offered the most determined opposition—all it did was to serve as an introduction for the general transformation of the railways into state property by the separate states. In the case of Prussia this was effected with most brilliant results by Albert Maybach (from 1879).

In his second course, that of raising the duties, Prince Bismarck encountered the opposition of the doctrine of free trade that prevailed everywhere. The abolition of the iron tax on the 1st of January, 1878, showed at last that one of the most important branches of German industry had been imperilled as a consequence of a practical application of this doctrine, and at the same time the rapid growth of social democracy showed that the state could not waste any further time before actively intervening between employers and workmen without prejudicing its own interests. In support of this view what was called *Kathedersozialismus* (Gustav Schmoller) brought forward the theories of political economy. The crisis, however, was not reached until in April, 1877, Prince Bismarck, weary of office and ill in health, handed in his resignation; and the emperor, recognising the incomparable merits of the great statesman, wrote upon it his "Never!" and accordingly expressed his willingness to give him a free hand.

Two foul attempts at murder were now aimed at the humane monarch, on the 11th of May and on the 2nd of June, 1878; with lightning flash they illuminated the abyss to which social democracy when left to itself had brought the German people. After the first attempt the Reichstag still refused to pass a special law against it; after the second attempt the newly elected Reichstag adopted one that had been better prepared, on the 19th of October, 1878, to extend until the 31st of May, 1881; this was several times prolonged (until 1890). Thus with one blow the whole social democratic press and the open organisation and agitation of a party that placed itself outside the pale of the law were suppressed.

IMMIGRATION

At the same time set in a great period of economic and social reform. By elaborate care it was made possible to separate the fourth estate from the mad illusions of the social democrat, to secure the national market for national production, to open large new markets and areas of trade for the acquisition

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of raw material from over sea—finally, to turn German emigration to the advantage of the nation. The reform duties of 1879 put import duties on corn, wood, and iron, and in 1881 was finally accomplished by law the addition of the two most powerful German ports, Hamburg and Bremen, to the German customs territory (*Zollgebiet*), together with preservation of an area indispensable for the interchange of their trade as mutually open ports. The “*Zollverein*” was thus brought to completion and the empire actually made financially independent. The royal message of November 17th, 1881, indicated the line to be taken by social reform. What the German monarchy had once undertaken for the peasant classes, what the guilds of the Middle Ages had once done for their artisans, was now attempted by the national policy of the emperor for his millions of industrial labourers by means of insurance against accidents, illness, and incapacitation, in the imperial laws of 1883.

Economic development was pursued still further. Since the foundation of the empire the population rose enormously (between 1871 and 1885 from 41,000,000 to 47,000,000); so too rose emigration across the seas, which was a total loss to the fatherland (in 1880 it reached its culminating point in 220,000). Exports rose between 1872 and 1875 from 2,500,000,000 to 2,900,000,000 marks; the merchant navy was increased between 1871 and 1885 from barely 1,000,000 to 1,294,000 tons. Under the influence of unlimited liberty of emigration and free trade there took place an ever-increasing movement of the population from the country and the small towns into the capitals, which consequently grew with a speed out of all proportion (between 1860 and 1888 Berlin rose from one half to one and a half millions); thus there was an ever-growing mass of the classes occupied in trade and industry, an ever-thickening immigration of Polish workmen and Polish-Jew retailers, from the thinly populated eastern provinces to them unattractive to the great centres of industry and trade and to the farm lands in need of workmen as far as Westphalia. For West Prussia and Posen this caused a considerable check to the development of pure German nationality and German territorial ownership; for the large towns, however, especially for Berlin, it meant an unhealthy increase of only semi-Germanised Jewish inhabitants (as early as 1880, 54,000 of the 364,000 Prussian Jews lived in Berlin), and the overflow of this semi-foreign element into the stock exchange and the press as well as into some of the learned professions.

While these evils were combated with small success on the whole by the anti-Semitic movement, now by moderate measures and now with more violence, the Prussian government sought to counteract the progress of Polish influence in the east in 1885 by sweeping edicts of expulsion directed against the Polish-Russian immigrants. Once more it took up the policy of interior German colonisation which distinguished the earlier Hohenzollerns; in 1886 it obtained a grant from the diet for 100,000,000 marks with which to acquire Polish property in Posen and West Prussia and to settle German colonists in it (up to the end of 1896, 10,000 persons over an area of 92,000 hektars). The formation of *Rentengüter* from 1890 to 1891 contributed materially to the increase of peasant births in the east.

COLONISATION

With a slowness that is remarkable, the nation at last developed an understanding of the necessity of acquiring commerce beyond the sea. As late as 1880 the Reichstag was short-sighted enough to reject the proposal of the

[*Rentengüter* are pieces of land the possession of which is secured to the tenant in return for a fixed rent.]

[1880-1890 A.D.]

imperial chancellor to guarantee the interest on the bonds of the German Trade-and-Plantation Company of the South Sea Islands located on the Samoa group, and only with great difficulty did the German Colonial Society from 1882 and the German Colonising Company from 1883 succeed in preparing the ground in the mother country for colonial enterprise. More immediate was the operative effect of the German travellers, Paul Pogge, Hermann Wissmann, and others, and the enterprising trade houses, especially the Hanseatic ones, which set up their factories on the west and east coasts of Africa in territory as yet ungoverned, and the Rhenish missionaries who had worked with much success, for example, in the Hottentot country of southwest Africa.

It was here that the merchant Luderitz from Bremen acquired extensive authority in the neighbourhood of Angra Pequena, and Prince Bismarck inaugurated the official colonial policy of Germany when, by his telegram of the 24th of April, 1884, he placed Luderitz and his acquisitions under the protection of the empire and then caused the German flag to be hoisted at several points along the coast. In July of the same year the experienced African traveller, Gustav Nachtigal, as imperial commissioner, took possession of Togoland not far from the old and ruined settlements of the Great Elector, and also the Cameroons at the foot of the mighty "Mountain of the Gods." Towards the end of the year Karl Peters by a succession of treaties founded the German protectorate in central east Africa. The African conference in Berlin (from the 15th of November, 1884, until the 26th of February, 1885) under Bismarck's guidance declared all equatorial Africa to be a kind of free-trade area, granted France a large slice of the lower Kongo, recognised the independence of the Kongo Free State, the foundation of King Leopold II of Belgium, and made it the duty of all colonial powers to come to an agreement with one another on the occasion of fresh aggrandisements. English colonial monopoly was thereby broken and a juster distribution of colonial possession was at all events inaugurated. Peculiar difficulties were afterwards caused to Germany by her largest possession, East Africa, in the necessity for securing it against the claims of the sultan of Zanzibar, and forcibly subduing a rising of the Arabs who had hitherto reigned there in undisturbed possession (1888). This was accomplished with brilliant success between 1889 and 1890 by Hermann von Wissmann, as imperial commissioner.

In tropical Australasia also the empire set its foot between 1884 and 1885 by the acquisition of the Bismarck Archipelago, the northeast of New Guinea, and the Marshall Islands; and in the same year the Reichstag granted considerable subsidies for two postal steamship lines to eastern Asia and to Australia. If [German] Southwest Africa is the only one of the new colonies which may be regarded as suitable for emigration, and the others are to be considered only plantations, nevertheless Germany has entered the rank of colonial states and so of world power. The expansion of the German navy certainly did not keep pace with this rapid growth of interest beyond the seas, for the first two heads of the admiralty, generals Von Stosch and Von Caprivi, still treated the fleet more as an instrument for the defence of the coasts than for dominion over the sea.

THE SPIRIT OF CONSOLIDATION

With the internal peace and well-being of Germany, the final and the highest aim of all these enterprises, was destined to be associated that ecclesiastical peace which the *Kulturkampf* had interrupted for the Catholic Germans. Social as well as political considerations pointed to the attainment of such a peace. At the same time the secession of a large fraction of the liberals (since 1879) from the new policy of taxation and economic adjustment com-

[1878-1889 A.D.]

pelled Prince Bismarck to come to an understanding with the Centre, and thus involved concessions to the church. Moreover, a change of front in the papacy seemed more possible under Leo XIII, who succeeded to Pius IX in 1878, than under Pius himself.

Consequently Falk was replaced in July, 1879, by Puttkamer, who again, on becoming minister of the interior, was succeeded by Von Gossler. The abolition of several punitive enactments in the May laws made it now possible to restore regular incumbents in the majority of the vacant parishes; the majority of the deposed bishops, with the exception of Melchers of Cologne and Ledochowski of Gnesen and Posen, were enabled to return to their dioceses; and when in 1883 Leo XIII had given his consent to the law of notice on appointment, all the still unoccupied parsonages were filled, and in 1886 the new bishops also were nominated by papal brief with the assent of the territorial prince; finally, in 1887 a series of ecclesiastical orders was admitted. Thus the obligation to give notice on appointment was adhered to, as were also the participation of laymen in the ecclesiastical control of the parish and civil marriage; the Jesuits remained banished from the territory of the empire, and the Catholic section of the ministry of public worship was not re-established. Whatever material concessions the state may have made, it had yet preserved in the main the sovereignty of its legislation and of its administration.

Destructive and confusing as had been the effect of the *Kulturkampf*, the nation grew more and more consolidated. National holidays were made of Sedan day, the birthday of the emperor, and, more particularly since 1885, of the birthday of Prince Bismarck; everywhere rose innumerable monuments commemorating the great time of the wars of unification and their leaders—sometimes only simple stones, sometimes splendid works of art. In the middle strata of the nation was to be observed at the same time a clearer consciousness of the singleness of the empire. For the German princes, instead of wasting their powers on the maintenance of what was after all only an apparent sovereignty, followed the honourable example of the emperor William more and more by placing themselves in the service of the empire and becoming its best support. Only in this way could this monarchical federate state, the most difficult form in which a state can be united, acquire stability. This imperialistic temper stood the shock of even severe blows, as, for example, in Brunswick at the death of Duke William in 1884, when the Bundesrat of 1885 declared the accession of Duke Ernest Augustus of Cumberland as deficient so long as he, who was the son of King George V of Hanover, should not expressly have recognised the imperial constitution and the proprietary rights owned by the German states at that time, the result being that Prince Albert of Prussia was made regent; another case was that of Bavaria, when King Ludwig II had to be deposed on account of his lunacy and committed suicide in the Lake of Starnberg on the 13th of July, 1886, and when his brother Otto, also incurably insane, took his place under the regency of Prince Luitpold. Lively expression was given to the close interdependence of loyalty for the princely house at home with fidelity to the empire, in a number of brilliant celebrations, such as that of the seven hundred years' jubilee of Wittelsbach in Bavaria in 1880 and in the celebration commemorating the transference of the mark of Meissen eight hundred years ago to the house of Wettin, held in Saxony in 1889.

The immense development in intellectual life which many expected from the splendid renewal of a common national existence among the German people certainly did not answer these expectations, for periods of strong political movement and hard economical labour are rarely particularly productive of art. In the narrative fiction, in lyrics, especially in devotional lyrics, and at all events in certain branches of the drama, we have had much that is sound

and refreshing; portraiture, landscape, historical and religious painting, and modelling received many a fertile impulse from this great period through the increased penetration of vision into the life of nature and of the emotions; but especially since the eighties the realism which had long prevailed in France, Russia, and Norway entered into German art, substituting the characteristic for the beautiful and abolishing all artistic traditions. The most splendid tasks were imposed upon architecture and fulfilled by it, as the welfare of the country increased; certainly an independent style was never reached, but art industries made an extraordinary advance. The pre-eminence of German science remained undisputed, although specialisation made a survey of the larger areas of science more and more difficult.

Thus the nation which had risen to new power lived a rich life, but was penetrated by all the contradictions of the modern world and acquired no real harmony in its structure. Even that patriotic sentiment which is, as a matter of course, the property of cultured nations that have acquired political unity was, it must be admitted, not universal nor omnipresent in Germany, not to speak of that social democracy which is fundamentally international and so owns no fatherland. Obstinacy and doctrinarianism, prejudices and separate interests split up the Reichstag into contending parties, so that the master builder of the empire never obtained a firm majority for himself. Yet when the safety of the empire was in jeopardy the noise of factions was silent; the Reichstag elected in 1887, while men were still impressed with the hasty arming of France under Boulanger, granted an increase in the peace establishment of the army to 468,000 men for another seven years, that is to say, the formation of two new army corps—the 16th and the 17th. When, in spite of the treaty of neutrality of 1887, Russia kept on increasing the number of her troops in the western provinces, although not with a direct object of attack, the proposal for new defences (renewal of the *Landwehr* the second levy and establishment of a *Landsturm*) was almost unanimously accepted on the 6th of February, 1888, after a powerful speech by Prince Bismarck.

THE DEATH OF WILLIAM I (MARCH 9TH, 1888)

This was the last victory of the victorious emperor William, a ray of light in that deep distress which he felt for the crown prince Frederick William, his suffering son, who was already at that time doomed to a certain death and who was staying far away from home in San Remo.^b

The iron constitution which the emperor had kept unimpaired by habits of soldierly activity and a Spartan simplicity of life began to give way more and more frequently after a severe cold caught during the festivities at Holtenau, when he laid the foundation stone of the Baltic and North Sea Canal; and it was really a serious indisposition from which he rose to go in person to meet the emperor Alexander III of Russia on the 18th of November, on the occasion of his visit to Berlin.

The reports from San Remo steadily assumed a more melancholy tone, and meanwhile the powers of the aged emperor declined with alarming rapidity. Long before this he had been obliged to forego the dearest wish of his heart, which was to hasten in person to his son's sick bed at San Remo; and more and more frequently did the people of Berlin wait in vain to see the figure of the venerable emperor appear at the historic corner window of the palace, whence he was wont to watch the parade of the guard at mid-day. Whenever he was able to appear there he was fond of setting his eldest great-grandson on the window-sill for the applauding crowd to see, and once—it was on Sunday, the 26th of February—three great-grandsons stood in front of the emperor, while their happy mother, the princess Augusta Victoria, stood by his side,

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the fourth in her arms. The indescribable and touching joy with which he was hailed on these occasions by a concourse of thousands must have poured balm, for the time at least, upon his bleeding heart, torn afresh in the midst of wearing grief by his son's hopeless malady, by the loss of a grandson of the finest promise, and by the death of Prince Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden in the flower of his manhood.

On the 3rd of March an attack of his old nephritic trouble compelled him to take to the bed from which he was not destined to rise. His power of psychical endurance had been undermined by mental agitation of the most painful kind, and unconquerable drowsiness coupled with complete loss of appetite brought on a rapid failure of physical strength. The first official bulletin, published on the 7th, prepared the sorrow-stricken nation for the worst. During the night the grand duke and duchess of Baden, who had been summoned by telegraph, reached the deathbed of father and father-in-law. Early on the 8th the chancellor, Count Moltke, and the comptroller of the household passed through a crowd of tens of thousands which had been waiting with eager anxiety since the early hours of the morning in the avenue Unter den Linden and in the square in front of the Opera House for news of the dying emperor. The latter was still able to understand the prayers for the dying recited by the court chaplain, Doctor Kogel, and he responded to them with profound devotion and feeling. He then asked for Prince William and Field Marshal Moltke, and talked to the latter about the army, the possibilities of war, and German alliances. The grand duchess of Baden felt constrained to entreat her father not to overexert himself, whereupon the emperor answered, "I have no time to be tired now."

In the evening he fell asleep. All the bells of Berlin began to toll solemnly and in the capital it was supposed that he had already passed away, but he woke once more in the dark hours of Friday morning. At four o'clock the court chaplain offered up the following prayer:

"Be Thou my shield to comfort me in the hour of death, and let me see the image of Thy sufferings on the Cross. Then will I look towards Thee, then will I clasp Thee to my heart in faith. He who dies thus, dies well."

He next repeated the Lord's Prayer, in which the emperor joined, and then recited the first verse of the 27th Psalm, "The Lord is my light and salvation, whom then shall I fear?" and added the words, "I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope." The grand duchess asked, "Papa, do you understand?" and he answered, "It was beautiful." Again the grand duchess asked, "Do you know that mamma is sitting beside you and holding your hand?" He opened his eyes and turned a long, serene gaze upon the empress. His last look was for her.

It was half past nine on the morning of Friday the 9th of March, 1888, when all the church bells throughout the German Empire tolled to announce the passing of the noble emperor William, and the whole nation wore the aspect of a mourning congregation. The diet assembled at twenty-five minutes past twelve. The whole House rose to their feet as Prince Bismarck, mastering with difficulty his emotion, took up the word to announce that, his majesty the emperor William having been gathered to his fathers, the crown, and Prussia, and with it, by Article II of the Constitution, the dignity of emperor of Germany, had devolved upon his majesty Frederick III, king of Prussia. The chancellor had before him a sheet of paper with the emperor's last signature, written in order to give him authority to effect the impending prorogation of the diet. The chancellor had asked only for the initial letter of the emperor's name, but the dying emperor, with the industry and conscientiousness which ceased only with his life, had written his signature in full in a clear hand and with the usual flourish all complete, in spite of evident

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traces of failing powers. The chancellor made no use of the authorisation to close the diet, because he assumed that it would and must remain sitting until the arrival of his majesty the emperor, but for the sake of the signature he deposited the now purposeless decree amongst the national records as an historical document. Then with quivering voice, pausing more than once lest he should break into audible sobs, he said that it was not for him in his official capacity to express the feelings which overwhelmed him at his master's death, the passing away of the first German emperor from their midst.^b

FREDERICK III—"UNSER FRITZ"

Emperor Frederick returned on the 11th of March from the Riviera to spend the winter at home, a dying man. His rule of ninety-nine days is an appalling tragedy, in which we see the painful helpless battle between the con-

suming disease and his princely sense of duty, a battle which the noble sufferer fought with the courage of a hero.^b

He immediately entered into communication with his people. The first order which he gave was to forbid national mourning to be regulated by ordinance; every Prussian and every German was to be influenced by his feelings without consulting the police. Then came the manifestoes: the Prussian proclamation "to my people," the letter to the chancellor, the messages from the king of Prussia to the two chambers of his parliament and from the emperor to the imperial parliament, the imperial proclamation to the imperial province of Alsace-Lorraine, and an order to the crown prince William.

The emperor expressed the hope that Germany, honoured in the council of nations, might be the hearth of peace. Indifferent, he said, to the glitter of great actions which procure glory, he would be satisfied if, later on, it was

said of his reign that he was serviceable to his people, useful to his country, and a blessing to the empire. He promised to respect the rights of his people, the rights of the German nation, the rights of the confederate princes, his allies. He said to the Prussian chambers that his conduct would assuredly be governed by the provisions of the constitution of the country. To the German parliament, he said: "We have the firm resolve to observe scrupulously the constitution of the empire, to maintain it, and therefore conscientiously to protect the constitutional rights of the federal states and those of the empire."

He repudiated a violent spirit in sect or clique, and declared to all his subjects that, to whatever religion they might belong, they were equally near to his heart. He wished to reconcile in social peace the rival interests of the different classes of society, and to make them all compete, by the accord of reciprocal rights, "in bringing about public prosperity, which remains the supreme law." He desired that higher education should be made accessible to



FREDERICK III
(1881-1888)

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wider strata of society. Against the ever-growing pretensions of "instruction," he stood up in defence of the "educating mission," working by means of religion, science, and art. To this it would be a "special gratification" to him to give its complete development. He hoped, so he continued, to find in others the good will and sincerity which were in himself. He asked his people to collaborate with him in their hearts, for it was in harmony with the customs of the nation that he wished to consolidate the constitution and the law. To struggle with social dangers, he told his people, he counted on a race trained in the healthy principles of the fear of God and in simple habits; to govern, he relied on the devotion of Bismarck and the aid of his consummate experience, on the unanimous collaboration of the organs of the empire, the devoted activity of popular representation and of men in authority, and on the constant co-operation of all classes of the people. He expressed undaunted confidence in the proved devotion and patriotism of the nation. He wished to live in firm union with his people, to be a just and faithful king in times of prosperity and in those of trouble.

This language of a Christian philosopher naturally touched men; nor were these the only words that made a deep impression on their hearts. Realisation of the difficulties attending the duty to be fulfilled and of the impossibility of putting an end to all the evils of society is found repeatedly; one perceives a sort of weariness accentuated by the fear of "shocks caused by frequent changes of the constitution and the laws"; a great desire for rest is apparent, and there is a prophetic note in the phrase, "during the time that God may grant me to reign." The shadow of death that hovered above this good man completed the mournful grandeur of the picture.^c

WILLIAM II AND THE FALL OF BISMARCK

Frederick died on the 15th of June, 1888, in the new palace at Potsdam; he was laid in his last resting-place with the sword which he had borne at Worth on the day of his noblest victory, and his eldest son, Emperor William II (born 27th January, 1859), ascended the throne. While the German princes thronged round him when, on the 25th of June, for the first time he solemnly opened the Reichstag, they declared before the whole world that the German Empire was a solid and indestructible fabric, and the young ruler added his pledge that he would be the first servant of the state, connecting the future with the best and greatest traditions of the Hohenzollerns.^b

The first year of the new reign was uneventful. In his public speeches the emperor repeatedly expressed his reverence for the memory of his grandfather and his determination to continue his policy; but he also repudiated the attempt of the extreme conservatives to identify him with their party. He spent much time on journeys, visiting the chief courts of Europe, and he seemed to desire to preserve close friendship with other nations, especially with Russia and Great Britain. Changes were made in the higher posts of the army and civil service, and Moltke resigned the office of chief of the staff, which for thirty years he had held with such great distinction.

The beginning of the year 1890 brought a decisive event. The period of the Reichstag elected in 1887 expired, and the new elections, the first for a quinquennial period, would take place. The chief matter for decision was the fate of the socialist law; this expired September 30th, 1890. The government at the end of 1889 introduced a new law, which was altered in some minor matters and which was to be permanent. The conservatives were prepared to vote for it; the radicals and Centre opposed it; the decision rested with the national liberals, and they were willing to accept it on condition that the

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clause was omitted which allowed the state governments to exclude individuals from districts in which the state of siege had been proclaimed.

The final division took place on February 25th, 1890. An amendment had been carried omitting this clause, and the national liberals therefore voted for the bill in its amended form. The conservatives were ready to vote as the government wished; if Bismarck was content with the amended bill, they would vote for it, and it would be carried; no instructions were sent to the party; they therefore voted against the bill and it was lost. The house was immediately dissolved. It was to have been expected that, as in 1878, the



WILLIAM II
(1859)

government would appeal to the country to return a conservative majority willing to vote for a strong law against the socialists. Instead of this, the emperor, who was much interested in social reform, published two proclamations. In one addressed to the chancellor he declared his intention, as emperor, of bettering the lot of the working classes; for this purpose he proposed to call an international congress to consider the possibility of meeting the requirements and wishes of the working men; in the other, which he issued as king of Prussia, he declared that the regulation of the time and conditions of labour was the duty of the state, and the council of state was to be summoned to discuss this and kindred questions. Bismarck, who was less hopeful than the emperor and did not approve of this policy, was thereby prevented from influencing the elections as he would have wished to do; the coalition

[1890-1895 A. D.]

parties, in consequence, suffered severe loss; socialists, Centre, and radicals gained numerous seats. A few days after the election Bismarck was dismissed from office. The difference of opinion between him and the emperor was not confined to social reform; beyond this was the more serious question as to whether the chancellor or the emperor was to direct the course of the government. The emperor, who, as Bismarck said, intended to be his own chancellor, required Bismarck to draw up a decree reversing a cabinet order of Frederick William IV, which gave the Prussian minister-president the right of being the sole means of communication between the other ministers and the king. This Bismarck refused to do, and he was therefore ordered to send in his resignation.^d

BISMARCK IN RETIREMENT

After his retirement he resided at Friedrichsruh, near Hamburg, a house on his Lauenburg estates. His criticisms of the government, given sometimes in conversation, sometimes in the columns of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, caused an open breach between him and the emperor; and Caprivi, in a circular despatch, which was afterwards published, warned all German envoys that no real importance must be attached to what he said.^f

A short time after his fall, Bismarck illustrated his absorbing interest in politics by a pretty parable. One of his guests at breakfast having asked him why he, the prince, had so entirely given up his passionate love for the chase, he replied: "As to passions, they resemble the trout in my pond: one eats up the other, until there remains only one fat old trout. Thus gradually my passionate love for politics has devoured all other passions." Just as on this occasion, and as he had done in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* after the issue of the Caprivi order, so Bismarck also expressed himself to the delegations which from all parts of Germany came to Friedrichsruh to do him homage. Thus, for instance, on the 14th of June, to a deputation of the united moderate parties of Düsseldorf which presented him with an address, he said that, though retired from public life after a career of forty years in office, he was not able to forego his interest in politics, to which he had sacrificed all other inclinations and connections. At the same time nothing was further from his thoughts than the wish to influence anew the march of politics. The right of freely expressing his opinions, which belongs to every private person, was one of those privileges to which he was entitled, and he was quite able to take the full responsibility for his attitude.

Much more bitterly did he express himself on the 22nd of July, 1890, to a correspondent of the *Novoya Vremya*: "They are bestowing upon me in my lifetime the honours due to the dead. They are burying me like Marlborough. They desire not merely that Marlborough should not come back, but also that he may actually die or at least remain silent for the rest of his days. I must admit that to this end they give me every assistance, and none either of my political friends or of my numerous acquaintances puts temptation in my way by his visits. They cry 'Halt!' to me, they shun me like one infected with the plague, afraid as they are to compromise themselves by visiting me; and only my wife from time to time receives visits from her acquaintances. They cannot prevent me from thinking, but they would like me not to give expression to my thoughts, and were such a thing possible, they would long ago have put a muzzle on me."^g

A reconciliation between Bismarck and the emperor took place in 1893. The aged statesman retained all along a foremost place in the affections of the German people. His eightieth birthday was celebrated with great enthusiasm in 1895. A witticism of his pronounced on this occasion has become famous. "My dear sir," he said, in response to the conventional well-wishers, "the first

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eighty years of a man's life are sure to be the happiest." Back of the jest lay probably a vein of bitterness at having to pass in the idleness of retirement such portion of the implied "second eighty years" as might be granted him—for the veteran retained his activity of mind to the end. He died on the 31st of July, 1898.^a

CHANCELLORSHIP OF COUNT VON CAPRIVI

Among those more immediately connected with the government, Bismarck's fall was accompanied by a feeling of relief which was not confined to the opposition, for the burden of his rule had pressed heavily upon all. There was, however, no change in the principles of government or avowed change in policy; some uncertainty of direction and sudden oscillations of policy showed the presence of a less experienced hand. Bismarck's successor, General von Caprivi, held a similar combination of offices, but the chief control passed now into the hands of the emperor himself. He aspired by his own will to direct the policy of the state; he put aside the reserve which in modern times is generally observed even by absolute rulers, and by his public speeches and personal influence took a part in political controversy. He made very evident the monarchical character of the Prussian state, and gave to the office of emperor a prominence greater than it had hitherto had.

One result of this was that it became increasingly difficult in political discussions to avoid criticising the words and actions of the emperor. Prosecutions for *lèse-majesté* became commoner than they were in former reigns, and the difficulty was much felt in the conduct of parliamentary debate. The rule adopted was that discussion was permitted on those speeches of the emperor which were officially published in the *Reichsanzeiger*. It was, indeed, not easy to combine that respect and reverence which the emperor required should be paid to him with that open criticism of his words which seemed necessary (even for self-defence) when the monarch condescended to become the censor of the opinions and actions of large parties and classes among his subjects.

The attempt to combine personal government with representative institutions was one of much interest, it was more successful than might have been anticipated, owing to the disorganisation of political parties and the absence of great political leaders, in Germany, as elsewhere, the parliaments had not succeeded in maintaining public interest, and it is worth noting that even the attendance of members was very irregular. There was below the surface much discontent and subdued criticism of the exaggeration of the monarchical power, which the Germans called *Byzantinismus*, but after all the nation seemed to welcome the government of the emperor, as it did that of Bismarck. The uneasiness which was caused at first by the unwonted vigour of his utterances subsided, as it became apparent how strong was his influence for peace, and with how many-sided an activity he supported and encouraged every side of national life. Another result of the personal government by the emperor was that it was impossible, in dealing with recent history, to determine how far the ministers of state were really responsible for the measures which they defended, and how far they were the instruments and mouthpieces of the policy of the emperor.

The first efforts of the "new course," as the new administration was termed, showed some attempt to reconcile to the government those parties and persons whom Bismarck had kept in opposition. The continuation of social reform was to win over the allegiance of the working men to the person of the emperor; an attempt was made to reconcile the Guelfs, and even the Poles were taken into favour; Windthorst was treated with marked distinction. The radicals alone, owing to their ill-timed criticism on the private

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relations of the imperial family and their continued opposition to the army, were excluded. The attempt, however, to unite and please all parties failed, as did the similar attempt in foreign policy. Naturally enough, it was social reform on which at first activity was concentrated, and the long-delayed factory legislation was now carried out. In 1887 and 1888 the clerical and conservative majority had carried through the Reichstag laws restricting the employment of women and children and prohibiting labour on Sundays. These were not accepted by the Bundesrat, but after the international congress of 1890 an important amendment and addition to the *Gewerbeordnung* was carried to this effect. It was of even greater importance that a full system of factory inspection was created. A further provision empowered the Bundesrat to fix the hours of labour in unhealthy trades; this was applied to the bakeries by an edict of 1895, but the great outcry which this caused prevented any further extension.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

These acts were, however, accompanied by language of great decision against the social democrats, especially on the occasion of a great strike in Westphalia, when the emperor warned the men that for him every social democrat was an enemy to the empire and country. None the less, all attempts to win the working men from the doctrinaire socialists failed. They continued to look on the whole machinery of government, emperor and army, church and police, as their natural enemies, and remained completely under the bondage of the abstract theories of the socialists, just as much as fifty years ago the German bourgeois were controlled by the liberal theories. It is strange to see how the national characteristics appeared in them. What began as a great revolutionary movement became a dogmatic and academic school of thought; it often almost seemed as though the orthodox interpretation of Marx's doctrine were of more importance than an improvement in the condition of the working men, and the discussions in the annual socialist congress resembled the arguments of theologians rather than the practical considerations of politicians.

The party, however, prospered and grew in strength beyond all anticipation. The repeal of the socialist law was naturally welcome to them as a great personal triumph over Bismarck; in the elections of 1890 they won thirty-five, in 1893 forty-four, in 1898 fifty-six seats. Their influence was not confined to the artisans; among their open or secret adherents were to be found large numbers of government employes and clerks. In the autumn of 1890 they were able, for the first time, to hold in Germany a general meeting of delegates, which has been continued annually. In the first meetings it appeared that there were strong opposing tendencies within the party which for the first time could be brought to public discussion. On the one side there was a small party, *die Jungen*, in Berlin, who attacked the parliamentary leaders on the ground that they had lent themselves to compromise and had not maintained the old *intransigent* spirit. In 1891, at Erfurt, Werner and his followers were expelled from the party; some of them drifted into anarchism, others disappeared.

On the other hand, there was a large section, the leader of whom was Herr von Vollmar, who maintained that the social revolution would not come suddenly, as Bebel and the older leaders had taught, but that it would be a gradual evolution, they were willing to co-operate with the government in remedial measures by which, within the existing social order, the prosperity and freedom of the working classes might be advanced; their position was very strong, as Vollmar had succeeded in extending socialism even in the Catholic parts of Bavaria. An attempt to treat them as not genuine socialists was

frustrated and they continued in co-operation with the other branch of the party. Their position would be easier were it not for the repeated attempts of the Prussian government to crush the party by fresh legislation and the supervision exercised by the police. It was a sign of most serious import for the future that in 1897 the electoral law in the kingdom of Saxony was altered with the express purpose of excluding the socialists from the Saxon Landtag. This and other symptoms caused serious apprehension that some attempt might be made to alter the law of universal suffrage for the Reichstag, and it was policy of this kind which maintained and justified the profound distrust of the governing classes and the class hatred on which social democracy depends. On the other hand, there were signs of a greater willingness among the socialists to co-operate with their old enemies the liberals in opposition to the commercial policy of the government, and every step is welcomed which will break down the intellectual isolation in which the working classes are kept.

THE ARMY, SCHOOLS, AND COMMERCE

In foreign affairs a good understanding with Great Britain was maintained, but the emperor failed at that time to preserve the friendship of Russia. The close understanding between France and Russia, and the constant increase in the armies of these states, made a still further increase of the German army desirable. In 1890, while the Septennate had still three more years to run, Caprivi had to ask for an additional twenty thousand men. It was the first time that an increase of this kind had been necessary within the regular period. When, in 1893, the proposals for the new period were made, they formed a great change. Universal service was to be made a reality; no one except those absolutely unfit were to escape military service. To make enlistment of so large an additional number of recruits possible, the period of service with the colours was reduced to two years.

The parliamentary discussion was very confused; the government eventually accepted an amendment giving them 557,093 for five and a half years instead of the 570,877 asked for; this was rejected by 210 to 162, the greater part of the Centre and of the *Freisinnige* voting against it. Parliament was at once dissolved. Before the elections the *Freisinnige* party broke up, as about twenty of them determined to accept the compromise. They took the name of the *Freisinnige Vereinigung*, the others who remained under the leadership of Richter forming the *Freisinnige Volkspartei*. The natural result of this split was a great loss to the party. The liberal opposition secured only twenty-three seats instead of the sixty-seven they had held before. It was, so far as now can be foreseen, the final collapse of the old radical party. Notwithstanding this the bill was only carried by sixteen votes, and it would have been thrown out again had not the Poles for the first time voted for the government, since the whole of the Centre voted in opposition.

This vote was a sign of the increasing disorganisation of parties and of growing parliamentary difficulties which were even more apparent in the Prussian Landtag. Miquel, as minister of finance, succeeded indeed in carrying a reform, by which the proceeds of the tax on land and buildings were transferred to the local government authorities, and the loss to the state exchequer made up by increased taxation of larger incomes and industry. The series of measures which began in 1891 and were completed in 1895 won a more general approbation than is usual, and Miquel in this successfully carried out his policy of reconciling the growing jealousies arising from class interests.

A school bill for Prussia was less successful, and aroused conflicts of principle which afterwards divided the country. It is remarkable that up to this time there is no general law existing in Prussia regulating the management of

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the elementary schools. In every province there are different rules as to the age at which attendance is compulsory as to school management, the regulation of religious education, and the relation of the church to the schools. A clause in the constitution states that these matters are to be regulated by law, but no law has yet (1902) been carried. In November, 1890, a general law was introduced, but it was opposed by the Centre on the ground that it would adversely affect the religious teaching, and Gossler, minister of education, had to resign; he was succeeded by Count Zedlitz, who, in 1892, introduced a new law so drawn up as greatly to strengthen the influence of the church. This led to a violent agitation; all the liberal parties joined in opposing it; the agitation spread to the learned classes, and the cry was raised that culture and learning were being handed over to the priests. Caprivi defended the law as part of the great struggle between Christianity and atheism, but the ministry was nearly equally divided; the emperor was dissatisfied with the manner in which it had been introduced, and on March 16th the law was withdrawn. The next day Zedlitz resigned; Caprivi also sent in his resignation, but, at the special request of the emperor, continued in office as chancellor; he was succeeded by Count Eulenburg as president of the Prussian ministry.

Caprivi's administration was further remarkable for the arrangement of commercial treaties. In 1892 treaties with Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland for twelve years bound together the greater part of the Continent, and opened a wide market for German manufactures; the idea of this policy was to secure, by a more permanent union of the middle European states, a stable market for the goods which were being excluded owing to the great growth of protection in France, Russia, and America. These were followed by similar treaties with Rumania and Servia, and in 1894, after a period of sharp customs warfare, with Russia. In all these treaties the general principle was a reduction of the import duties on corn in return for advantages given to German manufactures, and it is this which brought about the struggle of the government with the agrarians, which after 1894 took the first place in party politics.

The agricultural interests in Germany had during the middle of the nineteenth century been in favour of free trade. The reason of this was that, till some years after the foundation of the empire, the production of corn and foodstuffs was more than sufficient for the population; as long as they exported corn, potatoes, and cattle, they required no protection from foreign competition, and they enjoyed the advantages of being able to purchase colonial goods and manufactured articles cheaply. Mecklenburg and Hanover, the purely agricultural states, had, until their entrance into the customs union, followed a completely free-trade policy. The first union of the agrarian party, which was formed in 1876 under the name of the Society for the Reform of Taxation, did not place protection on their programme; they laid stress on bi-metallism, on the reform of internal taxation, especially of the tax on land and buildings, and on the reform of the railway tariff, and demanded an increase in the stamp duties. These last three points were all to some extent attained. About this time, however, the introduction of cheap corn from Russia began to threaten them, and it was in 1879 that, probably to a great extent influenced by Bismarck, they are first to be found among those who ask for protection.

After that time there was a great increase in the importation of foodstuffs from America. The increase of manufactures and the rapid growth of the population made the introduction of cheap food from abroad a necessity. In the youth of the empire the amount of corn grown in Germany was sufficient for the needs of its inhabitants; the amount consumed in 1899 exceeded the amount produced by about one-quarter of the total. At the same time the

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price, making allowance for the fluctuations owing to bad harvests, steadily decreased, notwithstanding the duty on corn. In twenty years the average price fell from about 235 to 135 marks the 1,000 kilo. There was therefore a constant decrease in the income from land, and this took place at a time when the great growth of wealth among the industrial classes had made living more costly. The agriculturists of the north and east saw themselves and their class threatened with loss, and perhaps ruin; their discontent, which had long been growing, broke out into open fire during the discussion of the commercial treaties. As these would inevitably bring about a large increase in the importation of corn from Rumania and Russia, a great agitation was begun in agricultural circles, and the whole influence of the conservative party was opposed to the treaties. This brought about a curious situation, the measures being only carried by the support of the Centre, the radicals, and the socialists, against the violent opposition of those classes, especially the landowners in Prussia, who had hitherto been the supporters of the government. In order to prevent the commercial treaty with Russia, a great agricultural league was founded in 1893, the *Bund der Landwirthe*; some seven thousand landowners joined it immediately. Two days later the Peasants' League, or *Deutsche Bauernbund*, which had been founded in 1885 and included some forty-four thousand members, chiefly from the smaller proprietors in Pomerania, Posen, Saxony, and Thuringia, merged itself in the new league. This afterwards gained very great proportions. It became, with the social democrats, the most influential society which had been founded in Germany for defending the interests of a particular class; it soon numbered more than two hundred thousand members, including landed proprietors of all degrees. Under its influence a parliamentary union, the *Wirtschaftsvereinigung*, was founded to insure proper consideration for agricultural affairs; it was joined by more than one hundred members of the Reichstag; and the conservative party fell more and more under the influence of the agrarians.

CAPRIVI IS SUCCEEDED BY HOHENLOHE

Having failed to prevent the commercial treaties, Count Kanitz introduced a motion that the state should have a monopoly of all imported corn, and that the price at which it was to be sold should be fixed by law. On the first occasion, in 1894, only fifty members were found to vote for this, but in the next year ninety-seven supported the introduction of the motion, and it was considered worth while to call together the Prussian council of state for a special discussion. The whole agitation was extremely inconvenient to the government. The violence with which it was conducted, coming, as it did, from the highest circles of the Prussian nobility, appeared almost an imitation of socialist methods; but the emperor, with his wonted energy, personally rebuked the leaders, and warned them that the opposition of Prussian nobles to their king was a monstrosity. Nevertheless they were able to overthrow the chancellor, who was specially obnoxious to them. In October, 1894, he was dismissed suddenly, without warning and almost without cause, while the emperor was on a visit to the Eulenburgs, one of the most influential families of the Prussian nobility.

Caprivi's fall, though it was occasioned by a difference between him and Count Eulenburg and was due to the direct act of the emperor, was rendered easier by the weakness of his parliamentary position. There was no party on whose help he could really depend. The military bill had offended the prejudices of conservative military critics; the British treaty had alienated the colonial party; the commercial treaties had only been carried by the help of Poles, radicals, and socialists; but it was just these parties which were the most

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easily offended by the general tendencies of the internal legislation, as shown in the Prussian school bill. Moreover, the bitter and unscrupulous attacks of the Bismarckian press to which Caprivi was exposed made him unpopular in the country, for the people could not feel at ease so long as they were governed by a minister of whom Bismarck disapproved. There was therefore no prospect of forming anything like a stable coalition of parties on which he could depend.

The emperor was fortunate in securing as his successor Prince Chlodwig von Hohenlohe. Though the new chancellor once more united with this office that of Prussian minister-president, his age, and perhaps also his character, prevented him from exercising that constant activity and vigilance which his two predecessors had displayed. During his administration even the secretary of state for foreign affairs, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, and afterwards Count von Bülow, became the ordinary spokesman of the government, and in the management of other departments the want of a strong hand at the head of affairs was often felt. Between the emperor, with whom the final direction of policy rested, and his subordinates, the chancellor often appeared to evade public notice. The very first act of the new chancellor brought upon him a severe rebuff. At the opening of the new buildings which had been erected in Berlin for the Reichstag, cheers were called for the emperor. Some of the socialist members remained seated. It was not clear that their action was deliberate, but none the less the chancellor himself came down to ask from the house permission to bring a charge of *lèse-majesté* against them, a request which was, of course, almost unanimously refused.

The agrarians still maintained their prominent position in Prussia. They opposed all bills which would appear directly or indirectly to injure agricultural interests. They looked with suspicion on the naval policy of the emperor, for they disliked all that helps industry and commerce. They would only give their support to the navy bills of 1897 and 1900 in return for large concessions limiting the importation of margarine and American preserved meat, and the removal of the *Indemnitäts Nachweis* acted as a kind of bounty on the export of corn. They successfully opposed the construction of a canal from Westphalia to the Elbe, on the ground that it would facilitate the importation of foreign corn. They refused to accept all the compromises which Miquel, who was very sympathetic towards them, suggested, and thereby brought about his retirement in May, 1901.

The opposition of the agrarians was for many reasons peculiarly embarrassing. The franchise by which the Prussian parliament is elected gave the conservatives whom they controlled a predominant position. Any alteration of the franchise was, however, out of the question, for that would admit the socialists. It was, moreover, the tradition of the Prussian court and the Prussian government (and it must be remembered that the imperial government is inspired by Prussian traditions) that the nobility and peasants were in a peculiar way the support of the crown and the state. The old distrust of the towns, of manufacturers and artisans, still continued. The preservation of a peasant class was considered necessary in the interests of the army. Besides, intellectual and social prejudices required a strong conservative party. In the south and west of Germany, however, the conservative party was practically non-existent. In these parts, owing to the changes introduced at the revolution, the nobility, who hold little land, are, comparatively speaking, without political importance. In the Catholic districts the Centre had become absolutely master, except so far as the socialists threatened their position. Those of the great industrialists who belonged to the national liberals or the moderate conservatives did not command that influence which men of their class generally hold in Great Britain, because the influence of social democracy

banded together the whole of the working men in a solid phalanx of irreconcilable opposition, the very first principle of which was the hostility of classes. The government, therefore, was compelled to turn for support to the Centre and the conservatives, the latter being almost completely under the influence of the old Prussian nobility from the northeast. But every attempt to carry out the policy supported by these parties aroused an opposition most embarrassing to the government.

The conservatives distrusted the financial activity which centred round the exchanges of Berlin and other towns, and in this they had the sympathy of agrarians and anti-Semites, as well as of the Centre. The agrarians believed that the Berlin exchange was partly responsible for the fall of prices in corn; the anti-Semites laid stress on the fact that many of the financiers were of Jewish extraction; the Centre feared the moral effects of speculation. This opposition was shown in the demand for additional duties on stamps (this was granted by Bismarck), in the opposition to the renewal of the Bank Charter, and especially in the new regulations for the exchange which were carried in 1896. One clause in this forbade the dealing in "futures" in corn, and at the same time a special Prussian law required that there should be representatives of agriculture on the managing committee of the exchange. The members of the exchange in Berlin and other towns refused to accept this law. When it came into effect they withdrew and tried to establish a private exchange. This was prevented, and after two years they were compelled to submit and the Berlin bourse was again opened.

POLITICAL BARGAINING

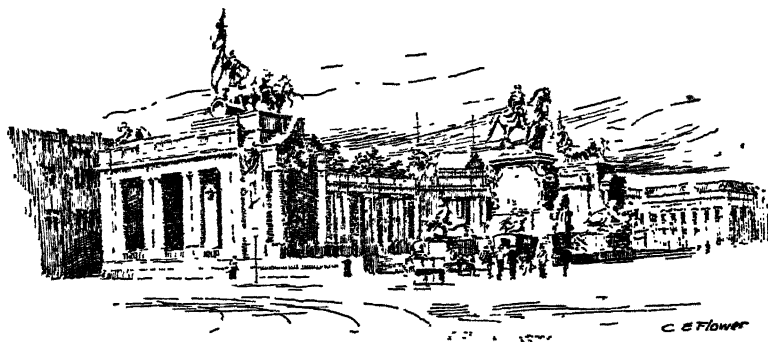
Political parties now came to represent interests rather than principles. The government, in order to pass its measures, was obliged to purchase the votes by class legislation, and it bought those with whom it could make the best bargain—these being generally the Centre, as the ablest tacticians, and the conservatives, as having the highest social position and being boldest in declaring their demands. No great parliamentary leader took the place of Windthorst, Lasker, and Bennigsen; the extra-parliamentary societies, less responsible and more violent, grew in influence. The anti-Semites gained in numbers, though not in reputation. The conservatives, hoping to win votes, even adopted an anti Semite clause in their programme. The general tendency among the numerous societies of Christian socialism, which broke up almost as quickly as they appeared, was to drift from the alliance with the ultra-conservatives and to adopt the economic and many of the political doctrines of the social democrats. The *National-Sozialer Verein* defended the union of monarchy and socialism. Meanwhile the extreme spirit of nationality was fostered by the *All-deutscher Verein*, the policy of which would quickly involve Germany in war with every other nation. More than once the feeling to which they gave expression endangered the relations of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The persecution of the Poles in Prussia naturally aroused indignation in Austria, where the Poles had for long been among the strongest elements on which the government depended; and it was not always easy to prevent the agitation on behalf of the Germans in Bohemia from assuming a dangerous aspect.

In the disintegration of parties the liberals suffered most. The unity of the conservatives was preserved by social forces and the interests of agriculture; the decay of the liberals was the result of universal suffrage. Originally the opponents of the landed interest and the nobility, they were the party of the educated middle class, of the learned, of the officials, and of finance. They never succeeded in winning the support of the working men. They had iden-

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tified themselves with the interests of the capitalists, and were not even faithful to their own principles. In the day of their power they showed themselves as intolerant as their opponents had been. They resorted to the help of the government in order to stamp out the opinions with which they disagreed, and the claims of the artisans to practical equality were rejected by them, as in earlier days the claims of the middle class had been by the nobles.

The Centre alone maintained itself. Obligated by their constitution to regard equally the material interests of all classes—for they represent rich and poor, peasants and artisans—they were the natural support of the government when it attempted to find a compromise between the clamour of opposing interests. Their own demands were generally limited to the defence of order and religion, and to some extent coincided with the wishes of the emperor; but, as we shall see, every attempt to introduce legislation in accordance with their wishes led to a conflict with the educated opinion of the country, which was very detrimental to the authority of the government. In the state parlia-



MONUMENT TO WILLIAM I, BERLIN

ments of Bavaria, Baden, and Hesse their influence was very great. There was, moreover, a tendency for local parties to gain in numbers and influence—the Volkspartei in Wurtemberg, the anti-Semites in Hesse, and the Bauernbund (Peasants' League) in Bavaria. The last demanded that the peasants should be freed from the payment to the state, which represented the purchase price for the remission of feudal burdens. It soon lost ground, however, partly owing to personal reasons, and partly because the Centre in order to maintain their influence among the peasants adopted some features of their programme.

Another class which, seeing itself in danger from the economic changes in society, agitated for special legislation was the small retail traders of the large towns. They demanded additional taxation on the vast shops and stores, the growth of which in Berlin, Munich, and other towns seemed to threaten their interests. As the preservation of the smaller middle class seemed to be important as a bulwark against socialism, they won the support of the conservative and clerical parties, and laws inspired by them were passed in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Prussia. This *Mittelstand-politik*, as it is called, was very characteristic of the attitude of mind which was produced by the policy of protection. Every class appealed to the government for special laws to protect itself against the effects of the economic changes which had been brought about by the modern industrial system. Peasants and landlords, artisans and tradesmen, each formed their own league for the protection of their interests, and all looked to the state as the proper guardian of their class interests.

COLONIAL AGGREGATION UNDER WILLIAM II

Emperor William II early set himself the task of doing for the German fleet what his grandfather had done for the army. The acquisition of Helgoland enabled a new naval station to be established off the mouth of the Elbe; the completion of the canal from Kiel to the mouth of the Elbe—an old plan of Bismarck's which was begun in 1887 and completed in 1895—by enabling ships of war to pass from the Baltic to the North Sea, greatly increased the strategic strength of the fleet. In 1890 a change in the organisation separated the command of the fleet from the office of secretary of state, who was responsible for the representation of the admiralty in the Reichstag, and the emperor was brought into more direct connection with the navy. During the first five years of the reign four line-of-battle ships were added and several armoured cruisers for the defence of commerce and colonial interests.

With the year 1895 began a period of expansion abroad and great naval activity. The note was given in a speech of the emperor on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the empire, in which he said, "the German Empire has become a world empire." The ruling idea of this new *Welt-Politik* was that Germany could no longer remain merely a continental power; owing to the growth of population she depended for subsistence on trade and exports; she could not maintain herself amid the rivalry of nations unless the government was able actively to support German traders in all parts of the world. The extension of German trade and influence has, in fact, been carried out with considerable success.^d

In the year 1888 the German flag had, indeed, long floated on the coast of Africa and on the Pacific, but German influence and the dominion of the German Empire were practically confined to a few isolated posts (some of them in the hands of private companies), wholly unable to inspire the natives with a correct idea of the greatness and power of Germany. In their infancy, the colonial possessions might be regarded as the foundations of an empire beyond the sea, but they were far from being real colonies, or, as such, a source of blessing and prosperity to Germany proper. With this epoch a change for the better sets in, accompanied by hard struggles and severe reverses, but nevertheless distinct and unmistakable. The idea of a policy of expansion was still so new and strange that, up to that time, the government had ventured on none but the most trivial and timid measures in the interests of the German colonies; but when the consequences of this unfortunate niggardliness became manifest in the distress that prevailed throughout East and West Africa, the German Empire, under the mighty ægis of the emperor, began to take up a position beyond sea more correspondent with its resources at home.

In East Africa the government of the strip of coast which the German East African Company had rented from the sultan of Zanzibar for a term of fifty years was taken over on August 16th, 1888. To the roar of cannon the flag of the German company was hoisted in fourteen ports. During the quiet weeks that followed German custom-houses were set up at Lindi, Mikindani, Kilwa, Dar-es-Salaam, Bagamoyo, Pangani, and Tanga. A bustle of business began to stir everywhere, eager to exploit the economic resources of the East African territory for the benefit of German trade; men fancied they were witnessing a new departure in German colonial policy, a wide prospect opened before their eyes, in which the German merchant of the future bent his steps to the region of the Great Lakes and the frontiers of the Kongo Free State. Then all at once a tempest broke forth which in a few months destroyed all the long results of German industry in those parts.

The Arab slave-dealers, who were settled in large numbers on the Nyassa, were apprehensive that the German occupation of the East African coast, and

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of the harbours more particularly, would interfere with or even destroy their nefarious but profitable traffic, and they therefore incited the Arab population to make a raid on the coast for the purpose of putting an end to the rule of the German company, which was neither prepared for such attacks nor in a position to cope with them. The revolt, headed by Buschiri, an Arab, broke out in September, 1888, and spread to the major part of the Arabs resident in the German stations. Every station except Bagamoyo and Dar-es-Salaam fell into the hands of the Arabs. At Kilwa some company officials perished; the rest fled to Zanzibar. The two places which had not been conquered could hold out only by the help of the man-of-war *Möwe*, which happened to be at hand. On December 6th and 7th Buschiri, whose troops were armed with rifles and cannon, attacked Bagamoyo. The company officials made a gallant defence and were vigorously supported by the cruiser *Leipzig*, which was lying in the harbour, and Buschiri was consequently forced to retreat with the loss of his artillery, after plundering and burning the houses of the station.

THE ARAB REVOLT IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA

This dire catastrophe which had thus befallen the German possessions in East Africa brought home to public opinion the conviction that the system hitherto pursued—that of leaving the colonisation of such vast districts to private enterprise—was no longer applicable to present conditions and that the sooner it was broken with the better. The request for a vote of 2,000,000 marks for the suppression of the Arab rising, which was submitted to the diet of the empire, the despatch of a number of battleships to East Africa, and, lastly, the appointment of Wissmann, the most experienced of African explorers as imperial commissioner, proved that in the hour of need the clear eye and vigorous hand of the emperor William could bring order out of the confused medley of affairs. And if the power of choosing the right men for the execution of great deeds and important missions be regarded, as it always has been, as one of the most laudable of princely qualities, we may well insist that in this matter of the selection of Wissmann to subdue the Arab revolt it was a singularly happy touch that intrusted this responsible duty to the most popular of African travellers.

But the government was by no means blind to the fact that these Arab disturbances were something more than a rebellion, and that the struggle was really a crusade against the slave trade which disgraces our age. Thus this war with the Arabs became a Christian act which could not but redound to the advantage of all western nations holding possessions in Africa. Acting upon this view the admirals in command of the German and English squadron declared the coast in a state of blockade on December 2nd, 1888, an energetic measure which contributed materially to the ultimate suppression of the slave trade.

The first great battle between Wissmann and the rebel Arabs took place in the summer of 1889, in the East African protectorate. On the 8th of May Wissmann's troops and the marines under Admiral Deinhardt, amounting together to sixteen hundred men, attacked Buschiri's position near Bagamoyo and carried it by assault, without heavy loss. On the same day the native regiment of Dar-es-Salaam took the village of Magagoni, and on May 21st and 22nd the rebels in the Dar-es-Salaam district were subdued. These engagements, however, had not struck a decisive blow at the rebel cause. Buschiri had fallen back on Pangani and Sadani. Wissmann stormed the latter place on the 7th of June. Four weeks later an attack was made by sea on Pangani, the main stronghold of Buschiri's adherents, vigorously supported by the guns of the German ships *Leipzig*, *Carola*, *Möwe*, *Pfeil*, and *Schwalbe*. Wissmann's

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troops then landed, and three hundred sailors attacked the north side of the town, which was simultaneously bombarded on the south by the machine-guns of Wissmann's two steamers. The place was taken without serious resistance. Tanga fell soon after, and Buschiri withdrew to the interior.

The capture of the Arab leader was not achieved until December. Wissmann had Buschiri tried and hanged as a punishment for his crimes. Banaheri of Useguha took his place as the principal opponent of the German troops, and with the bulk of his followers established himself in the neighbourhood of Pangani.

By a fortunate coincidence the safety of the great caravan route from the coast to the lakes, which Wissmann secured by a brilliant campaign in the interior, was established at the very time when Emin Pasha returned, accompanied by Stanley. The pasha had come from the equatorial province of Egypt, which he had ruled and defended against the mahdi for years with energy and prudence. Wissmann sent Baron von Gravenreuth as far as Mpuapa to meet him, with troops and provisions for the assistance and support of his party. The news of Emin's liberation and return to the east coast roused the liveliest interest in Germany. The hope that the dauntless German champion of civilisation might yet be successfully rescued from his desperate situation had never been completely abandoned, and now it had actually been fulfilled.

The following year Wissmann successfully prosecuted his campaign against the Arabs. On January 4th he stormed the enemy's camp and put them to flight, leaving the further pursuit to Baron von Gravenreuth, one of his bravest officers, who defeated Banaheri, Buschiri's successor, in several smart engagements, with the result that the rebel leader declared his willingness to surrender and sued for peace. Gravenreuth went to Sadani to receive Banaheri as Wissmann's representative. Two days afterwards more than twelve hundred men surrendered in a deplorable condition. When the northern part of the protectorate, including the towns and seaboard settlements of Sadani, Pangani, and Tanga, had been wrested from the Arabs, Wissmann found himself confronted by the task of bringing the southern portion of the country, including the ports of Kilwa, Lindi, and Mikindani, into his power. No sooner had the expected reinforcements of men, rifles, ammunition, mountain batteries, and rowboats reached him, under the command of Major Liebert, than he opened a fresh campaign. Supported by German men-of-war, he took Kilwa on the 7th of May, Lindi on the 10th, and Mikindani on the 14th. Thus the whole maritime district was reconquered by the Germans and the military honour of Germany vindicated.

His brilliant feats in Africa had made Wissmann one of the most popular men of the day at home, and the emperor rewarded his valiant subject in right kingly fashion, gave him a major's commission, presented him with eight cannon as a mark of special favour, and bestowed hereditary rank upon him when he returned at the end of the war.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT

Now it was for Germany to consolidate in peace what she had won back by war. In consideration of the increasing expansion of German dominion the first thing needful seemed to be a more definite determination of the German and English spheres of influence, so as to secure a firmer foundation for the civilising labours of the two nations. With this object the much-discussed Anglo-German agreement was concluded, which extended to Africa and also brought the island of Helgoland, off the north German coast, into the possession of Germany. The great value of this acquisition to the German fleet and

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to the defence of the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Jade is now universally recognised.

It was a matter of great importance to the future development of German territory in East Africa that traffic between Lake Nyassa and the Kongo Free State, between lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, on the latter lake, and between it and the northern frontier of both spheres of influence, should remain open duty free to the subjects and goods of both nations. At the same time freedom of worship and instruction was guaranteed to the missions of both countries and equal rights to the subjects of both powers. One important practical result of the agreement was an understanding between the imperial government and the sultan of Zanzibar, by which the latter pledged himself to abdicate his sovereign rights over the strip of coast let to the East African Company in return for the sum of 4,000,000 marks. Thereupon the company concluded an agreement with the imperial government in November, by which the latter took over the sovereign rights and the collection of customs dues, undertaking to pay the company in exchange an annual sum of 600,000 marks.

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF EAST AFRICA

The years 1891 and 1892 were marked by many untoward events and losses in the East African Protectorate, where Herr von Soden had been appointed the first governor at the beginning of April, 1891. Three companies of the protectorate troops under Captain von Zelewski were attacked and almost annihilated by robber Wahehe tribes on August 17th, 1891; and in the following year a like tragic fate overtook another division of the protectorate troops under Lieutenant von Bulow. In consequence of these disasters, which grew more serious after Wissmann had left, the higher powers deemed it advisable to combine, for a time at least, the supreme civil and military commands. Lieutenant-Colonel von Schele was therefore despatched to East Africa in October, 1892, and Baron von Soden, the former governor, resigned his office.

A fresh and enlivening breeze began to blow in East Africa on the arrival of the energetic new governor. The protectorate troops, under the gallant leadership of the first lieutenant prince, succeeded in storming the fortified capital of the bold and crafty chief Sike at the beginning of 1893, and thus once more secured the safety of the remote advanced station of Tabora. They also had victorious encounters with another chief, Masenta by name. But Schele's brilliant campaign against the Wahehes in the autumn of 1894, which ended with the storming of the stronghold of Kuirenga—a strategic achievement of the first magnitude—and which wreaked bloody vengeance for Zelewski's defeat, did more than anything else to invest the German arms with fear and terror in the eyes of the natives. Unhappily Schele was denied the chance of labouring at the peaceful task of making the German colony in East Africa of economic value to the mother country, as he, with his remarkable gift for organisation, intended to do. But his extraordinary military achievements contributed materially to assure the tranquillity of the country thenceforward. The emperor William, who was strongly attached to Governor von Schele, conferred on him the highest military distinction, the order *Pour le mérite*.

After a long interval the post of governor of East Africa was filled again at the end of April, 1895. This time the choice fell upon Major von Wissmann, formerly imperial commissioner, who, by his services to science in his two daring journeys across the Dark Continent, his suppression of the Arab rising in 1889, his talent for organisation, and, lastly, by his laborious expedition to Lake Nyassa by steamboat in 1892-1893, had given the surest guarantee of his ability to cope with the vast and varied demands which the rapid development of East Africa would necessarily make upon the governor. The

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emperor William's appointment of Wissmann to the head of the German colony in East Africa not only gave general satisfaction in colonial circles, but was hailed with pleasure by the industrial companies interested in the country. They regarded him as the most notable judge and representative of African economic policy.

In the second half of the year 1895 the disturbances stirred up in the south of the protectorate by the chiefs Machemba and Hassan bin Omar had attained such proportions that further attempts at a peaceful settlement seemed neither hopeful nor politically advisable. Lieutenant-Colonel von Trotha, commander of the protectorate troops, succeeded in defeating a body of rebels and capturing Hassan bin Omar. Machemba then submitted unconditionally, was placed under the German flag, and appeared at Dar-es-Salaam in person to ratify the peace when it was concluded.

After this, rapid and satisfactory progress was made towards the pacification of the country. The next revolt, in the hinterland of the southern coast, was suppressed, the attempt at rebellion in the maritime district was quelled. The natives had lost their taste for rebellion against German rule under their hereditary sultans or at the instigation of Arabs or leaders of mixed Arab blood, since it had become known throughout the whole protectorate that every rebel against German rule had sooner or later been overtaken by the punishment he merited.

In October, 1896, Major von Wissmann resigned on account of his health, and his place was taken by his friend and former comrade, Colonel Liebert, a man of great knowledge and experience in African affairs. Next to Wissmann the most brilliant of all German travellers in Africa, Liebert inspired the fullest confidence and highest hopes amongst all sound colonial politicians in Germany. His government of East Africa showed that he was worthy of his reputation, and the silence that has fallen upon the clash of arms in the colony redounds most highly to his honour.

THE WEST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE

The work of colonising the West African Protectorate, which was begun in 1885, has also made satisfactory progress in the recent years of the emperor William II's reign. In the year 1888, Von Puttkamer, imperial commissioner of Togoland, had explored the Agotimi country, which extends to the foot of the Agome Mountains; and Captain von François and Doctor Wolf of the army medical staff had also successfully explored a considerable area. A station was established in the highlands of Adeli on the heights of Adado, and named Bismarckburg. It was intended to serve as a base from which to push forward into the unknown hinterland. At the end of the year 1888 Doctor Wolf started from this point on a journey to Salaga, in the hitherto unexplored Adjuti country. In 1890 Lieutenant Herold founded the station of Misahöhe, a post of peculiar value from the fact that it commands the important caravan route leading from Salaga and Kpandu to the coast. The officials of the station have taken great pains to complete and improve the roads in hopes of attracting trade to the German coast.

The Anglo-German agreement of July 1st, 1890, extended the German possessions northwards and assigned the important town of Kpandu and the surrounding district as far as the eastern bank of the river Volta to the German sphere of interest. Towards the end of 1894 the Gruner expedition undertook to advance into the district about Salaga, to the east of what was called the neutral zone, to take possession of the regions north and northeast of Togo, if possible, as far as the banks of the Niger. Several French expeditions had started a short time before with the same object, and had advanced as far as

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the newly established station of Carnotville in the ninth degree of north latitude. Under the circumstances there seemed little chance that the race for the rich hinterland of Togo, on which both the French and Germans had entered, would be decided in favour of the latter. The unexpected happened nevertheless. The expedition under Doctor Gruner, sent out by the German Colonial Company and assisted by the German foreign office, overtook De-cœur's French expedition on January 10th, 1895, although the latter had had a good start of it in the first instance. Gruner marched north-northeast through several native kingdoms, until he reached Say, and thence was able to proceed by the Niger to Karmamma. There the expedition divided, one part of it, under First-Lieutenant von Carnap, going on down the Niger, and the other, under Doctor Gruner, starting on the return journey through the Borgu country, after paying a visit to the kingdom of Gando on the left bank of the Niger. During these journeys Gruner concluded treaties with several sultans, which formed the basis for future negotiations with France.

After protracted negotiation the year 1897 witnessed, in the treaty of July 23rd, 1897, the final adjustment of the frontier of the French and German spheres of influence respectively. By it Germany was secured in possession of the territory north of Togo up to the eleventh degree north latitude, and of the right bank of the river Monu in the maritime zone, which had been held by the French up to that time.

During the first year of the emperor's reign Doctor Zintgraff, in the Kamerun country, took the first steps to make a way from thence to the Adamaua country and the Benue. He first founded the station of Barombi on Lake Elephant, and made two expeditions from that point in the year 1888, both of which were unfortunate and ultimately abortive, in consequence of the hostility of the inhabitants of the district of Banyang. In the following year he started with a larger following, reached the Bali territory, and there founded a new station. At the end of April he started again and ultimately reached Ibi on the Benué. He afterwards returned to South Adamaua, within the German sphere of interest, by way of Kundi. Captain Zeuner had travelled through the same region simultaneously with Doctor Zintgraff, and had navigated the Mungo, Wuri, and Massake rivers. The southern part of the Kamerun country was also explored at the same time by lieutenants Kund and Tappenbeck. They had to contend with great difficulties, due to the obstinate resistance of the warlike natives in many places. Both returned from this first expedition severely wounded, making their way back through the dense belt of primæval forest which divides the populous inland country of the South Kameruns from the coast.

When they had recovered, the two brave explorers undertook a fresh expedition into the hinterland of the Batanga coast, for the purpose of founding a station between the rivers Njong and Sannaga. After establishing the station of Kribi on the Kribi River, Kund founded that of Jaúnde in the river-basin aforesaid, the superintendence of which was undertaken by Lieutenant Morgen, when he succeeded first Tappenbeck, who died of fever, and then Kund, who had fallen dangerously ill.

The expeditions of Doctor Zintgraff, captains Zeuner and Kund, and lieutenants Morgen and Tappenbeck, briefly sketched above, had proved that the Kamerun hinterland was fertile, populous, and accessible to exploration. The expedition under First-Lieutenant von Stetten, which started from Kamerun at the beginning of 1893 with the intention of being beforehand with the rapid advance of the French, who were pressing into the hinterland of Kamerun from the south along the Sanga, a tributary on the right bank of the Kongo, and from the north along the Benué, arrived in safety at Yola, the capital of the great sultanate of Adamaua, which Germany had resigned to England in

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1886. After obtaining important concessions from the sultan of Yola with reference to the southern part of Adamaua, Von Stetten returned to Kamerun by water, along the Benué and Niger. An agreement made with England on November 13th, 1893, secured for Germany the possession of the greater part of Adamaua as far as that country was concerned, and access to the southern shore of Lake Chad, though at the price of a final renunciation of Yola, the capital.

THE ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH

German possessions in these regions were presently exposed to extreme peril by the unrelenting advance of the French (who had vast resources at their disposal for the pursuit of their political object) towards the country around Lake Chad. It was impossible to come to an understanding with France (who was obviously aiming at the possession of Adamaua) as to how far latitude 15°, which had been fixed upon in the Franco-German arrangement of December 24th, 1885, as the provisional boundary of the Kamerun territory to the east, was to be regarded as the dividing line of the French and German spheres of interest to the north, because she could point to her practical occupation of the country about the Sanga and to the success of French explorers in the Shari basin, whereas not one of the German expeditions from Kamerun eastwards had succeeded in penetrating into those regions. On the contrary, they had always been driven northwards to the Benué by the hostility of the natives.

Under these critical circumstances it was of the utmost advantage to German interests that the expedition under Baron von Uechtritz and Doctor Passarge, which was sent to Yola by the Kamerun committee on the Benué in the middle of 1893, was crowned with political and scientific results of considerable importance. The expedition traversed the region between Yola and the lower Shari, though it was unable to reach Lake Chad on account of military complications then prevailing between the local sultanates, but explored the upper course of the Benue and returned to the mouth of the Niger in the summer of 1894. Influenced by the success of this expedition, France consented to open negotiations with a view to the final settlement of the eastern frontier of German territory in the Kamerun hinterland. The negotiations were conducted at Berlin and came to a conclusion in March, 1894.

It was a great advantage to the French that their exploring expeditions into the regions claimed by Germany to the east of latitude 15° had preceded those of all other travellers and secured them certain rights there. Under the circumstances no valid objections could be raised against the French claims. France profited greatly by the agreement which was finally made on March 15th, 1894, though after long opposition on the part of the German commissioners. In virtue of this agreement she retained possession of all points she had reached to the east of latitude 15°. She also obtained the right of navigating the Shari and the shore of Lake Chad east of the mouth of that river, while the space between the mouth of the Shari and the English frontier was all of the southern shore that fell to Germany. This fact was deplored in German official circles, as certain expeditions and travels in pre-colonial times had given Germany some moral claim to the territory thus lost, in the eyes of those Germans who advocated German colonisation. Moreover, in the Anglo-German agreement of 1893, Germany had stipulated for the recognition of her claims in the very districts of the river system of the Shari and Bagirmi, down to Wadai, which had now been ceded to the French. In a memorandum attached to this Franco-German agreement by the German government the reason given for this concession was that French expeditions, equipped at very considerable expense from public and private funds, had concluded treaties in

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these countries, while German enterprise, lacking sufficient means at command, had done too little in that direction.

Towards the end of the year 1893 it almost seemed as though the Kamerun Protectorate would be overwhelmed by the same grievous catastrophe that had befallen German East Africa five years before. The rebellion, which broke out without any warning and compelled the representatives of the German government to fly the country for a while, seemed likely to assume very formidable proportions. The rebels were slaves from Dahomey, whom Gravenreuth had purchased and set free in 1891; they had been enrolled in the protectorate regiment, and now turned against their liberators the knowledge they had gained from them.

The evil tidings from Kamerun had no sooner reached Germany, where they produced general consternation, than the emperor William himself sent telegraphic orders for the most comprehensive measures to subdue the rebellion, and it was by this means alone that every trace of the revolt was obliterated by the following February (1894). Morgen, the African expert, whom the emperor himself had selected for the mission, reorganised the protectorate regiment in Kamerun and coerced with the strong hand such tribes as persisted in making a disturbance.^e

Early in 1899 the German authorities undertook a campaign for the suppression of slave-raiding and the establishment of their power in the Kamerun hinterland so that the country as far as Lake Chad might be explored. A force under Captain Kamptz marched against the Wute tribe. This was a vassal tribe of the sultan of Tibati who came to their assistance, and was subdued only after a severe campaign. Later in the year the Bali rose in revolt and destroyed the Catholic mission at Kribi on the coast. Revolts continued throughout 1900. In 1901 the home government largely increased the forces in the colony, since when better order has been preserved.^a

THE SOUTHWEST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE

The protectorate of Southwest Africa presented a sorry spectacle at the emperor William's accession. Of all the colonial possessions of Germany it was regarded as the most dubious acquisition, since its future seemed practically to depend upon the chance of the discovery of rich mineral treasures there. Moreover, it was well known that the German Colonial Company of Southwest Africa, which had taken the country over from Lüderitz, who had acquired it in the first instance, had done so from motives of pure patriotism, in order that land which might possibly prove valuable in future should not pass into the possession of a foreign power. And, apart from this, the protectorate was encompassed on all sides by hostile elements; to the south the government of Cape Colony looked with jealous and suspicious eyes upon the German settlements which had come into being in its neighbourhood, and whose frontiers were not determined until 1890 by an agreement with England; to the east the South African Company, which regarded both Bechuanaland and Matabeleland as falling within its sphere of influence, did all it could to prevent a *rapprochement* between the German colony and the Transvaal Republic and to thwart any correspondence between them. And then, to add to all this, there was perpetual strife and friction with savage and refractory tribes, such as the Hereros, Ovambos, Namas, and other native races which refused to recognise the German protectorate.

During the period between 1888 and 1894, when the authority of the German Empire in Southwest Africa was hardly more than a name, Captain François and his insignificant force had the hard task of maintaining the credit of Germany among the natives, keeping neighbouring tribes in check, and repel-

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ling foreign adventurers. François had held his advanced post as befits a gallant officer, and the credit for the fact that there was no general rising against the Germans is entirely due to his extraordinary skill in dealing with the natives. It is true that neither he nor Doctor Goring, the imperial commissioner, could prevent the sanguinary feuds of the savage races with one another; and these feuds were the insurmountable obstacle to opening the country up to civilisation. The unquiet spirits among the natives of Southwest Africa found a leader of extraordinary ability in Henric Witboy, the boldest of all Southwest African chiefs. No one who was personally acquainted with the local situation could doubt that a struggle with this enemy, whose power and reputation increased from day to day, was inevitable. At the beginning of the year 1893 the emperor William resolved, in face of the desperate state of things in the protectorate, to reinforce the Southwest African protectorate regiment by more than two hundred men, and François was thus able to enter upon the decisive struggle with his antagonist. A bold *coup de main* was to end the disturbance at a single blow.

In the early dawn of April 12th, 1893, the protectorate regiment appeared before the stronghold of Hornkranz, the base from which Witboy made his sallies in search of plunder. The place was taken after a sanguinary fight, but the crafty chief escaped with the greater number of his followers, and a guerrilla war ensued to which François was unequal. But in judging of his failure we must not forget that, if he was unable to subdue the rebel leader, the fault did not rest with him, but with the wretchedly inadequate resources at his disposal. It cost his successor, Major Leutwein, a long and bloody struggle to restore peace, even after the protectorate regiment in Southwest Africa had been very considerably increased. Witboy submitted, and his subsequent conduct showed that he had become a good friend to the Germans.

After peace had been concluded with Witboy, Governor-General Leutwein, by his energetic action and attractive personal character, maintained the state of tranquillity which was imperatively necessary for the further development of the country. His wise and vigorous administration restored the credit the name of Germany had once enjoyed, and through days of strife and of peaceful rule he amply earned the honours that were heaped upon him on his return.

The most important step towards the rapid opening of the protectorate was inaugurated by the emperor himself, when he made arrangements for the construction of the Swakopmund railway and sent out a brigade of the "railway regiment" (*Eisenbahn Regiment*) to take it in hand. The first section of ten kilometres, between Swakopmund and Nonidas, was opened on November 5th, 1897.^e

In December, 1897, a revolt of the Zwartberg Hottentots occurred in the north and the German posts were threatened with destruction. The uprising was, however, suppressed with little loss of blood, although the natives destroyed valuable flocks and other property.^a

THE SOUTH SEA PROTECTORATES

The history of the South Sea protectorates has been marked by fewer notable events. The government of Kaiser Wilhelm Land in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago passed into private hands, those of the New Guinea Company, in 1889. Since 1890 the stations of Finschhafen and Hatzfeldthafen in Kaiser Wilhelm Land can boast of considerable areas under cultivation (the chief of them being tobacco and cotton plantations), the produce of which has already been introduced into the Bremen and Hamburg markets. The cultivation of edible fruits and the breeding of imported cattle have also made good progress. When the first harvest of tobacco and cotton from the exper-

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imental plantation of Hatzfeldthafen was sold in the Bremen market the result was astonishingly satisfactory. The stations in the Bismarck Archipelago are also in thorough working order, in spite of the difficulties of recruiting labour among the Papuans. The plantations of some private firms on the Gazelle Peninsula have produced positively brilliant results in the last few years, and hold out sure promise of a hopeful future. No one who has seen this wonderful country, with its exuberant fertility, can have any other wish than that the imperial government should soon take it in hand again.

Somewhat to the north of the equator and remote from the bustle of the world lies another little German protectorate, the Marshall Islands, a tranquil, silent, insular region whence little news reaches the public ear. But it has one great advantage, which is that the German Jaluit Company, which controls its economic resources, is flourishing there. The Marshall Islands are to Germany even now what a good colony ought to be to the mother country—a source of gain and a good market for home-grown commodities.

THE COMPACT BETWEEN GERMANY AND CHINA

It is an old saying, and often repeated, that the world beyond Europe is already parcelled out, and that Germany has entered too late upon the race for colonial possessions. An act of colonisation which rang like a trumpet-call not only through Germany but wherever German patriots dwell—we refer to the creation of a politico-commercial and maritime base in China—has shown that the old saying does not convey an indisputable truth.

The murder of two German missionaries in the Chinese province of South Shantung furnished the emperor William with a pretext for ordering the German squadron under Rear-Admiral von Diederich, which was then in eastern Asiatic waters, to effect a landing in Chinese territory to avenge the massacre. With this object Admiral von Diederich ran into Kiao-chau Bay, landed six hundred men, and ordered the Chinese commandant of the port to surrender the position. The latter resolved to retreat, and Admiral von Diederich seized the fourteen guns ranged there, together with their ammunition. A few days before Christmas a second detachment of the cruiser squadron, consisting of three ships under the command of Prince Henry, left Germany. Two transports started at the same time, carrying a marine battalion with its full complement of men, for garrison duty on land, a company of marine artillery, and a detachment of pioneers, and arrived at Kiao-chau at the end of January, on the very eve of the birthday of the emperor of Germany. Four-and-twenty hours later the camping-ground about the fortifications of Kiao-chau witnessed the brilliant spectacle of the first review of German marines.

Meanwhile a compact had been concluded between the German and Chinese governments by which a lease of Kiao-chau Bay for ninety-nine years was granted to the former. The *Reichsanzeiger* (Imperial Advertiser) made the following communication on the subject: "The object is to satisfy the reasonable desire of the German government to possess a base for commerce and navigation in Chinese waters, as other powers do. The concession takes the form of a lease for a long term of years. The German government is at liberty to erect all necessary buildings and other structures within the territory leased, and to take any measures requisite for its defence."

This territory included the two tongues of land to the north and south which formed the entrance to the bay, the whole basin of the bay itself up to high-water mark, and the islands at its mouth. Its whole superficial area amounted to some few square miles and was surrounded by a larger zone encircling the bay, within which the Chinese were to take no measures and make no dispositions without the consent of Germany. In particular, no obstacles

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were to be placed in the way of such regulations as the Germans might think desirable for the water courses. Most Germans in China agreed that if one spot on the coast of China was fitter than others to constitute the starting-point for the development of German interests by railway construction, mining, and commerce, Kiao-chau Bay was that spot.⁶

THE NAVY AND PAN-GERMANISM

In Turkey the government, helped again by the personal interest of the emperor, who himself visited the sultan at Constantinople, gained important concessions for German influence and German commerce. The Turkish armies were drilled and commanded by German officers, and in 1899 a German firm gained an important concession for building a railway to Baghdad. In Brazil organised private enterprise established a considerable settlement of German emigrants, and though any political power was for the time impossible, German commerce increased greatly throughout South America.

Encouraged by the interest which the events in China had aroused, a very important project was laid before the Reichstag in November, 1897, which would enable Germany to take a higher place among the maritime powers. A completely new procedure was introduced. Instead of simply proposing to build a number of new ships, the bill laid down permanently the number of ships of every kind of which the navy was to consist. They were to be completed by 1904, and the bill also specified how often ships of each class were to be replaced. The plan would establish a normal fleet, and the Reichstag, having once assented, would lose all power of controlling the naval budget. The bill was strongly opposed by the radicals; the Centre was divided; but the very strong personal influence of the emperor, supported by an agitation of the newly formed *Flotten Verein* (an imitation of the English Navy League), so influenced public opinion that the opposition broke down. A general election was imminent, and no party dared to go to the country as the opponents of the fleet.

Scarcely had the bill been carried when a series of events took place which still more fully turned public attention to colonial affairs and seemed to justify the action of the government. The war between the United States and Spain showed how necessary an efficient fleet was under modern conditions, and also caused some feeling of apprehension for the future arising from the new policy of extension adopted by the United States. The government was, however, enabled to acquire by purchase the Caroline Islands from Spain. This was hardly accomplished when events in South Africa occurred which made the nation regret that their fleet was not sufficiently strong to cope with that of Great Britain. The government used with great address the bitter irritation against Great Britain which had become one of the most deep-seated elements in modern German life. This feeling had its origin at first in a natural reaction against the excessive admiration for English institutions which distinguished the liberals of an older generation. This reaction was deliberately fostered during Bismarck's later years for internal reasons; for, as Great Britain was looked upon as the home of parliamentary government and free trade, a less favourable view might weaken German belief in doctrines and institutions adopted from that country. There also existed in Germany a curious compound of jealousy and contempt, natural in a nation the institutions of which centred round the army and compulsory service, for a nation whose institutions were based not on military but on parliamentary and legal institutions. It came about that in the minds of many Germans the whole national regeneration was regarded as a liberation from British influence. This feeling was deliberately fostered by publicists and historians, and was intensified by

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commercial rivalry, since in the struggle for colonial expansion and trade Germans naturally came to look on Great Britain, who held the field, as their rival. The sympathy which the events of 1896 and 1899 awakened for the Boers caused all these feelings, which had long been growing, to break out in a popular agitation more widespread than any since the foundation of the empire. It was used by the nationalist parties, in Austria as well as in Germany, to spread the conception of Pan-Germanism; the Boers as Low Germans were regarded as the representatives of Teutonic civilisation, and it seemed possible that the conception might be used to bring about a closer friendship, and even alliance, with Holland. In 1896 the emperor, by despatching a telegram of congratulation to President Kruger after the collapse of the Jameson Raid, had appeared to identify himself with the national feeling. When war broke out in 1899 it was obviously impossible to give any efficient help to the Boers, but the government used the opportunity to make an advantageous treaty by which the possession of Samoa was transferred to Germany, and did not allow the moment to pass without using it for the very practical purpose of getting another bill through the Reichstag by which the navy was to be nearly doubled. Some difficulties which arose regarding the exercise by the British government of the right of search for contraband of war were also used to stimulate public feeling.

The murder of the German ambassador, Baron von Ketteler, at Peking in 1900 compelled the government to take a leading part in the joint expedition of the powers to China.^a A force of over twenty thousand men was sent out under Count von Waldersee, who was also given supreme command over the allied forces, but did not reach China until the real work was accomplished. The government was severely criticised for having undertaken the expedition without consulting the Reichstag. It was desirable in such circumstances to have a younger and more vigorous statesman than Prince Hohenlohe at the head of affairs; on October 17th he resigned, and was succeeded by Count von Bulow, the foreign secretary.

The years since 1900 have not been marked by any events of first-rate importance. In internal politics the strength of the Social Democrats has caused the emperor much uneasiness. In the elections in June, 1903, they increased the number of their seats in the Reichstag from 58 to 81, and their popular vote from 2,107,000 in 1898 to 3,010,771. In the colonies the chief event was an uprising in January, 1904, of the Hereros in Southwest Africa; owing to the nature of the country, the revolt cost about \$150,000,000 before it was put down. In international politics the Kaiser has, as usual, figured prominently, but without the accomplishment of any very noteworthy results. During the Russo-Japanese war he sought to improve his relations with Russia, and thereby weaken the Dual Alliance between Russia and France. He also endeavored to thwart French plans in Morocco, but at the Algeciras Conference on Morocco his success was not pronounced, largely because England used her influence to support France. The most striking feature of the general election of 1907 was the rout of the Social Democrats, who only mustered a total of 43 seats instead of their previous 81. The clerical centre party remained practically as they were, the seats gained from the socialists being divided among the government *bloc*. This result was regarded by the Kaiser and Prince Bulow as a personal triumph.^a



APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO GERMAN HISTORY

I

CHARLEMAGNE'S CAPITULARY OF 802

[Charlemagne's Capitulary of 802 is in reality the foundation charter of the Holy Roman Empire which began its existence at Rome on Christmas Day, 800. It was a declaration of political ideals never to be realised, just as the ideal of the empire itself was never to be fulfilled, but it contained many points of importance that found a place in subsequent mediæval legislation, such as the institution of the "missi dominici," the imperial envoys, an idea later embodied in the legislation of Henry II of England. See Volume VII, History of the Western Empire, Chapter V.]

(From *Monumenta Historica Germanica, Leges, Sectio II*, tom i, pp 91-99)

CHAPTER 1. *On the embassy sent by the lord emperor.*

Now the most serene and most Christian lord Emperor Charles chose out from his most circumspect nobles even the wisest men, both archbishops and other bishops, and as well venerable abbots and pious laymen, and sent them throughout all his realm, and through them by all the following orders granted that men should live in accord with righteous law. Where, however, they found aught established in law other than by righteousness and justice, he bade them search this out with most diligent spirit and make it known to him; which thing he by God's gift desires to better. And no one through craft or subtlety of his own should attempt to disturb the written law, as many are wont to do, or his own sentence, or be overbearing with churches of God, with the poor, with widows, with wards, or with any Christian man. But they should by all means live according to the commandment of God with just reason and just judgment, and each man should be advised to live content in his station or calling; those that are canonical (the monastic clergy) should hold thoroughly to a canonical life without labour for base gain, nuns should guard their lives under diligent ward, the laymen and the secular clergy keep the laws righteously without evil fraud, and all live together in perfect love and peace. And those that are sent forth (the *missi*) were diligently to search

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wherever any man claimed that injustice had been done him by any, as they wish to guard God Almighty's favour towards themselves and by being faithful to assure his promises to them. So by all means in all cases and in all places, whether as regards God's holy churches, or the poor, the wards, and the widows—in sooth, the whole people—they should administer law and justice in full measure and in accord with the will and fear of God. And if there be aught such that they of themselves together with the counts of each province cannot better or bring to justice, let them without any uncertainty report it with their minutes to his own (the emperor's) court of judgment; and through no man's flattery, or no man's bribe nor by any plea of blood-kinship or fear of the mighty should the righteous way of justice be blocked by any man.

2. *On loyalty to be rendered to the lord emperor.* He ordains also that every man in all his realm, whether churchman or lay, each and every one according to his station and calling, who heretofore had promised fealty to him under the title of king, now make the same promise under the name of emperor; and that those who hitherto had not made the same promise should all, even those that are in their twelfth year, do likewise. And that all be publicly informed, in such manner as each could understand, how great and how many things are contained in this oath, not, as many even up to the present time have thought, merely loyalty to the lord emperor so long as he himself live, nor that he bring not any enemy into his realm for the sake of hostility, nor that he agree not to any disloyalty towards him, nor be silent concerning any such disloyalty, but that all should know that this oath is on this wise:

3. First, that each and every one and of his own proper person, in accordance with God's commandment and his own promise, strive fully to keep himself in God's holy service with all his mind and all his strength, since the lord emperor himself cannot give necessary care and training unto all separately.

4. Secondly, that no man, neither with false swearing nor any other craft or deceit, or through flattery of any man or by means of a bribe, shall by any means say him nay, nor dare remove from him nor to conceal a serf of the lord emperor nor a district nor land nor anything that appertains to him by right of his power; and no man shall make bold to conceal or to remove from him with false swearing or any other craft the slaves of his revenue, who unjustly and with deceit call themselves free.

5. That neither as concerns the holy churches of God, nor widows, nor orphans, nor pilgrims, shall any man make bold with deceit to do robbery upon or aught of harm, inasmuch as the lord emperor himself, next to the Lord God and his saints, has been made their protector and defender.

6. That no man shall dare lay waste a benefice of the lord emperor, to make it his own property thenceforth.

7. That no man dare overlook the call to arms of the lord emperor, and that no count make so bold as to dare discharge any of them that are bound to military service, either through any plea of kinship or the flattery of a gift.

8. And no man by any means under any circumstances shall make bold to interfere with any call or command of the lord emperor, or to delay his works or hinder or damage them, or in other matters act counter to his will or commandments. And let no man dare interfere with his dues and revenues.

9. And let no man in court be wont to argue for another when the plea of the other be unjust, whether by reason of some greed inasmuch as his argument avails little, or by his craft in argument to impede just judgment; or, when his case is weak, from a desire for oppression. But each and every man as regards his own case or tax or dues shall argue in his own defence, unless some be weak therefor or ignorant of pleading, in whose behalf either they that are sent (the "missi"), or superiors that are in that court, or a judge

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knowing the case of this argument, shall argue before the court; or, if need be, such an one shall be granted for the argument as is approved by all and as knows well this very case; which thing, however, shall by all means be done according to the will of the superiors or of those that are sent and are there present. Which thing also by every means shall be done in accord with justice and law; and by no means shall any man be bold to block justice by a bribe, payment, or any other trick of evil flattery or the plea of kinship. And let no man in anything with any man come to unjust understanding, but with all zeal and eagerness shall all be ready to carry through justice.

Now these things all above mentioned are bound to be observed in the oath to the emperor.

10. That bishops and priests both live in accord with canons and thus teach all others to live.

11. That bishops, abbots, and abbesses, that are placed in control over others, with the greatest reverence strive to surpass in piety them that are under them; that with harsh rule or tyranny they crush not them that are under them, but by sincere affection together with mercy and love and the example of good works they anxiously guard the flock entrusted to them.

12. That abbots should live where the monks are, and wholly with the monks, and in accord with the rule; that they eagerly learn and keep the canons. That abbesses do likewise.

13. That bishops, abbots, and abbesses shall have bailiffs, sheriffs, and judges that know the law, love justice, and are peaceful and merciful, in such wise that through them also the gain and vantage of God's holy church shall grow; inasmuch as we will that by no means shall we have in the monasteries neither provosts nor bailiffs greedy for gain and injurious to the church, by whom our greatest evils and losses arise. But let them be men such as the canon or rule of the order bids them be, subject to God's will and ever ready to accomplish justice unto all, fully keeping the law without evil deceit, ever exercising just judgment in all matters—such provosts, in truth, as holy rule teaches should be. And by all means let them hold unto this, namely, that they by no means depart from the rule of the canon or of the order, especially in view of our warning, but that they be lowly in all things. If, however, they make bold to do otherwise, let them feel the discipline of the order; and if any refuse to reform themselves, let them be removed from office and those that are worthy be substituted in their places.

14. That bishops, abbots, and abbesses, together with the count, be mutually in accord, agreeing upon the law so as to carry out just judgment with all love and peaceful harmony, and that they faithfully live after God's will, so that at all times and all places by them and between them just judgment be accomplished. Let the poor, widows, orphans, and pilgrims have comfort and aid from them; in order that we also through their good deeds the rather win favour and the reward of life everlasting than punishment.

15. We will and command that abbots and monks by all means be subject to their bishops with all lowliness and compliance, as the canons demand. And all churches and chapels shall remain under the protection and control of the church. And let none dare cast lots for or divide the property of the church itself. And what once has been given (to the church), let it not be turned back, but be consecrated and appropriated. If, however, any one make bold to do otherwise, he shall pay and satisfy our (royal) mulet. And the monks shall be rebuked by the bishop of the same province; but if they better themselves not, then shall the archbishop summon them to the synod: and if not even then do they correct themselves, then, together with their bishop, they shall come into our presence.

16. As regards ordination and election, as the lord emperor granted it pre-

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viously by the Frankish law, even so he confirms it at this time. With this restriction, however, that neither bishop nor abbot cherish the worthless men rather than the good of a monastery, nor strive, because of blood-kinship to them or any flattery, to advance them above their betters; and such men shall he not bring for our ordination, having better ones hidden and kept under. This we in no wise will allow, inasmuch as this seems to us to be done in derision and sport of us. But let men be trained in the monasteries for ordination in whom our gain and vantage shall grow and that of those that commended them.

17. Moreover, let the monks live immovably and boldly according to the rule, inasmuch as we know, that he displeases God that is lukewarm, even as John bears witness in the Revelation: "Would that thou wert either hot or cold; but because thou art lukewarm, shall I begin to spue thee out of my mouth." Secular business they shall by no means undertake. Outside the monastery let them have no permission whatsoever to go, save when forced by the greatest need; nay, the bishop in whose diocese they are shall take all care that they be not wont to wander outside the monastery. But if there be need in any matter of obedience that any go out, even this is to be done only with the bishop's advice and permission, and such persons with certification shall be sent against whom there may be no ill report or by whom no ill fame shall arise. As to the money or property of the monastery abroad, let the abbot of the monastery with the license and counsel of his bishop appoint one to care for it, not a monk, unless he be a faithful one. But the gain of this world and greed for earthly possessions they shall by all means shun, for avarice and greed of this world are to be shunned by all Christians, and most of all by those that seem to have given up the world and worldly desires. Strife and quarrels let no one, neither within nor without the monastery, make bold to arouse. However, he that thus presumes shall be corrected with the severest punishment of the order, so that others shall fear to do the like. Let them flee drunkenness and gluttony, inasmuch as all know that chiefly therefrom comes the defilement of lust. For to our ears has come that most ruinous report that much fornication together with abomination and uncleanness has already been found in the monasteries. Chiefly it grieves and disturbs us that it can be said with little error that even from those things whence the greatest hope of salvation is believed to arise for all Christians, namely, from the chaste life of the monks, thence is evil; forasmuch as it is said some monks are guilty of sodomy. Wherefore then we ask and command that hereafter they strive the more and with the greatest certainty to keep themselves by every guard from these sins, so that never more hereafter a like thing come to our ears. And let this be known to all, inasmuch as by no means shall we consent to these evils in any place hereafter in all our kingdom, and so much the less among those whom we desire to be the better in chastity and sanctity. Of a truth if hereafter aught of the like come to our ears, not only against them, but even upon all others also who consent to such things, we shall visit such punishment that no Christian shall hear of it and in any way thereafter make bold to do aught of the like.

18. Monasteries for women shall be strictly watched, and the nuns shall by no means be permitted to wander, but with all care shall be kept; nor shall any make bold to stir up strife or quarrels among themselves, nor in any wise be disobedient or oppose their masters or abbesses. Moreover, when they live under the rule, let them by all means keep themselves after the rule, that they be not given over to fornication, nor become slaves to drunkenness nor to greed, but that in every way they live justly and temperately. And let no man enter into their cloister or monastery, save a priest enter with certification to visit the sick or for the mass only, and he shall go forth immediately.

And let no one enroll his daughter [or] another man's in a congregation of nuns without the knowledge and advice of the bishop in whose diocese the place belongs; and let the bishop carefully inquire in what wise she desires to remain in God's holy service and strengthen there her steadfastness and her vows. The servants of other men or such women as are not willing to live after the manner and walk of the holy congregation, let all these be completely driven out from the congregation.

19. That no bishops, abbots, priests, nor any deacon of all the clergy make bold to have hounds for hunting, or hawks, whether falcons or sparrow-hawks; but that each and every one keep himself utterly in his place in accord with canon or rule. He, however, that shall thus make bold, let each and every one know that he shall lose his standing. In truth, moreover, let him suffer such punishment that others be afraid to take unto themselves such things.

20. That the abbesses together with their nuns shall eagerly and with one spirit keep themselves within their cloisters and on no account make bold to go abroad. But that abbesses, when they purpose to send forth any of the nuns, by no means do this without the permission and advice of their bishop. Likewise also when they ought to ordain any in the monastery or receive any within the monastery, even this let them beforehand thoroughly discuss with their bishops; and what is decided to be for the greatest health and good the bishops shall carry word of to the archbishop, and upon his advice those things that are to be done shall be carried out.

21. That priests and all such other canonical clergy as they have for assistants in their service show themselves ever subject to their bishops as the canonical commandment bids them; of these bishops they shall be fully willing to learn in holy training, even as they desire by our favour to have their own preferment.

22. That canon priests, moreover, keep wholly to the life ordered by canon, and that in the palace of the bishop or in monasteries they ought to be trained with all care according to the training of the canons. That they shall not at all be allowed to wander abroad, but shall live under all guard; that they be not given up to base gain, not fornicators, not thieves, not murderers, not ravishers, not quarrelsome, not quick to anger, not puffed up, not drunken; but pure of body and of heart, lowly, humble, moderate, merciful, peaceful, that they may be worthy sons of God to be preferred in holy orders; not like the Sarabaites in towns and villages near the church or bordering upon it, with neither master nor discipline, revelling, fornicating, or doing all other iniquity, to permit which is impossible.

23. Priests shall anxiously supervise clerks whom they have with them, that they live according to canon and be not wonted to silly sport, worldly feasts, singing, or revelry, but live purely and wholesomely.

24. Any priest or deacon who hereafter shall make bold to have women with him in his house without the consent of the canons shall be deprived of his rank and his heritage even until he shall be brought into our presence.

25. Let counts and judges insist upon the doing of all justice, and they shall have such younger men in their service as they can securely trust to keep faithfully law and justice, never to oppress the poor; and let them not, through any flattery or bribe nor under any pretence, dare conceal thieves, robbers and murderers, adulterers, evil-doers, enchanters or witches, or any sacrilegious men, but rather surrender them, that they be bettered and punished according to law, so that by God's bounty all these evils be far removed from a Christian folk.

26. That judges judge justly in accord with written law, not their own whim.

27. And we command that in all our realm neither to rich nor to poor nor

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to pilgrims shall any one dare deny hospitality, namely, to pilgrims walking through the land for God's sake, or to any one whatever travelling for the love of God and for the salvation of his own soul; to him let none deny roof and fire and water. Moreover, if one will to do them aught more of kindness, let him know that from God he shall have best requital, as he himself said, "Whoso shall receive a little one in my name, receiveth me," and in another place, "I was a stranger and ye took me in."

28. *On embassies coming from the lord emperor.* For the envoys (missi) sent forth, let counts and centenarries provide with all care, even as they desire favour from the lord emperor, that these without any delay may go upon their business; and he bids all by all means, inasmuch as they are bound to provide in this manner, that never any suffer delay, but with all haste that they speed them on their way and have their provision in such wise as our envoys dispose.

29. Let not our judges, counts, or envoys reckon the poor, however, to whom in his charity the lord emperor remitted what they were bound to pay in accord with his bann, as given up to them to wring from them anything upon their own part.

30. Of those whom the lord emperor wills through Christ's favour that they have peace and protection in his realm, namely, those who make haste to his presence, desirous to bring him news of anything, whether they be Christian or pagan, or if through poverty or hunger they be seeking aid, let no man dare constrain them for his own service or seize them for himself nor make way with them nor sell them; but where of their own accord they will to remain, under the guardianship of the emperor, there let them have help in his bounty. If any make bold to transgress this order, let them know that they shall atone for it with their lives for thus boldly treating the lord emperor and his commands.

31. And against them that make known the justice of the lord emperor, let not any make bold to contrive aught of harm or injury, nor to rouse against them any enmity. He however that so makes bold let him pay the emperor's fine, or, if he be prisoner for a greater penalty, it is ordered that he be brought to the emperor's presence.

32. Murders, whereby perisheth a multitude of Christian folk, by all that is holy we bid you quit and forbid, for the Lord God forbids hatred and enmity among his faithful, much more does he forbid murder. For in what wise can a man trust that God shall be reconciled to him if he have killed his son and nearest of kin? And how shall he think that Christ the Lord shall show him favour if he have slain his brother? It is a great danger and also one not to be lived under to arouse together with God the Father and Christ the Lord of Heaven the enmities of man; wherefrom for a little time one can escape by hiding, but still by some fate he falleth into the hands of his enemies. Where, however, shall he be able to escape Him to whom all hidden things are known? By what bold rashness doth any reckon to escape his anger? Wherefore that the people committed unto our rule perish not through this sin, we have taken care to avoid it by every possible rule, inasmuch as he shall not find us reconciled and showing favour, who has not feared God's wrath against him; but with strictest severity we will to punish him that has dared commit the sin of murder. Therefore lest sin still grow more and more, that there be not the greatest enmity among Christian men, where persuaded by the devil they do murder, straightway shall the guilty return to make amends, and with all speed let him make worthy agreement for the evil done to the nearest of kin of the dead man. And this we strictly command that the kin of the dead shall not dare increase still further the enmity because of the crime done, nor refuse to make peace when he ask it, but shall receive his given pledge and the fine

he hath prepared and make a lasting peace, and that the guilty man as well make no delay in paying the fine. When, however, it befall through result of sin that any one kill his brothers or his kin, straightway he shall yield himself to the penance prescribed for him, even thus as his bishop decide and without any hesitation; but with God's aid let him strive to accomplish his healing, and pay the fine for the murder after the law, and make full satisfaction to his kinsmen, and when pledges have been made let none thereafter rouse up any enmity. He however who deigns not to make worthy amends, let him be deprived of his heritage even until our judgment shall have been rendered.

33. The crime of incest we utterly forbid. If any one be defiled by sinful fornication, he shall surely not be let free without strictest severity, but in such wise shall be punished therefor, that all others be afraid to do the like, so that this uncleanness be utterly removed from Christian folk, and that the guilty purge himself thoroughly therefrom by penance as it is decided by his bishop. And let the woman be entrusted to the hands of her kin even until we have passed judgment. If, however, the man will not to agree to the judgment of the bishop for his betterment, then let him be brought into our presence, remembering the example made of the incest that Frizzo wrought upon a nun of God.

34. Let all be thoroughly and well prepared, whensoever our order or bidding shall come. If any, however, shall say that he is then unready and shall neglect the command, he shall be brought to the palace, and not only he but all those who make bold to disobey our bann or bidding.

35. That all men at all times revere with all honour their bishops and priests in the service and will of God. Let them not dare to make themselves and others defiled with incestuous marriages; nor shall they make bold to contract an alliance until bishops and priests together with the elders of the people with all care inquire into the degree of blood-kinship between those that are contracting; and then with the blessing let them be joined together. Drunkenness they shall shun, greed flee, and no theft commit; strife and quarrels and cursing, whether in banquet or assembly, shall be utterly avoided, but with love and harmony they shall live.

36. Also let all by all means in every pursuit of justice be in full agreement with our envoys. And the habit of false swearing let them by no means allow, forasmuch as it is necessary to remove from out a Christian folk this most evil crime. If any hereafter shall be convicted of perjury, let him know that he shall lose his right hand; moreover, let his personal heritage be taken away until our judgment.

37. As to those that have killed father or brother, or slain an uncle of the father's or mother's family or any other of their kin, and who are not willing to agree and render obedience to the judgment of the bishops, the priests, and the other judges, then for the salvation of their souls and the doing of just judgment let our envoys and the counts restrain them in such custody that they be safe and defile not other folk even until they be brought into our presence; and of their property they shall have naught in the mean time.

38. Likewise let it be done for those that have been reprov'd and punished for unlawful and incestuous unions, and will not to better themselves nor to submit to their bishops or priests, but make bold to hold lightly our command.

39. In our forests let none dare steal our game, which we have many times forbidden to be done; and now again do we firmly decree under bann that none do it more, as each and every one desires to keep his fealty and promises towards us, even so let him keep watch on himself. Still if any count or centenary or lower officer of ours or one of our servants shall steal our game, by all

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means let him be brought to our presence to give an account. As for others of the common people, whoever shall make this same theft of game, let him by all means pay what is just, and by no means whatsoever let any hereafter be mildly treated. Moreover, if this have been done with the knowledge of any in that fealty which they have promised to keep towards us and now must promise again, let them not conceal it.

40. Lastly, therefore, we wish our decrees to be known of all in our entire realm, through our envoys now sent forth, whether among men of the church, bishops, abbots, priests, deacons, canon priests, all monks or nuns, how each and every one in his service and calling may keep our ban or decree either where thereafter it be fit for their goodwill to pay their thanks to citizens or lend succour, or where there be aught that it be necessary to better. Likewise also laymen in all and every place, whether of protection of holy churches or our decree concerning widows, or orphans, or the weak, and robbery, and military matters, even in regard to all these details according to our command or our will that they be obedient, and moreover keep our ban in such wise as each and every one should strive to guard himself in God's holy service. And that all these good things be greatly to the praise of God Almighty, and that we may give thanks where it is right; but where we believe aught has gone unpunished, that we may so strive for the bettering of all with both zeal and eagerness, that with God's help we may bring this to betterment, both to our eternal gain and that of all our loyal followers. Likewise also of counts or centenaries, our servants, we wish that all the above-named matters between us be favourably known.

II

THE WAR OF THE INVESTITURES

[Nothing better exemplifies the power and position of the papacy in mediæval Europe than its struggle with the German emperors over the question of investiture. A full discussion of this may be found in Volume VII, *History of the Western Empire*, Chapter IX, and in Volume VIII, *History of the Papacy*, Chapter III. The documents here presented are: (I) Gregory VII's letter of reproof to Henry IV for his obstinacy in refusing to cast off the five counsellors whom Gregory had placed under the ban for simony, and for his disregard of the papal admonition concerning lay investiture. (II) Henry's sharp reply to Gregory. (III) Gregory's first bull of excommunication and deposition against Henry IV. (IV) Gregory's communication to the princes of the empire, relating how Henry did penance at Canossa and how he had removed the ban of excommunication. (V) The Concordat of Worms, the compromise between the emperor, Henry V, and Pope Calixtus II, by which the long struggle over the investiture was at length ended.]

I. Gregory VII to Henry IV, December 26th, 1075

(From *Migne, Patrologia, Series II, tom. cxliiii*, pp. 439-442)

Gregory, Bishop, servant to God's servants, to King Henry greeting and apostolic benediction, if so be that he be obedient to the apostolic see, as becometh a Christian king.

As we reckoned and weighed carefully with how stern judgment we shall have to render an accounting for our stewardship of the ministry entrusted to us by Saint Peter, first of the apostles, with doubting have we sent thee the apostolic benediction, inasmuch as thou art said knowingly to commune with them that are excommunicated by judgment of the apostolic see and decree

of synod. The which, if it be true, thou knowest of thyself that thou canst receive the grace of neither divine nor apostolic benediction unless thou separate from thee them that are excommunicate and drive them to repent, and with proper penitence and satisfaction for thy sin first gain absolution and indulgence. Whence we counsel thine excellency that, if thou dost feel thy guilt in this matter, thou go with speedy confession to take counsel of some canonical bishop, who with our permission shall enjoin upon thee fit penance for this thy sin and absolve thee, that he may endeavour to tell us truly by his letter the limit of thy penance with thine agreement thereto.

For the rest it seems unto us exceeding strange that thou dost send us so often such devout letters and dost show such lowliness of thine highness by the words of thine envoys; dost call thyself son of Holy Mother Church and of us, devoted in faith, single in affection, foremost in piety; and, finally, with all manner of suavity and veneration dost commend thyself; but in sooth, however, and in deeds showest thyself most perverse and goest counter to canonical and apostolic decrees in those matters where the bond of the church makes most demand. For to hold our peace of other matters, in the affair of Milan what thou hadst promised us through thy mother, through our fellow bishops, whom we sent to thee—how thou didst purpose, or with what heart thou didst promise, the outcome shows; and now indeed to shower blow upon blow, counter to decrees of the Apostolic See, thou hast given over the churches of Fermo and Spoleto—if indeed a church can be given over or granted by a man, and that to certain persons unknown to us; for they cannot so much as lay on hands by rule unless they have been approved and are well known.

It had befitted thy royal dignity, inasmuch as thou dost confess thyself a son of the church, to look with more reverence upon the church's master, namely, Saint Peter, foremost of the apostles, to whom, if thou art of the Lord's sheep, thou art given to be fed by the word and power of the Lord, for Christ saith unto him, "Peter, feed my sheep," and again, "To thee are given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven." In his see and apostolic rule, while we, sinners though we be and unworthy the grant of God, bear sway with his power, assuredly he has received whatever thou hast sent us whether in writing or in mere words; and while we read letter by letter or hear the speaker's words, he himself with his keen gaze sees from what heart this bidding came forth.

Wherefore it should have been seen to by thine highness that there be not found any difference of feeling in thy words and embassies to the Holy See, and in those matters whereby Christian faith and the condition of the church most avail to eternal salvation thou shouldest not have refused worship due, not to us, but to God Almighty, although the Lord thought it good to say to the apostles and their successors, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that refuseth you, refuseth me." For we know that he who refuses not to give loyal obedience unto God, in all matters which we have spoken in agreement with the judgment of the holy fathers, does not refuse to keep our commandments as if he had had them from the mouth of the apostle himself. For if, because of veneration of the seat of Moses, the Lord bade the apostles to heed whatsoever the scribes and Pharisees spoke when they sat thereon, there can be no doubt that the teaching of the apostles and of the gospels, whose seat and foundation is Christ, for whom is all reverence from the faithful, is to be received through those who are chosen for the service of proclaiming it, and is to be kept. For when a synod gathered together this year at the apostolic see, over which synod a dispensation from on high willed that we preside, and at which some of thine own faithful followers were present, see-

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ing that the discipline of the Christian religion for many seasons now had tottered, that the first and foremost means of winning souls had long since fallen utterly and been trodden down through the devil's urging, and being stricken with the danger and evident ruin of the Lord's flock, we turned us again to the commandments and teaching of the holy fathers, decreeing nothing new, naught of our own invention, but the early and sole rule of discipline in the church, and we decreed that all error should be left behind, and the pathway trod by the saints again be sought and followed. For we see not any entrance to our salvation and life everlasting open for Christ's sheep nor for their shepherds other than that shown by Him that said: "I am the door; through me if any enter in he shall be saved and shall find pasture"; this way, preached by the apostles and kept by the holy fathers, we have learned in the Gospel and in every page of the Holy Scriptures.

Now as to this decree, which some, setting man's favour before God's, call an unbearable weight and tremendous burden, but which we, however, with a more fitting title style the truth and the light needful to gain salvation again, we adjudge that it is eagerly to be received and kept, not only by thee or by those that are in thy realm, but by all the princes and peoples of the earth that confess Christ. Although we much desired and it would have greatly befitted thee that, even as thou art greater than others in fame, favour, and valour, so thou shouldst be high above others in loyalty to Christ; nevertheless, lest these things seem to thee beyond measure heavy and unjust, by thy faithful followers we have sent bidding unto thee lest change in an ill custom alarm thee, that thou shouldst send unto us what wise and pious men thou couldst find in thy realm, so that, if by any argument they might show or explain to us in what way we might lighten the decree published by the holy fathers and yet offend not the honour of the eternal King nor put to peril the safety of our own souls, we might bow before their counsel. But even hadst thou not been in so friendly wise advised by us, nevertheless it had been just that thou shouldst make demand of us with moderation in matters wherein we oppressed thee or offended thy dignity, before thou didst violate apostolic decrees. But of what import thou madest our warnings or our adherence to justice is made clear in these matters that have since been done and ordained by thee.

But inasmuch as God's long-suffering is ever patient and calls thee to amend thy ways, as thine understanding groweth we hope that thy heart and soul may be turned to hearken unto the commands of God. With a father's love, knowing Christ's dominion over thee, we bid thee ponder how dangerous a thing it is to prefer thine honour to his; and that thou no longer by thy present doings hinder the freedom of the church, whom he deemed a spouse worthy to join to him in heavenly marriage, but that thou begin to lend the aid of thy valour and loyal devotion for the greatest growth to the honour of God Almighty and Saint Peter, by whom thine own glory shall win increase. This thing, in sooth, because of the victory won over thine enemies, now most especially thou oughtest to recognise as a thing thou shalt owe to them; and while they bless thee with notable good fortune, let them see devotion in return for the bounty granted thee. And that the fear of God, in whose powerful hand is every realm and empire, may sink deeper into thine heart than has our warning, hold this in mind, namely, what happened to Saul after he had won a victory through obedience to the bidding of the prophet, but then boasted of his triumph and did not carry out the command of the same, and how he was reproved of the Lord; but how great favour came to King David for reward of lowliness in the midst of the glories of valour.

Lastly, of those matters in thy letters that we have seen and know but say naught of, we shall give thee no set answer to them until thine ambassadors,

Rabbodi, Adelprech, and Vodescal, and they that we joined unto them, be returned unto us and open up to us more fully what things we committed to them to discuss with thee.

Given at Rome, December the twenty-sixth, the fourteenth indiction.

II. Reply of Henry IV to Gregory VII, March 27th, 1076

(From *Monumenta Historiæ Germanica, Leges, Sectio IV, tom 1., p. 110*)

Henry, king not by illegal usurpation, but through the holy ordination of God to Hildebrand, now not pope but false monk.

Such greeting hast thou won by thine own strife, for thou hast passed by no rank in the church without making it share in strife, not in honour; in cursing, not in blessing. For to speak out of many of a few particulars, the rulers of Holy Church, namely, archbishops, bishops, priests, as the Lord's anointed, hast thou not only not feared to touch, but as if they were bond slaves, knowing not what their lord doeth, under foot dost thou tread them. By this treading of them under foot thou hast got praise from the mouth of the rabble. All them thou hast judged to know nothing and thyself alone to know all things; which same knowledge, however, thou art eager to use, not for building up but for tearing down—so that we may believe that Saint Gregory, whose name thou dost seize for thyself, spake prophecy of thee when he said on this wise: "From the great number of his subjects is the spirit of a master often lifted up and he deems that he knows more than all men, since he sees that he is powerful more than all men." And we have borne all this in our eagerness to keep safe the honour of the Apostolic See. But thou didst esteem our lowliness to be fear, and therefore fearedst not to rise up against that very kingly power granted us by God, which power thou hast dared threaten to take away from us; as if we received rule from thee, as if in thy hand and not in God's hand were rule or empire. Nay, our Lord Jesus Christ called us to rule, but called thee not to priesthood. For thou hast risen by these steps: namely, by trickery, which a monk's calling detests, thou hast attained money; by money, favour; by favour, the sword; by the sword, the See of Peace; and from the See of Peace thou hast disturbed peace, in that thou hast armed subjects against their lords, in that thou, though not called of God, hast taught that our bishops, called of God, are lightly to be esteemed, in that thou hast seized for laymen the ministry over their priests, so that by their own power they displace or condemn those whom they of their own selves had received as their teachers from God's hand, through the laying on of the hands of the bishops. On me also, who, unworthy though I be, am anointed among them that are anointed to rule, thou hast laid thy hand; although the tradition of the holy fathers teacheth that I am to be judged by God alone, nor for other charge declares that I be deposed unless—what be far from me—I have strayed from the faith; for even Julian the apostate the wisdom of the holy fathers entrusted not to themselves, but to God alone to judge and depose. Himself also the true pope, Saint Peter, cries, "Fear God, honour the king." But thou, that fearest not God, dost dishonour me, appointed of him: Inasmuch as Saint Paul, when he spared not an angel from heaven, should he preach otherwise, excepted not thee, who upon earth dost preach otherwise. For he saith, "If any one, either I or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel than we have preached unto you, let him be damned." Thou therefore, condemned by this anathema, by the judgment of all our bishops, and by our judgment, descend, leave the usurped seat of the apostles. Let another rise upon the throne of Saint Peter, who shall not hide

[1076-1077 A D]

violence under the cloak of religion, but shall teach the sound teaching of Saint Peter. I, Henry, king by God's grace, together with all our bishops, say unto thee, "Descend, descend, thou that shalt be damned through all ages."

III. Excommunication of Henry IV

(From *Migne, Patrologia, Series II, tom. cxliii, p. 790*)

O Saint Peter, chief of apostles, incline, we ask, thy holy ears unto us, and hear me, thy servant, whom thou hast nursed from childhood and whom even until this day thou hast freed from the hand of the wicked, that did hate me and do hate me for my loyalty to thee. Thou art my witness and my lady the Mother of God and Saint Paul, thy brother, and all saints, that thy Holy Roman Church drew me against my will to her guidance, and that I thought not of force to sit upon thy seat, but rather wished to end my life as a pilgrim than to seize thy place by worldly guile for the sake of earthly glory. Therefore of thy favour and not of my deeds, I believe that it has pleased and now pleases thee that the people of Christ particularly entrusted unto thee should be obedient unto me, particularly because of thy life entrusted unto me; and by thy favour unto me is the power given of God to bind and to loose in heaven and on earth. Trusting in this belief, on behalf of the honour and protection of thy church, on the part of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, through thy power and authority, to King Henry, son of the emperor Henry, who hath rebelled against thy church with unheard-of haughtiness, do I forbid the rule of the entire realm of the Germans and of Italy; and all Christian men do I free from the bond of such oath to him as they have made or shall make; and I forbid that any serve him as king. For it befits that he who strives to lessen the honour of thy church should himself lose what honour he seemeth to have. And since as a Christian he has scorned obedience, nor has returned to the Lord whom he deserted, holding intercourse with those that were excommunicated, and spurning my commands, sent to him as thou art witness for his own salvation, and separating himself from the church, which he tried to break asunder, now I, in thy stead, bind him with the bond of anathema, and so bind him, out of belief in thee, that the nations may know and have proof that thou art Peter, and upon this rock the Son of the living God hath built the church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

IV. Gregory VII to the German Princes, January 27th, 1077

(From *Migne, Patrologia, Series II, tom. cxliii, pp. 465-467*)

Gregory, bishop, servant to the servants of God, to all archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and other princes of the German realm, that defend the faith of Christ, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Inasmuch as for love of justice ye have taken up common cause and peril with us in the struggle of Christ's warfare, we have wished to make known to your affection with sincere love how the king brought down to penance besought the mercy of absolution, and in what manner the whole case has been carried on since his entry into Italy even until now.

As had been decided between us and the envoys who were sent to us on your part, we came into Lombardy, about twenty days before the term at which one of the dukes was to meet us at Clusæ, awaiting his coming until we could cross over to those parts. But when after the term had passed news came to us that at this time, because of many difficulties (as we do indeed be-

lieve), an escort could not be sent to meet us, and when we had not elsewhere succour to cross over to you, we were encompassed by no small anxiety as to what had better be done. In the mean time we knew of a certainty that the king was drawing near, who, even before he entered Italy, sent to us envoys to make supplication, offered in all matters to give just dues to God, Saint Peter, and ourselves, and again made promise to mend his life and to heed all obedience, if only he should win from us the gift of absolution and apostolic benediction. This we long postponed by holding many councils, and when we had sharply reprov'd him for his error through all messengers that went between us, at length he came with a few followers, making no show of rashness or hostility, to the town of Canossa, where we were then staying. There for three days, before the gate, with all royal garb laid off, indeed barefoot and clad in woollen rags, he stood, nor ceased imploring with much weeping the help and comfort of apostolic mercy, until he forced all that were there present and those to whom report thereof came to such pity and compassionate sympathy that in his behalf all interceded with many cries and tears—all marvelling at our unwonted hardness of heart, and some even crying out against us that this was not the weight of apostolic severity, but a sort of cruelty of tyrant fierceness. Finally, by the insistence of his repentance and the great supplication of all there present we were overcome, and finally, having loosed the bond of the anathema, we took him back into the favour of fellowship and into the bosom of Holy Mother Church, but not before we had from him the assurances written below, of which moreover we received confirmation by the hands of the abbot of Cluny, of our daughters Mathilda and the countess Adelaide, and of other princes, bishop and lay, as seemed to us valuable herefor.

When these things were thus brought to conclusion, in order that for the peace of the church and the harmony of the realm (as we have long wished) we might be able, with God's help, to join together all things more fully, we desired at the first opportunity granted us to come unto you. For we will that your affection know this thing beyond doubt, that, inasmuch as the case of this whole matter is in such suspense as ye may see from the assurances named, both our coming unto you and your agreement in our counsels seem to be very particularly needful. Wherefore in that faith wherein ye began and in love of justice do ye all strive to remain, knowing that we are not otherwise given over to the king save that by mere speech, as is our wont, we have said that he might hope of us in all matters wherein we should be able to lend him aid, either with justice or with mercy, but without peril to our soul or to his.

Oath of Henry, King of the Germans

"I, King Henry—by reason of murmuring and dissension, which now archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and other princes of the kingdom of the Germans have against me, and by reason of others who follow them in the same matter of dissension—within the term that the lord Pope Gregory shall determine, according to his judgment will do justice or according to his counsel will make harmony, unless an absolute impediment block either me or him, which stay having come to an end, I shall be ready to accomplish the same. Likewise if the same Pope Gregory will to go across the mountains or to other regions of the earth, he shall be secure, in so far as I am concerned and all whom I shall be able to constrain, from all hurt of life and limb, or from capture, both he and they that shall be in his escort or company, or they that are sent by him, or come to him from whatsoever region of the world, both going, tarrying there, or returning thence; nor shall he have any other hindrance with

my consent that shall be counter to his honour. And if any do aught to him, I shall help him in good faith according to my ability."

Given at Canossa, January twenty-seventh, the fifteenth indiction.

V. The Concordat of Worms, September 23rd, 1122

(From *Monumenta Historiæ Germanica, Leges, Sectio IV., Constitutiones, tom. i*, 159-161)

1. Privilege of the emperor.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity. I, Henry, by God's grace august emperor of the Romans, for the love of God and of the Holy Roman Church and of lord Pope Calixtus and for the cure of my soul, give to God, to God's holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to the Holy Catholic Church all investiture through ring and staff, and grant that in all churches that are in my empire there be canonical election and free consecration.

The possessions and regalia of Saint Peter, which, from the beginning of this disagreement even unto this day, whether in my father's time or in my own, have been removed—what I have the same I restore to the Holy Roman Church, and what I have not I will faithfully help that they be restored.

The possessions also of other churches, and of princes and others, both clergy and lay, which have been lost in this war, by advice of princes or by process of justice—what I have I shall give back, and what I have not I shall faithfully help that they be restored.

And I give true peace to lord Pope Calixtus, the Holy Roman Church, and all who are or have been upon his side.

And wherein the Holy Roman Church shall ask my aid, I will faithfully help, and wherein it shall make to me complaint, I will work due justice. These things all are done with the agreement and advice of the princes whose names are written below:

Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz. F., archbishop of Cologne. H., bishop of Ratisbon. O., bishop of Bamberg. B., bishop of Spire. H., of Augsburg. G., of Utrecht. O., of Constance. E., abbot of Fulda. Henry, duke. Frederick, duke. S., duke. Pertolf, duke. Margrave Teipold. Margrave Engelbert. Godfrey, count palatine. Otto, count palatine. Berengar, count.

I, Frederick of Cologne, archbishop and archchancellor, give recognisance.

2. Privilege of the pope.

I, Calixtus, bishop, servant to God's servants, to thee, loved son Henry, by God's grace august emperor of the Romans, grant: elections of bishops and abbots in the German realm, which appertain to the realm, shall be held in thy presence without simony or any violence, so that, if any disagreement arise between factions, with advice or judgment of the metropolitan and his fellow provincials, thou mayst furnish assent and assistance to the sounder party. He that is elected, moreover, shall receive his regalia from thee and by thy lance and shall do thereafter what is legally due unto thee.

One consecrated in other regions of the empire within six months shall receive his regalia from thee and by thy lance and shall do thereafter what is legally due unto thee; saving all things that are recognised as appertaining to the Roman Church.

Wherein thou shalt make complaint to me and ask aid, according to the due of my office I will give thee aid. I give thee true peace and likewise all who are upon thy side or were at the time of this disagreement.

III

THE TRUCE OF GOD (1085 A D)

[This document is commonly accepted as the decree of the synod of Mainz or of the emperor Henry IV. This has, however, been questioned by some late editors, who hold that its scope was less than such an origin would imply, and that it was diocesan rather than national. Similar attempts to curb private warfare were made in France and other European countries.]

(From *Monumenta Historiae Germanica, Leges, Sectio IV., tom. i., pp. 605-608*)

1. Inasmuch as in our days the holy church has been afflicted beyond measure with tribulation, suffering so much stress and danger, we have set ourselves to come to her aid, through God's favour, in order that peace, which for pressure of our sins we could not make lasting, might be strengthened a little by the exemption at least of some days.

2. In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1085, in the eighth indiction, through God's intervention, by the agreement of clergy and people alike it was decreed by vote that from the first day of the Advent of the Lord until the final day of Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima even to the eighth day of Pentecost and through that whole day, and on every fifth, sixth, Sabbath day, and Sunday even until the rising of the sun on the second day of the week, with the addition of the fourth fast day of the four seasons, and on each evening of the feast day of an apostle together with the day following, and besides on every day canonically set apart in the past or in the future for fasting or for feasting, this decree of peace shall be observed. In order that there may be the greatest security of all upon the road or tarrying at home, no man shall do murder and arson, robbery and assault, no one with cudgel or sword or any manner of weapon shall harm any, and no one no matter for what wrong he be at feud, from the Lord's Advent even unto the fifth day of Epiphany and from Septuagesima to the eighth day of Pentecost, shall make bold to bear arms, shield or sword or lance or the load of any armour whatsoever.

3. Likewise on other days, that is Sundays, the fifth and sixth days of the week, the Sabbath, on each evening of the feast day of an apostle together with the day following, and besides on every day canonically set apart in the past or in the future for fasting or for feasting, it is not permitted to any to bear arms unless they be going far, and then, moreover, with this exception, that none in any way do hurt therewith.

4. If it be needful for any within the term of the set peace to go to any other place, where this peace is not kept, let him bear arms, so however that he harm not any one, unless he be assailed and is compelled to defend himself. Moreover, when he return again let him lay down arms.

5. If it befall that a castle be besieged, throughout the day included within the peace let them stay from the assault, unless they be assaulted by the besieged and be forced to repel their assault.

6. And lest this decree of peace be violated by any person without punishment, by all present there was decreed this sentence: If a freeman or noble shall violate it, that is, if he do murder or wound any one or in any way whatsoever transgress, without any intervention from his wealth or from his friends he shall be driven out from the bounds of his neighbours, and all his estate his heirs shall take, and if he have a benefice, the lord to whom it pertains shall receive it. But if his heirs be found and proved to furnish him

with any aid, after he have been expelled, or with any sustenance, the estate shall be taken from them and be allotted to the royal dignity. But if he wish to clear himself of the charge against him, with twelve men who are both noble and free, they shall swear.

7. If a bondman kill a man, he shall be beheaded; if he wound him, his right hand shall be cut off, if in any other way, striking with fist or stone or club, or in whatsoever way he fail of fulfilling the law, he shall be beaten and his hair shall be cut. If, however, the accused wish to prove himself innocent, let him clear himself by the ordeal of cold water, in such wise, however, that he himself and none other in his place be put into the water. If, however, fearing the judgment made against him, he flee away, he shall lie under perpetual excommunication, and in whatsoever place he be heard to be let a letter be sent thither, wherein it be announced that he is excommunicated and that none shall be allowed to have fellowship with him.

8. There ought not to be cutting off of hands in the case of boys not yet twelve years old. If these have sinned against this peace, let them be punished only with whipping.

9. It breaks not the peace if any order to beat with rods or clubs a faulty bondman or a pupil or one subject to him in any manner soever.

10. Another exception from this decree of peace is if the lord emperor publicly order a campaign to be made to attack the enemies of the realm, or if it please him to hold council for the judgment of the adversaries of justice.

11. The peace is not violated if in the mean time a duke or other counts or bailiffs, or they that occupy the place of these, hold court and in accordance with the law do justice on thieves, robbers, and other criminals.

12. For the security of all, especially them that are at feud, this peace of the Lord has been decreed, but not that after the completion of the term of truce they may dare rob and plunder through villages and homes, for the law and sentence decreed against them before this peace was determined shall most diligently be preserved, so that they be kept from injustice, inasmuch as robbers and assassins are absolutely excluded from this peace of God and from every truce.

13. If any strive to oppose this holy decree, and will neither promise God this truce nor keep it, for him let none of the priests make bold to sing a mass nor pay heed to his salvation. If he be sick, let no Christian make bold to visit him; and let him have no eucharist at his end, unless he repent.

14. If any either at the present day or forever in the time of our descendants make bold to violate this truce, he is excommunicated by us without hope of reinstatement.

15. We ordain that not more in the power of counts or judges or any other of the mighty than in that of the whole people in common does it lie to visit the above-mentioned punishments on them that violate the holy truce. And let them most diligently beware lest when they punish they exercise friendship or hate or aught else counter to justice; let them not hide the crimes of certain ones, but rather bring them to light. Let no man, to redeem those taken in crime, receive money.

16. Merchants on the road whereon they do business, farmers giving heed to their farm work, ploughing, digging, reaping, and other matters of the like, shall have peace on every day. Women likewise and all that bear title in sacred orders shall enjoy continual peace.

17. In churches also and church graveyards let worship and reverence be given to God, so that if thither there flee a robber or a thief he be not taken, but be hemmed in there until by force of hunger he be forced to give himself up. If any make bold to aid an accused man by protection, weapons, food, or flight, he shall be subject to like penalty with the guilty.

18. Moreover, by our ban we forbid that any member of a holy order being proved a transgressor of this holy truce be punished by lay court, but that he be given up to the bishop. Where laymen are beheaded, let clergy be degraded; where laymen are mutilated, let clergy be suspended from office and by the vote of laymen be punished with frequent fasts and whippings until there be satisfaction. Amen.

IV

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUCHY OF AUSTRIA (1156 A.D.)

[This grant of Frederick Barbarossa erected Austria, hitherto merely a margravate, into a duchy, and laid the foundation of its future power and strength among German states See Volume XIV, *The Holy Roman Empire*, Chapter I]

Establishment of the Duchy of Austria, September 17th, 1156

(From *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Leges, Sectio IV*, tom i, pp 221-223)

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity. Frederick, through the gracious mercy of God, august emperor of the Romans.

1. Although an exchange of goods may stand unquestioned by means of actual bodily transfer, and such matters as are done lawfully cannot be violently undone by any resistance, nevertheless, that there be no possibility of misunderstanding what has actually been done, our imperial authority must needs intervene.

2. Know then the present generation and the descendants to come of all that are faithful to Christ and to our empire, how we, through the assisting favour of Him by whom peace came from heaven on earth to men, in the general court of Ratisbon held on the nativity of Holy Mary, in the presence of many pious and Catholic princes, have brought to an end the strife and quarrel which was long carried on between our beloved uncle, Henry, duke of Austria, and our dear nephew, Henry, duke of Saxony, over the duchy of Bavaria, in this manner, that the duke of Austria has given up to us the duchy of Bavaria, which we straightway granted as a benefice to the duke of Saxony.

3. Moreover, the duke of Bavaria has made over to us the march of Austria with all its rights and with all such benefices as the former margrave Leopold had from the duchy of Bavaria.

4. Lest in doing this the honour and glory of our loved uncle seem at all lessened, by the counsel and judgment of the princes, on the proposal of the decree by Ladislaus, noble duke of Bohemia, and the approval thereof of all the princes, we have changed the march of Austria into a duchy, and this same duchy with all rights we have granted as a benefice to the aforesaid Henry, our uncle, and to his right noble wife Theodora, decreeing by perpetual law that they themselves and their children after them, whether male or female, shall have and possess the aforesaid duchy of Austria from the realm with hereditary right.

5. If, however, the aforesaid duke of Austria, our uncle, and his wife die without children, they shall be free to leave the same duchy to whomsoever they will.

6. We decree also that no person, great or small, within the realm of the same duchy shall make bold to exercise any justice without permission and consent of the duke.

[1156-1648 A.D.]

7. The duke of Austria for his duchy shall owe none other service to the empire, save that he come when he is bidden to the courts which the emperor shall decree in Bavaria; also he shall owe no campaign service, except what the emperor perchance shall ordain against the kingdoms or provinces adjoining Austria.

8. And that this our imperial decree remain for all time sure and unbroken, we have bidden that this present be copied hence and sealed with the imprint of our seal, with the addition of the names of fitting witnesses, which are these: Pilgrim, patriarch of Aquileja; Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg; Otto, bishop of Freising; Conrad, bishop of Padua; Eberhard of Bamberg; Hartmann of Brescia; Hartwig of Ratisbon; the bishop of Trient; Lord Guelfo; Duke Conrad, brother of the emperor; Frederick, son of King Conrad; Henry, duke of Carinthia; Margrave Engelbert of Istria; Margrave Albert of Staden; Margrave Diepold; Hermann, count palatine of the Rhine; Otto, count palatine, and his brother Frederick; Gebhard, count of Sulzbach; Rudolf, count of Swinshud; Engelbert, count of Halle; Gebhard, count of Burchusen; the count of Buthene; the count of Pilstein; and many others.

The seal of Lord Frederick, most invincible emperor of the Romans.

I, Reinhold, chancellor, in place of Arnold of Mainz, archbishop and arch-chancellor gave recognisance.

Given at Ratisbon, September 17th, the fourth indiction, the year of the Lord's incarnation the one thousand one hundred fifty and sixth, in the rule of Lord Frederick, august emperor of the Romans; favourably in Christ, Amen; in the year of his reign the fifth, of his empire the second.

V

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA¹ (OCTOBER 24, 1648)

[The Peace of Westphalia, the first of the great international treaties by which the states of Europe took on their modern forms, was of importance not only as terminating the Thirty Years' War, but as readjusting the political and religious affairs of Europe and as containing the first recognition of the principle of the Balance of Power. The negotiations were carried on for five years, 1643-1648, at Munster, between the representatives of France, the Empire, Spain, and the German Catholic states, and at Osnabruck between representatives of Sweden, the Empire, and the German Protestants. After preliminary treaties had been signed at Osnabruck and Munster, the Osnabruck diplomats went to Munster in October, and there on the 24th a general peace was signed. Our text is translated from F. W. Ghillany's *Europäische Chronik* (Leipzig, 1865), vol. 1, pp. 148-164.]

I. TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED AT OSNABRÜCK BETWEEN THE EMPEROR FERDINAND III ON THE ONE SIDE, AND QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN AND HER GERMAN ALLIES ON THE OTHER

Art. I. "There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace and a real and sincere friendship between his imperial majesty and the House of Austria with all his allies and retainers and all heirs and successors on the one side, and between her imperial majesty and the kingdom of Sweden with all her allies and subjects, especially between the very Christian king (of France), together with the electors, princes, and estates of the realm on the other side; and this peace shall be sincerely and conscientiously upheld and cherished," etc.

Art. II. General amnesty on both sides. All insults and outrages, dam-

[¹ The articles not accompanied by quotation marks are given in condensed form.]

[1648 A.D.]

ages and expenses, caused during the war in word, writing, or deed, shall be forgotten without respect to persons.

Art. III. 1. In consequence of this amnesty all estates of the realm, electors, princes, knights, citizens, and subjects shall be reinstated in their possessions as they stood before the outbreak of the war.

2. This reinstatement is to be understood in the sense that no one is to suffer any infringement of his rights.

Art. IV. 1. In the following paragraphs the more important of these restitutions are enumerated separately, from which it must not be concluded that the restitution is not to be carried out in respect to those persons who are not mentioned here by name. 2. Above all things, the peace congress has settled the question of the Palatinate as follows: 3. "First, in regard to the House of Bavaria; the electoral dignity, which formerly belonged to the electors of the Palatinate, with all the regalia, dignities, privileges, insignia, and prerogatives belonging to that office, without any exception, together with the whole Upper Palatinate and the grafschaft Cham, with all their appurtenances, prerogatives, and rights, shall remain, in the future as hitherto, in the possession of the lord Maximilian, count palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, of his children, and of the whole house of William so long as there shall be male heirs of that house. 4. On the other hand, the elector of Bavaria renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, the demand for the thirteen millions (made of the emperor for expenses of war), and also all claims upon Upper Austria, and from the moment of the proclamation of peace will hand over to his imperial majesty all documents which have been preserved concerning that demand, to be annulled and destroyed." 5. An eighth electorate shall be established for the house of the Rhenish Palatinate (the count palatine Karl Ludwig and his heirs—the line of Rudolf). 6. The said count palatine Karl Ludwig and his heirs shall again receive the Lower or Rhenish Palatinate with all its rights and with the same extent which it had before the outbreak of the Bohemian disturbances. 7. However, the few districts lying on the Bergstrasse, which the electorate of Mainz mortgaged to the Palatinate in 1463, shall be returned to the electorate of Mainz against a cash compensation for the value of the mortgage. 8. The claims laid by the bishops of Speier and Worms to certain estates in the Lower Palatinate shall be settled before a regular judge. 9. "If it should happen that the (Bavarian) line of William should have no male heirs, and that the (Bavarian) palatine line (the line of Rudolf) should still be in existence, not only the Upper Palatinate but also the electorate, which the dukes of Bavaria owned, shall revert to the surviving counts palatine, who in the mean time had been in possession of the co-investiture; the eighth electorate, however, shall then wholly cease to exist. On the other hand, the Upper Palatinate in that case shall revert to the surviving count palatine in such a way that all transactions and benefits of the law, which rightfully belong to the heirs to the allodial estates of the elector of Bavaria, shall be reserved to them." 10. All family compacts between the electoral house of Heidelberg and Neuburg shall remain intact so far as they do not conflict with the provisions of the present peace. 11. The rights of the Palatinate over the Julian fief shall likewise be preserved intact. 12. The emperor will pay to the brothers of the count palatine Karl Ludwig, in order to lighten his appanage, 400,000 reichsthalers within four years, at the rate of 100,000 thalers annually. 13. The amnesty is expressly extended over all officers and retainers of the house of the palatinate. 14. "On the other hand, the lord Karl Ludwig, with his brothers and the remaining electors and princes of the realm, shall swear faith and obedience to the emperor, and, in addition, both he and his brother shall renounce all claims to the Upper Palatinate, for himself and his heirs, as long as there shall be legitimate male heirs of the line

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of William." 15. The emperor promises to pay to the widowed mother of the count palatine Karl Ludwig 20,000 reichsthalers, once for all, and 10,000 reichsthalers to every one of his sisters upon her marriage. 16. The counts of Leiningen and Dachsburg shall not be disturbed by the count palatine Karl Ludwig in their prerogatives. 17. The free nobility (*Reichsritterschaft*) in Franconia, Swabia, and on the Rhine shall remain undisturbed in its immediate state. 18. The barons (*Freiherren*) of Waldenburg, Reigersberg, Brömse von Rudesheim, Metternich, and the elector of Bavaria shall retain their fiefs in the Lower Palatinate. 19. "The adherents to the Augsburg confession in the Lower Palatinate, who were in possession of the churches, and among them especially the citizens and inhabitants of Oppenheim, shall preserve the status of the church as it was in the year 1624, and they, as well as the others who shall demand it, shall be allowed free exercise of the Augsburg confession, both publicly in the churches at set times and privately in their own houses or in those of others, their own or neighbouring servants of the divine word officiating." 20. The count palatine Ludwig Philip, duke of Simmern, shall receive again all the lands and rights which he owned before the outbreak of the war. 21. The count palatine Friederich of Zweibrücken shall receive again the cloister Hornbach and the fourth part of the toll at Vilzbach. 22. The count palatine Leopold Ludwig of Veldenz shall receive again the *grafschaft* Veldenz with the same ecclesiastical and secular status which it had in 1624. 23. The stronghold of Wilzburg shall be given back to the markgraf of Brandenburg, Kulmbach-Ausbach, and his dispute with the bishop of Würzburg over the city of Kitzingen shall be settled by a summary legal process. 24. The house of Wurtemberg shall be reinstated in all the ecclesiastical and secular estates and privileges which it anywhere owned before the outbreak of the war. 25. Also the princes of Wurtemberg of the Mompelgard line shall be reinstated in their possession in Alsace and elsewhere, especially in the two Burgundian fiefs of Elerval and Passavant. 26. The markgraf Friederich of Baden and Hochberg shall be reinstated in his territory and in his rights, as they were before the outbreak of the war. 27. The princess of Baden shall receive again the baronial estate of Hohen-Geroldseck, so far as she shall have proved her claims thereto by authentic documents. 28. The duke of Croy shall receive an amnesty; he shall continue to possess his part of the estate (*herrschaft*) of Vinstingen, with the reservation, however, of the rights of the German Empire to that estate. 29. The dispute between Nassau-Siegen and Nassau-Siegen shall be settled by a legal commission. 30. The counts of Nassau-Saarbrücken shall be reinstated in their ecclesiastical and secular estates. 31. Likewise the house of Hanau. 32. Likewise the count of Sohns. 33. Likewise the house of Hohen-Sohns. 34. The counts of Isenburg shall enjoy an amnesty. 35. The Rheingrafs shall be reinstated in their districts, Troneck and Wildenburg. 36. The widow of Count Ernest of Sayn shall be reinstated in the possession of the district Hachenburg and of the village Bendorf. 37. The *grafschaft* Falkenstein shall be restored to the person to whom it legally belongs. 38. The house of Waldeck shall be reinstated in all the prerogatives over the estate Didinghausen, etc. 39. Count Joachim Ernst of Öttingen shall receive again all the ecclesiastical and secular estates which his father owned before the outbreak of disturbances. 40. Likewise the house of Hohenlohe. 41. Likewise the count Ludwig of Lowenstein and Wertheim. 42. Also the Catholic line of Lowenstein-Wertheim. 43. Also the counts of Erbach. 44. Also the counts of Brandenstein. 45. The baron of Khevenhüller, the heirs of the chancellor Löffler, the heirs of Konrad of Rheingen shall receive back their confiscated estates. 46. The contracts, exchanges, and promissory notes, which were extorted by unlawful means, and concerning which Speier, Weissenburg on the Rhine, Landau, Reutlingen, Heilbronn, and

others complain particularly, also those indictments which have been bought and ceded to another, shall be destroyed in such fashion that it shall be absolutely impossible to bring a legal suit with such a title. 47. Against debtors who can prove that they were forced by one of the belligerent parties to pay their debt, no process shall be instituted by the injured, although they may be the real creditors. 48. The suits which have already arisen from this cause shall be terminated within two years. 49. The legal judgments which were delivered on secular matters during the wars may be subjected to revision at the instance of one of the parties, within the first half year after the conclusion of peace. 50. No one shall suffer loss by not having renewed his tenure since the year 1618 or for not having performed his obligations therefor. The time in which the investiture is to be renewed shall begin from the conclusion of peace. 51. All civil and military persons, from the highest to the lowest, their children and heirs, without exception, shall, in respect to their persons and property, be reinstated by both sides in the same condition of life and reputation, of honour, of conscience, of liberty, rights, and prerogatives, which they actually held before the disturbances or which they might rightfully have held. No lawsuit shall be brought against them nor shall any punishment be inflicted upon them. 52. The amnesty extends also to the Austrian subjects. 53. On the other hand, the emperor insists that the confiscated estates on his hereditary lands shall not be given back to their old owners, but shall remain in the possession of the present owners, if the confiscation took place before the appearance of the Swedes. 54. Those estates which were confiscated on account of their owners' going over to the Swedes or French shall be returned to their former possessors, without reimbursement for their use or for any injury that may have been done them. 55. In private summons the Protestants in Austria shall receive the same justice as Catholics. 56. No compensation will be made for buildings, furniture, and other objects injured by the war. 57. No war shall be begun on account of the Julian succession; the same shall be settled by compromise or by legal suit.

Art. V. The following has been decided in regard to the religious difficulties: 1. The Treaty of Passau (1552) and the Augsburg religious treaty of peace shall remain holy and inviolable. The present treaty of peace shall be decisive in the disputed points of those contracts. In all else a complete mutual equality shall exist between the electors, princes, and estates of both confessions; what is right for one side shall be right for the other. All acts of violence between both sides shall cease and are forbidden. [Then follow 58 provisions concerning rights and lands of religious orders, provisions insuring absolute freedom of religious exercise and belief, etc.]

Art. VI. The city of Bâle and the remaining cantons of Switzerland shall remain in the possession of their complete freedom and separation from the German Empire, and hence they shall in no way be subject to the tribunals of the empire.

Art. VII. "It has been unanimously decided by his imperial majesty and all estates of the empire that all the rights and benefits, together with all the other imperial decisions, which the religious peace, this public treaty, and—within the latter—the settlement of religious disputes, promised to the other Catholic and evangelical estates, shall also hold good for those who are called reformed. . . . But because the religious disputes which prevail among the Protestants have not yet been settled, but are reserved for a future agreement, and hence the Protestants form two parties; they have both agreed in regard to the right of reforming that, if a prince or other lord or church patron afterward goes over to the religion of the other side, or else, either through the rights of inheritance or according to the terms of this treaty, he acquires or regains possession of a principedom or of a rulership in which at present the

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religious exercises of the other party are observed, such princes may indeed have court preachers of their own confession in their residences without objection and without injury to their subjects, but they shall not be permitted to change the public form of religious worship or the church laws and regulations which have hitherto been in effect; neither shall they deprive the followers of the other sect of the churches, schools, and hospitals, or of the income, benefices, and tithes belonging to them, to use them for followers of their own sect; nor shall they, by urging the rights of supremacy of a bishopric, of a patron, or otherwise, impose on their subjects clergy of another confession, nor in any other direct or indirect way put a hindrance or a disadvantage in the way of the religion of the other," etc. 2. Single communities, which of their own free will and at their own expense desire to adopt the religion of their new overlord, may do so; on the other hand, the consistories and the professors in the universities shall be confessors of the generally accepted form of religion. Besides the Catholic, Lutheran, and reformed religion, no other form shall be adopted or tolerated in the Roman Empire.

Art. VIII. 1. All estates of the realm shall be confirmed in their rights. 2. They shall have the right of voting in all deliberations concerning the affairs of the empire. 3. Concerning the Reichstag and the articles of the next Reichstag. 4. The free imperial cities, like the other estates of the realm, have a deciding vote (*votum decisivum*) in the general as well as in the special assemblies of the empire. 5. Concerning war debts.

Art. IX. 1. The tolls and duties imposed during the war shall be removed, and the former freedom of commerce shall be re-established. 2. The taxes justified by long years' custom shall continue.

Art. X. The Swedish Indemnity. 1. The emperor Ferdinand gives over to Queen Christina of Sweden and to her heirs the dominions hereinafter named with all their rights, as a continual and direct imperial fee. 2. The whole of that part of Pomerania, usually called Hither Pomerania, with the island Rügen. Of Further Pomerania the cities Stettin, Garz, Damm, Golnow, and the fresh-water lake connected with the Baltic. 3. The kings of Sweden from this day forth for all times shall own these districts as a hereditary fief. 4. The rights, likewise, which the dukes of Hither Pomerania have had over the bishopric of Kammin shall be given over to Sweden, who can transfer them to the crown after the death of the present prebendaries. On the other hand, the rights of the dukes of Further Pomerania over Kammin shall fall to the elector of Brandenburg. 5. The elector of Brandenburg renounces any claims to the territories assigned to the crown of Sweden in the above paragraphs. 6. Moreover, Sweden receives the city of Wismar with harbour and fortification. 7. Moreover, the bishopric Bremen and the bishopric Verden, with the city and the district (*Amt*) of Wilshausen. 8. The city of Bremen and its territory shall remain in possession of its present freedom with all ecclesiastical and secular rights. 9. On account of these German possessions the Swedish kings shall be counted among the direct German estates of the realm under the title, "Duke of Bremen, Verden, and Pomerania, Prince of Rügen, and Lord of Wismar." 10. The vote which the crown of Sweden is to have in the upper Saxon Reichstags. 11. The same in the assemblies of imperial delegations. 12. In respect to these German fiefs the emperor grants the crown of Sweden the privilege *de non appellando*. 13. Also the right to erect a university. 14. The emperor absolves the inhabitants of these countries from their obligations to their earlier overlords and summons them to become subject to Sweden. 15. The crown of Sweden, on the other hand, in return for these German provinces, recognises the emperor as suzerain and takes the oath of allegiance like the other vassals of the empire. 16. The city Stralsund and the Hanseatic cities are confirmed in their rights and liberties.

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Art. XI. The Brandenburg Indemnity. 1. The elector Frederick William of Brandenburg shall receive the bishopric of Halberstadt in return for his renunciation of Hither Pomerania and Rugen. 2. He shall also receive the grafschaft of Hohenstein belonging to that bishopric. 3. The elector shall leave the count of Tettenbach in possession of the grafschaft Rheinheim. 4. The elector receives, further, the bishopric Minden. 5. Also the bishopric Kammin in so far as the rights of the dukes of Further Pomerania extend over that bishopric. 6. Furthermore, the reversion of the archbishopric Magdeburg after the death of the present administrator, Duke August of Saxony. 7. The chapter of the archbishopric Magdeburg shall do homage to the elector immediately after the conclusion of peace. 8. The rights and privileges of the city of Magdeburg shall remain inviolate. 9. The four Magdeburg districts, Querfurt, Jüterbog, Damm, and Bork, shall be made over to the elector of Saxony. 10. The debts of the present administrator of Magdeburg, Duke August of Saxony, may not be covered by the income of the archbishopric after the vacancy of the archbishopric. 11. In the provinces ceded to Brandenburg the rights of the estates and of the subjects shall be preserved in regard to the religious confession hitherto practised. 12. The queen of Sweden shall return Farther Pomerania and Kolberg to the elector of Brandenburg. 13. Likewise all places in the Mark of Brandenburg which are occupied by the Swedes. 14. Furthermore, all the commanderies and lands belonging to the Knights of Malta which do not lie in the lands ceded to Sweden.

Art. XII. Mecklenburg Compensation. 1. The duke Adolf Friederich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin receives the bishopric Schwerin with Ratzeburg in compensation for the city of Wismar ceded to Sweden. 2. The right to the income of two prebends at the Cathedral of Strasburg shall remain in possession of the house of Mecklenburg. 3. The house of Mecklenburg shall also receive the two commanderies of the Knights of Malta, Mirow and Numerow, which lie in its territory. 4. It shall also be confirmed in the possession of the Elbe tolls, and in the imperial contributions which are to be levied to indemnify the Swedish army it shall be allowed to consider the sum of 200,000 thalers as if it had been already paid.

Art. XIII. 1. The ducal house of Braunschweig-Lüneburg receives the right of succession in the bishopric Osnabrück alternately with the Catholics. 2. The Swedish count Wasaburg, who renounces the rights acquired by him during the present war over the bishopric Osnabrück, in return for this renunciation shall receive 80,000 thalers from the revenues of the bishopric. 3. In return he shall give back the bishopric of Osnabrück to the present bishop, the prince Franz Wilhelm. 4. The religious conditions in the bishopric Osnabrück shall be restored to their status on January 1st, 1624. 5. After the death of the present bishop, Duke Ernst-August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg shall succeed as bishop. 6. The further occupation of the episcopal seat in Osnabrück shall take place in such a way that an evangelical bishop from the ducal house of Braunschweig-Lüneburg shall always be succeeded again by a Catholic bishop, chosen by the chapter of the cathedral. 7. Thereby the religious position of both confessions in respect to congregations and clergy shall be preserved intact in the bishopric. 8. During the time which a Protestant occupies the episcopal seat in Osnabrück, the archbishop of Cologne has the supervision over the Catholic clergy and the Catholic church of that place. 9. The cloister Walkenried with the estate Schawen is given to the dukes of Braunschweig as a perpetual fief. 10. The cloister Groningen is also restored to them. 11. The debt of the duke Friederich Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg to the king of Denmark, which the latter made over to the emperor in the Peace of Lübeck, but which the emperor presented to General Tilly, is cancelled. 12. Likewise the debt of 20,000 guildens of the dukes of Braun-

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schweig-Luneburg to the chapter of Ratzeburg. 13. The two younger sons of the duke August of Braunschweig-Luneburg shall be invested with two prebends in the bishopric of Strasburg at the next vacancy. 14. In return, however, the dukes of Braunschweig-Luneburg shall renounce their coadjutories in the archbishoprics Magdeburg, Bremen, Halberstadt, and Ratzeburg.

Art. XIV. 1. The markgraf Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg shall receive the Magdeburg districts (*Ämter*) Zuna and Lohburg in place of the 12,000 reichsthalers which he was to receive from the archbishopric Magdeburg. 2. Since, however, these districts as well as the whole bishopric have been very much devastated by the war, 3,000 reichsthalers shall be paid the markgrafs out of an assessment to be raised in the archbishopric. 3. After the death of the markgraf the two districts shall remain in the possession of his heirs for five years, after which time they shall revert to the owner of the archbishopric.

Art. XV. The Hesse-Cassel Question. 1. The landgraf house of Hesse-Cassel shall be completely reinstated in its possessions and rights as they were before the war. 2. It shall receive the abbotship of Hirschfeld. 3. Also the districts of Schaumburg, Bückeburg, Sachsenhagen, and Stadthagen, which hitherto have belonged to the bishopric Minden. 4. It shall be paid 600,000 reichsthalers by the archbishopric Mainz and Cologne, by the bishopric Münster and Paderborn, and by the abbotship Fulda, in return for its surrender of the captured places. 5. As security for the payment of this sum the Hessians receive the strongholds Nuess, Kosfeld, and Neuhaus. 6. The Hessian garri- sons of these places must be supported at the expense of the said archbishoprics and bishoprics. 7. When half of the sum has been paid, Nuess shall be given back. 8. After the payment of the whole sum with interest, the two other places shall also be evacuated by the Hessians. 9. The revenues which are to be used to cover the sum will be designated later. 10. Hesse-Cassel immediately after the conclusion of peace shall surrender all other foreign places occupied by it. 11. Upon leaving those places it shall take nothing which it did not bring into them. 12. All estates on this side and beyond the Rhine which have paid taxes to Hesse since March 1st, 1648, shall contribute towards the compensation to Hesse, mentioned above, for the evacuation of the fortified places. 13. The treaty between the houses of Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt of April 14th, 1648, in regard to the succession in Marburg, is sanctioned. 14. Also the treaty between the landgraf Wilhelm of Hesse and the count Christian of Waldeck, of April 11th, 1635, in regard to Waldeck. 15. The right of primogeniture in Hesse-Cassel and in Hesse-Darmstadt shall be preserved inviolate.

Art. XVI. Concerning the execution of the treaty [20 paragraphs].

Art. XVII. Concerning the ratification of the treaty [12 paragraphs].

II. MÜNSTER TREATY OF PEACE

Between The Emperor Ferdinand III On The One Side And The French King Louis XIV On The Other

Introduction. The emperor Ferdinand III and the king Louis XIV conclude peace through the mediation of the Republic of Venice.

1. This Christian, universal, and perpetual peace between the two crowns and their allies shall be sincerely and earnestly enforced and preserved. 2. On both sides the hostilities and injuries which have been committed shall be forgotten. 3. No part shall support the enemies of the other nor grant them reception and passage way. 4. The dispute concerning Lorraine shall be set-

bled by friendly negotiation. 5. The German Imperial Estates shall be reinstated in their previous ecclesiastical and secular position. 6. Those persons who think they have any cause for complaint concerning their reinstatement in their possessions may bring the same before a regular judge, after the restitution has taken place. 7. The most important of the restitutions are here enumerated, but it must not be concluded that the restitution does not affect the others which are not mentioned here. 8. The Imperial Attachment of the estates of the elector of Treves is repealed. 9. The Emperor withdraws his garrison from the stronghold of Ehrenbreitenstein and Hammerstein and gives over both places to the elector of Treves. 10. The question of the palatinate is settled as follows: 11. The electoral right of the palatine and the upper palatinate remain in the possession of the House of Bavaria.

(The following paragraphs of this article, to 68 inclusive, are practically covered by the Osnabruck Treaty.)

Cession to France. 69. In order still further to strengthen the peace between the Emperor and the French King, the following points have been established with the consent of the German Estates of the Empire. 70. The princely power and the seigniorial (*landesherrlich*) rights over the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, in the same way as they have hitherto belonged to the Roman Empire, shall in the future belong to the Crown of France and shall be joined to it irrevocably and for all times. 71. The Duke Francis of Lorraine, after he has taken the oath of allegiance to the King of France, shall be reinstated in the bishopric of Verdun. 72. Emperor and Empire give to the King of France and to his successors seigniorial (*landesherrlich*) and suzerain (*oberhoheits*) rights over Pignerol. 73. "Thirdly, the Emperor renounces for himself, for the whole house of Austria, and for the empire, all title, property, dominion, possession, and jurisdiction which hitherto belonged to him, to the empire and to the house of Austria—the title to the City of Breisach, to the landgrafschaft of Upper and Lower Alsace, to Sundgau, to the governorship of the ten imperial cities situated in Alsace, viz., Hagenau, Kolmar, Schlettstadt, Weissenburg, Landau, Ober-Ehnheim, Rosheim, Münster-im-Thal St. Gregory, Kaisersberg, Turkheim, and to all the villages and other titles which belong to the aforesaid districts, and cedes all of these to the Crown of France; so that the said city of Breisach, with the hamlets Hochstadt, Niederrinsing, Harten, and Acharren, which belong to the township of Breisach, together with the whole district and jurisdiction, shall continue under the crown of France as it was of old, with the exception, however, of the privileges and liberties of this city which it had already attained and received from the house of Austria." 74. "The said landgrafschaft of Upper and Lower Alsace and Sundgau, likewise the governorship over the said ten cities and the places appertaining to them, together with all vassals, freeholders, dependents, people, soldiers, cities, towns, hamlets, castles, forests, gold, silver, and other kinds of mines, rivers, brooks, meadows, and all rights, prerogatives, and appurtenances, without any reservation, with full jurisdiction, suzerainty, and seigniorial rights, from now and for everlasting times shall belong to the very Christian king and crown of France, and shall be annexed to said crown without opposition from the side of the Emperor, the empire, the house of Austria, or from any other source, so that no emperor or prince from the Austrian house shall be able or permitted to lay claim to or exercise any rights or authority in the aforesaid districts situated on this and on the other side of the Rhine." 75. The crown of France shall be bound (*sit tamen rex obligatus*) to maintain the Catholic religion in the ceded districts, as the Austrian princes were in the habit of doing. 76. The king of France shall have the right to keep a French Garrison at his own expense in the stronghold of Philippsburg (on the right bank of the Rhine three hours from Speier). "The

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king shall also have free passageway through the empire by land and water, to bring in soldiers, provisions, and anything else in as great a quantity and as frequently as is necessary. 77. The right of possession, however, of the stronghold of Philippsburg shall remain to the Bishop of Speier. 78. The house of Austria (including Spain) confirms also in a separate document the cession of the said provinces to the crown of France, releases the subjects from their oath, and summons them to take the oath of allegiance to the king of France. 79. All imperial laws which conflict with this cession shall be repealed. 80. In addition, the next Reichstag shall also give its ratification to the cession. 81. In Alsace the fortresses Benfeld, Rheinau, Alsace-Zabern, the castle Hohenbar and Neuburg on the Rhine shall be dismantled. 82. The City of Zabern shall preserve a strict neutrality and shall allow French troops a free passageway at all times. On this side of the Rhine bank no fortifications shall be erected from Bâle to Philippsburg. 83. The Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Innsbruck assumes the third part of the debts of the City of Ensisheim. 84. The estates alone pay the other debts, made by the estates alone in Alsace, or under agreement with the Austrian princes at the provincial landtag. 85. The king of France gives back to the Austrian house, and more particularly to Archduke Ferdinand Karl, the first-born son of the deceased Archduke Leopold, the four forest cities of Rheinfelden, Sackingen, Laufenburg, and Waldshut, together with all lands, the Grafschaft Hauenstein, the Schwarzwald [Black Forest], all Upper and Lower Breisgau, with the cities of Neuburg, Freiburg, Endingen, Kenzingen, Waldburg, Villingen, Braunlingen, which have belonged to the house of Austria from olden times, all Ortenau with the imperial cities Offenbach, Gengenbach, and Zell-am-Hammersbach. Commerce and navigation shall be free between the inhabitants on both sides of the Rhine. 86. The confiscated estates shall be returned to all vassals and dependents on this and on the other side of the Rhine. 87. "The very Christian king shall leave not only the bishops of Strasburg and Bâle together with the city of Strasburg, but also all the other estates in Upper and Lower Alsace which are immediately subordinate to the Roman Empire, viz., the abbots of Murbach and Ludern, the abbeys of Andlau, the cloister of the Benedictine order in the St. Gregory valley, the counts palatine at Lutzelstein, the counts and barons (*freiherrn*) of Hanau, Fleckenstein, Oberstein, and the nobility (*Ritterschaft*) of all Lower Alsace, likewise the above-mentioned ten imperial cities which belong in the district of Hanau—he shall leave these in the liberty and in the position of immediate subordination to the Roman Empire which they have always enjoyed; so that in the future he shall be able to lay no claim to royal dominion over them, but shall be content with those rights which the house of Austria had and which by this treaty of peace are made over to the crown of France. Nevertheless, the present declaration shall deprive the highest sovereign right of nothing which was conceded to it above." 88. The king of France shall pay the archduke Ferdinand Karl 3,000,000 livres as compensation for the ceded territories. 89. He shall also assume two-thirds of the debts of Ensisheim. 90. The documents concerning the territories which are given back to the archduke Ferdinand Karl shall be handed over to him without delay. 91. Of those documents which concern the territories as a whole, authentic copies shall be furnished the Archduke as often as may be requested. 92. The Treaty of Cherasco, of April 6th, 1631, settling the dispute between the dukes of Mantua and of Savoy over Montferrat, shall be maintained. 93. The same shall not be opposed from any side. 94. On account of the cession to France of Pignerol, concerning which the French king compromised with the duke of Savoy, France, in order to avoid further dispute, shall pay the duke of Mantua 494,000 gold guildens. 95. The emperor shall invest the duke of Savoy with Montferrat." 96. The duke of

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Savoy shall remain in possession of the fiefs Rocheveran, Olmi, and Casola. 97. The emperor shall reinstate the counts of Cacheran in the fiefs Rocha and Arazzio. 98. All hostilities shall cease after the signing and sealing of the peace. 99. Authorized commissioners from both sides shall come to an agreement concerning the evacuation of places and the withdrawal of soldiers. 100. The emperor shall publish edicts throughout the whole empire that the provisions of the peace may be immediately carried out by all concerned. 101. Wherever it is necessary the emperor shall appoint special commissioners for this purpose. 102. The provisions of the peace shall be punctually obeyed. 103. No prince, district magistrate, or military commander shall oppose its execution. 104. The prisoners of war shall be set at liberty. 105. All foreign garrisons shall leave the places which are to be given back. 106. The places captured during the war shall be given back to the rightful owners. 107. Their restitution shall be faithfully observed by both sides. 108. The archives and the artillery found in a place at the time of capture shall likewise be given back. 109. The places hitherto occupied shall from now on remain free of garrisons. 110. The imperial estates shall reduce the number of troops to a peace footing. 111. The ambassadors promise the ratification of the peace on the part of their constituents within eight weeks. 112. The peace shall be a universally binding law of the realm. 113. No objections shall be made to it. 114. Whoever acts against the peace in counsel or deed, whether he be of clerical or secular station, shall incur the penalty of breaking the peace of the land. 115. All participants in the peace pledge themselves to a joint execution of the same against insubordination. 116. This shall be done by force of arms in case of need. 117. First, the magistrates of single districts shall proceed against insubordinates in their district. 118. Whoever wishes to march soldiers across the territory of another may do so only at his own costs, without annoying the dependents of the other state. 119. Included in this peace are the Republic of Venice as mediator and the dukes of Savoy and Modena. 120. Signatures of the ambassadors. Done at Munster in Westphalia, October 24th, 1648.

VI

THE PRUSSIAN EDICT OF EMANCIPATION (1807 A.D.)

[We give the text of the edict as it appears in Seelcy's *Life and Times of Stein*. Sections III and V, being purely technical, are given only by headings]

Edict concerning the facilitation of possession and the free use of landed property, as well as the personal relations of the inhabitants of the country.

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God king of Prussia, etc., etc.

Make known hereby and give to understand. Since the beginning of the peace we have been before all things occupied with the care for the depressed condition of our faithful subjects and the speediest restoration and greatest improvement of it. We have herein considered that in the universal need it passes the means at our command to furnish help to each individual, and yet we could not attain the object; and it accords equally with the imperative demands of justice and with the principles of a proper national economy to remove all the hindrances which hitherto prevented the individual from attaining the prosperity which, according to the measure of his powers, he was capable of reaching; further, we have considered that the existing restrictions, partly on the possession and enjoyment of landed property, partly on the per-

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sonal condition of the agricultural labourer, specially thwart our benevolent purpose and disable a great force which might be applied to the restoration of cultivation—the former by their prejudicial influence on the value of landed property and the credit of the proprietor, the latter by diminishing the value of labour. We purpose, therefore, to reduce both within the limits required by the common well-being, and accordingly ordain as follows:

SECTION I. Freedom of Exchange in Land.—Every inhabitant of our states is competent, without any limitation on the part of the state, to possess either as property or pledge landed estates of every kind: the nobleman therefore to possess not only noble but also non-noble, citizen, and peasant lands of every kind, and the citizen and peasant to possess not only citizen, peasant, and other non-noble, but also noble pieces of land, without either the one or the other needing any special permission for any acquisition of land whatever, although, henceforward as before, each change of possession must be announced to the authorities.

SECTION II. Free Choice of Occupation.—Every noble is henceforth permitted without any derogation from his position to exercise citizen occupations; and every citizen or peasant is allowed to pass from the peasant into the citizen class, or from the citizen into the peasant class.

SECTION III. How Far a Legal Right of Pre-emption and a First Claim still Exist.

SECTION IV. Division of Lands.—Owners of estates and lands of all kinds, in themselves alienable either in town or country, are allowed after due notice given to the provincial authority, with reservation of the rights of direct creditors and of those who have the right of pre-emption (Section III), to separate the principal estate and its parts, and in general to alienate piecemeal. In the same way co-proprietors may divide among them property owned in common.

SECTION V. Granting of Estates under Leases for a Long Term.

SECTION VI. Extinction and Consolidation of Peasant Holdings.—When a landed proprietor believes himself unable to restore or keep up the several peasant holdings existing on an estate which are not held by a hereditary tenure, whether of a long lease or of copyhold, he is required to give information to the government of the province, with the sanction of which the consolidation, either of several holdings into a single peasant estate or with demesne land, may be allowed as soon as hereditary serfdom shall have ceased to exist on the estate. The provincial authorities will be provided with a special instruction to meet these cases.

SECTION VII. If, on the other hand, the peasant tenures are hereditary, whether of long lease or of copyhold, the consolidation or other alteration of the condition of the lands in question is not admissible until the right of the actual possessor is extinguished, whether by the purchase of it by the lord or in some other legal way. In this case the regulations of Section VI also apply.

SECTION VIII. Indebtedness of Feudal and Entailed Estates in Consequence of the Ravages of War.—Every possessor of feudal or entailed property is empowered to raise the sums required to replace the losses caused by war by mortgaging the substance of the estates themselves as well as the revenues of them, provided the application of the money is attested by the administrator (*Landrath*) of the circle or the direction of the department. At the end of three years from the contracting of the debt, the possessor and his successor are bound to pay at least the fifteenth part of the capital itself.

SECTION IX. Extinction of Feudal Relations, Family Settlements, and Entails, by Family Resolution.—Every feudal connection not subject to a chief proprietor, every family settlement and entail may be altered at pleasure or entirely abolished by a family resolution, as is already enacted with reference

to the East Prussian fiefs (except those of Ermeland) in the East Prussian Provincial Law, Appendix 36.

SECTION X. Abolition of Villainage.—From the date of this ordinance no new relation of villainage, whether by birth, or marriage, or acquisition of a villain holding, or by contract, can come into existence.

SECTION XI. With the publication of the present ordinance the existing condition of villainage of those villains with their wives and children who possess their peasant-holdings by hereditary tenures of whatever kind ceases entirely both with its rights and duties.

SECTION XII. From Martinmas, 1810, ceases all villainage in our entire states. From Martinmas, 1810, there shall be only free persons, as this is already the case upon the domains in all our provinces, free persons, however, still subject, as a matter of course, to all the obligations which bind them as free persons by virtue of the possession of an estate or by virtue of a special contract.

To this declaration of our royal will every man whom it may concern, and in particular our provincial and other governments, are exactly and loyally to conform themselves, and the present ordinance is to be made universally known.

Authentically, under our royal signature. Given at Memel, October 9th, 1807.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM,
Schrotter, Stein, Schrotter II.

VII.

THE TREATY OF VIENNA (1815 A.D.)

[Late in September, 1814, representatives of all the principal states of Europe and of many of little importance, assembled in Congress at Vienna to readjust their claims and settle their mutual relations. The Congress was the most august, the most complete, and in its action the most important assemblage of representatives of independent powers that ever took place. The emperors of Austria and of Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and other minor states, were present in person. The delegates themselves included some of the foremost diplomats in the world's history—Talleyrand, Metternich, Castlereagh, Von Humboldt, Hardenberg, and Nesselrode. The sessions, which lasted till June, 1815, were marked by long and acrimonious debates, and several times the Congress seemed on the point of breaking up. The landing of Napoleon in March, 1815, caused the delegates to bury their animosities, stop their wrangling, and hurry their work to a conclusion. A large number of preliminary treaties were signed, all being at last embodied in the final act, signed by the powers on June 9th, only nine days before Waterloo. Few of the participants were satisfied with the results achieved, as few received all they contended for. But Hardenberg's bitter characterisation of the gathering as an "auction of nations and an orgy of kings" was scarcely justified by the results, for it firmly re-established the principle of the balance of power, and gave to Europe forty years of international peace. The text here presented, which is from E. Herstlet's *Map of Europe by Treaty* (London, 1875), vol. 1., pp. 216-274, includes all the more important articles.]

GENERAL TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, AUSTRIA, FRANCE, PORTUGAL, PRUSSIA, RUSSIA, SPAIN, AND SWEDEN (SIGNED AT VIENNA, JUNE 9TH, 1815)

Article I. The duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which are otherwise disposed of by the following Articles, is united to the Russian Empire. It shall be irrevocably attached to it by its constitu-

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tion, and be possessed by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, his heirs, and successors in perpetuity. His imperial majesty reserves to himself to give to those states enjoying a distinct administration the interior improvements which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of czar, king of Poland, agreeably to the form established for the titles attached to his other possessions. . . .

Article VI. The town of Cracow, with its territory, is declared to be forever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. . . .

Article XI. General amnesty.

Article XV. Cessions from Saxony to Prussia. . . .

Article XVII. International guarantee of above-named cessions.

Article XIX. His majesty the king of Prussia, and his majesty the king of Saxony, wishing particularly to remove every object of future contest or dispute, renounces each on his own part, and reciprocally in favour of one another, all feudal rights or pretensions which they might exercise, or might have exercised beyond the frontiers fixed by the present treaty.

Article XX. His majesty the king of Prussia promises to direct that proper care be taken relative to whatever may affect the property and interests of the respective subjects, upon the most liberal principles. The present Article shall be observed, particularly with regard to the concerns of those individuals who possess property both under the Prussian and Saxon governments, to the commerce of Leipsic, and to all other objects of the same nature; and in order that the individual liberty of the inhabitants both of the ceded and other provinces may not be infringed, they shall be allowed to emigrate from one territory to the other, without being exempted, however, from military service, and after fulfilling the formalities required by the laws. They may also remove their property without being subject to any fine or drawback (*Abzugsgeld*).

Article XXI. Concerning the guarantee and preservation of the rights and privileges of the communities, corporations, and religious establishments, and those for public instruction in the provinces ceded by his majesty the king of Saxony to Prussia, or in the provinces and districts remaining to his Saxon majesty.

Article XXIII-XXV. Designation of the Prussian possessions.

Article XXVI. His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having substituted for his ancient title of elector of the Holy Roman Empire that of king of Hanover, and this title having been acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, and by the princes and free towns of Germany, the countries which have till now composed the electorate of Brunswick-Luneburg, according to their limits have been recognised and fixed for the future, by the following articles, shall henceforth form the kingdom of Hanover.

Articles XXVII-XXX. Territorial and commercial arrangements between Prussia and Hanover. . . .

Article XXXIII. Cession made by Hanover to Oldenburg.

Articles XXXIV-XXXVI. Concerning the titles of the grand dukes of Oldenburg, of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, and of Saxe-Weimar.

Article XXXVII. Cessions of territory by Prussia to Saxe-Weimar.

Article XLII. Prussian sovereignty over the town and territory of Wetzlar recognised.

Article XLIV. His majesty the king of Bavaria shall possess, for himself, his heirs, and successors, in full property and sovereignty, the grand duchy of Wurzburg, as it was held by his imperial highness the archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and the principality of Aschaffenburg, such as it con-

stituted part of the grand duchy of Frankfort, under the denomination of the department of Aschaffenburg.

Article XLV. The rights and prerogatives, and the maintenance of the prince primate as an ancient ecclesiastical prince.

Article XLVI. The city of Frankfort, with its territory, such as it was in 1803, is declared free, and shall constitute a part of the Germanic league. Its institutions shall be founded upon the principle of a perfect equality of rights for the different sects of the Christian religion. This equality of rights shall extend to all civil and political rights, and shall be observed in all matters of government and administration. The disputes which may arise, whether in regard to the establishment of the constitution or in regard to its maintenance, shall be referred to the Germanic Diet, and can only be decided by the same.

Article XLVII. His royal highness the grand duke of Hesse, in exchange for the duchy of Westphalia, ceded to his majesty the king of Prussia, obtains a territory on the left bank of the Rhine, in the ancient department of Mont-Tonnerre, comprising a population of 140,000 inhabitants. His royal highness shall possess this territory in full sovereignty and property. He shall likewise obtain the property of that part of the salt mines of Kreutznach which is situated on the left bank of the Nahe, but the sovereignty of them shall remain to Prussia.

Article XLVIII. The landgrave of Hesse-Homburg is reinstated in his possessions, revenues, rights, and political relations, of which he was deprived in consequence of the Confederation of the Rhine. . . .

Article LIII. The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, under which denomination, for the present purpose, are comprehended their majesties the emperor of Austria, the kings of Prussia, of Denmark, and of the Netherlands; that is to say: The emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, for all their possessions which anciently belonged to the German Empire; the king of Denmark, for the duchy of Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands, for the grand duchy of Luxemburg, establish among themselves a perpetual confederation, which shall be called "The Germanic Confederation."

Article LIV. The object of this confederation is the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the confederated states.

Article LV. The members of the confederation, as such, are equal with regard to their rights; and they all equally engage to maintain the act which constitutes their union.

Article LVI. The affairs of the confederation shall be confided to a federative diet, in which all the members shall vote by their plenipotentiaries, either individually or collectively, in the following manner, without prejudice to their rank:—

1, Austria, 1 vote; 2, Prussia, 1 vote; 3, Bavaria, 1 vote; 4, Saxony, 1 vote; 5, Hanover, 1 vote; 6, Wurtemberg, 1 vote; 7, Baden, 1 vote; 8, Electoral Hesse (Hesse-Cassel), 1 vote; 9, Grand duchy of Hesse (Hesse-Darmstadt), 1 vote; 10, Denmark for Holstein, 1 vote; 11, Netherlands for Luxemburg, 1 vote; 12, Grand ducal and ducal houses of Saxony, 1 vote 13, Brunswick and Nassau, 1 vote; 14, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, 1 vote; 15, Holstein-Oldenburg, Anhalt and Schwartzburg, 1 vote; 16, Hohenzollern, Liechtenstein, Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe and Waldeck, 1 vote; 17, free towns of Lübeck, Frankfort, Bremen and Hamburg, 1 vote. Total 17 votes.

Article LVII. Austria shall preside at the federative diet. Each state of the confederation has the right of making propositions, and the presiding state shall bring them under deliberation within a definite time.

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Article LVIII. Whenever fundamental laws are to be enacted, changes made in fundamental laws of the confederation, measures adopted relative to the federative act itself, and organic institutions or other arrangements made for the common interest, the diet shall form itself into a general assembly, and in that case the distribution of votes shall be as follows, calculated according to the respective extent of the individual states:

Austria shall have 4 votes; Prussia, 4 votes; Saxony, 4 votes; Bavaria, 4 votes; Hanover, 4 votes; Wurtemberg, 4 votes; Baden, 3 votes; Electoral Hesse (Hesse-Cassel), 3 votes; Grand duchy of Hesse (Hesse-Darmstadt), 3 votes; Holstein, 3 votes; Luxemburg, 3 votes; Brunswick, 2 votes; Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 2 votes; Nassau, 2 votes; Saxe-Weimar, 1 vote, Saxe-Gotha, 1 vote; Saxe-Coburg, 1 vote; Saxe-Meiningen, 1 vote; Saxe-Hildburghausen, 1 vote; Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 1 vote; Holstein-Oldenburg, 1 vote; Anhalt-Dessau, 1 vote; Anhalt-Bernburg, 1 vote; Anhalt-Cothen, 1 vote; Schwartzburg-Sondershausen, 1 vote; Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, 1 vote; Hohenzollern-Heckingen, 1 vote; Liechtenstein, 1 vote; Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, 1 vote; Waldeck, 1 vote; Reuss (Elder line, Reuss Greitz), 1 vote; Reuss, (Younger line, Reuss Schleitz), 1 vote; Schaumburg-Lippe, 1 vote; the free town of Lübeck, 1 vote; the free town of Frankfort, 1 vote; the free town of Bremen, 1 vote; the free town of Hamburg, 1 vote. Total 69 votes.

The diet in deliberating on the organic laws of the confederation shall consider whether any collective votes ought to be granted to the ancient mediatised states of the empire.

Article LIX. The question whether a subject is to be discussed by the general assembly conformable to the principles above established shall be decided in the ordinary assembly by a majority of votes. The same assembly shall prepare the drafts of resolutions which are to be proposed to the general assembly, and shall furnish the latter with all the necessary information, either for adopting them or rejecting them. The plurality of votes shall regulate the decisions, both in the ordinary and general assembly, with this difference, however, that in the ordinary assembly an absolute majority shall be admitted sufficient, while in the other, two-thirds of the votes shall be necessary to form the majority. When the votes are even in the ordinary assembly, the president shall have the casting vote; but when the assembly is to deliberate on the acceptance or the change of any of the fundamental laws, upon organic institutions, upon individual rights, or upon affairs of religion, the plurality of votes shall not be deemed sufficient, either in the ordinary or in the general assembly. The diet is permanent; it may, however, when the subjects submitted to its deliberation are disposed of, adjourn for a fixed period which shall not exceed four months. All ulterior arrangements relative to the postponement or the despatch of urgent business which may arise during the recess shall be reserved for the diet, which will consider them when engaged in preparing the organic laws.

Article LX. With respect to the order in which the members of the confederation shall vote, it is agreed, that while the diet shall be occupied in framing organic laws, there shall be no fixed regulation; and whatever may be the order observed on such an occasion, it shall neither prejudice any of the members nor establish a precedent for the future. After framing the organic laws, the diet will deliberate upon the manner of arranging this matter by a permanent regulation, for which purpose it will depart as little as possible from those which have been observed in the ancient diet, and more particularly according to the *Recess* of the deputation of the empire, in 1803. The order to be adopted shall in no way affect the rank and precedence of the members of the confederation except in as far as they concern the diet.

Article LXI. The diet shall assemble at Frankfort on the Main. Its first meeting is fixed for the 1st of September, 1815.

Article LXII. The first object to be considered by the diet after its opening shall be the framing of the fundamental laws of the confederation, and of its organic institutions, with respect to its exterior, military, and interior relations.

Article LXIII. The states of the confederation engage to defend not only the whole of Germany, but each individual state of the union, in case it should be attacked, and they mutually guarantee to each other such of their possessions as are comprised in this union. When war shall be declared by the confederation, no member can open a separate negotiation with the enemy, nor make peace, nor conclude an armistice, without the consent of the other members. The confederation states engage, in the same manner, not to make war against each other, on any pretext, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the diet, which will attempt a mediation by means of a commission. If this should not succeed, and a juridical sentence becomes necessary, recourse shall be had to a well-organised austregal court (*Austragalinstantz*), to the decision of which the contending parties are to submit without appeal.

Article LXIV. The Articles comprised under the title of *Particular Arrangements*, in the act of the Germanic confederation, as annexed to the present general treaty, both in the original and in a French translation, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Article LXV. The ancient united provinces of the Netherlands and the late Belgic provinces, both within the limits fixed by the following Article, shall form—together with the countries and territories designated in the same Article, under the sovereignty of his royal highness the prince of Orange-Nassau, sovereign prince of the united provinces—the kingdom of the Netherlands, hereditary in the order of succession already established by the act of the constitution of the said united provinces. The title and the prerogatives of the royal dignity are recognised by all the powers in the house of Orange-Nassau.

Article LXVI. Boundaries of the kingdom of the Netherlands.

Article LXVII. That part of the old duchy of Luxemburg which is comprised in the limits specified in the following Article is likewise ceded to the sovereign prince of the united provinces, now king of the Netherlands, to be possessed in perpetuity by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty. . . . The grand duchy of Luxemburg shall form one of the states of the Germanic confederation. . . . The town of Luxemburg, in a military point of view, shall be considered as a fortress of the confederation. . . .

Article LXVIII. Boundaries of the grand duchy of Luxemburg. . . .

Article LXX. Renunciation by the king of the Netherlands of Fulda and of the sovereign possessions of the house of Nassau-Orange in Germany (Dillenbourg, Dietz, Siegen, and Hadamar) in favour of the king of Prussia.

Article LXXI. The right and order of succession established between the two branches of the house of Nassau, by the Act of 1783, called *Nassauischer Erbverein*, is confirmed and transferred from the four principalities of Orange-Nassau to the grand duchy of Luxemburg.

Article LXXII. His majesty the king of the Netherlands, in uniting under his sovereignty the countries designated in Articles LXVI and LXVIII, enters into all the rights, and takes upon himself all the charges and all the stipulated engagements relative to the provinces and districts detached from France by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 30th of May, 1814.

Article LXXIII. Concerning the force and validity of the articles uniting the Belgic provinces to the Netherlands.

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Article LXXIV. The integrity of the Nineteen Cantons as they existed in a political body, from the signature of the convention of the 29th of December, 1813, is recognised as the basis of the Helvetic system.

Article LXXV. The Valais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neuchâtel, are united to Switzerland and shall form three new cantons. La Vallée des Dappes, having formed part of the canton of Vaud, is restored to it.

Article LXXVI. The bishopric of Bâle, and the city and territory of Bienne, shall be united to the Helvetic confederation, and shall form part of the canton of Berne, with the exception of certain districts and communes united to the cantons of Bâle and Neuchâtel.

Article LXXVII. Provisions for the guarantee of the religious, political, and civic rights of the above (*Article LXXVI*) annexed districts.

Article LXXVIII. Confirmation of the lordship of Razuns to the canton of Grisons.

Article LXXIX. Concerning the commercial and military communications of the town of Geneva with the rest of Switzerland.

Article LXXX. Concerning the cession by the king of Sardinia of a part of Savoy to the canton of Geneva, and the guarantee of commercial and military communications between Geneva and the Valais by the road of the Simplon.

Article LXXXI. Concerning reciprocal compensations, payable by the cantons of Argau, Vaud, Ticino, and St. Gall to the ancient cantons of Schwyz, Unterwald, Uri, Glaris, Zug, and Appenzell.

Article LXXXII. Concerning the funds placed in England by the cantons of Zurich and Berne, and the regulation and payment of the Helvetic debt.

Article LXXXIII. Concerning indemnification to landowners and a settlement of differences between the cantons of Berne and Vaud, concerning the same.

Article LXXXIV. Confirmation of the Acts of Adhesion, and the principles therein established.

Article LXXXV. Frontiers of the states of the king of Sardinia.

Articles LXXXVI and LXXXVII. Concerning the union of the former republic of Genoa with the kingdom of Sardinia.

Article XC. Reservation to the king of Sardinia of the right of fortifying such points in his state as he may judge proper for his safety. . . .

Article XCII. The provinces of Chablais and Faucigny, and the whole of the territory of Savoy to the north of Ugine, belonging to his majesty the king of Sardinia, shall form a part of the neutrality of Switzerland, as it is recognised and guaranteed by the powers.

Article XCIII. Description of the territories, etc., of which the emperor of Austria takes possession on the side of Italy,—Istria, Dalmatia, mouths of the Cattaro, Venice, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, etc.

Article XCIV. Territories united to the Austrian monarchy, the Valtelline, Bormio, Chiavenna, Ragusa, etc.

Article XCV. Austrian frontiers in Italy.

Article XCVI. The general principles, adopted by the congress at Vienna, for the navigation of rivers shall be applicable to that of the Po. . . .

Article XCVIII. His royal highness the archduke Francis d'Este, his heirs and successors, shall possess, in full sovereignty, the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, as they existed at the signature of the Treaty at Campo Formio (1797). The archduchess Maria Beatrice d'Este, her heirs and successors, shall possess, in full sovereignty and property, the duchy of Massa and the principality of Carrara, as well as the imperial fiefs in La Lunigiana. The latter may be applied to the purposes of exchanges, or other arrangements made by common consent and according to mutual convenience, with his im-

perial highness the grand duke of Tuscany. The rights of succession and reversion, established in the branches of the archducal houses of Austria relative to the duchies of Modena, Reggio, Mirandola, and the principality of Massa and Carrara, are preserved.

Article XCIX. Her majesty the empress Marie Louise shall possess, in full property and sovereignty, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, with the exception of the districts lying within the states of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty on the left bank of the Po. The reversion of these countries shall be regulated by common consent, with the courts of Austria, Russia, France, Spain, England, and Prussia; due regard being had to the rights of reversion of the house of Austria, and of his majesty the king of Sardinia, to the said countries.

Article C. Possessions of the grand duchy of Tuscany. The Presidii, Elba, Piombino, imperial fiefs, etc.

Article CI. The principality of Lucca, erected into a duchy, shall be possessed in full sovereignty by her majesty the infanta Maria Louisa; and her descendants, in the direct male line. Engagement of Austria and Tuscany to pay an annuity of 500,000 francs.

Article CIII. The Marches, with Camerino, and other dependencies, the duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte-Corvo, Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the exception of that part of Ferrara which is situated on the left bank of the Po, are restored to the holy see. The inhabitants of the countries who return under the government of the holy see, in consequence of the stipulations of congress, shall enjoy the benefit of Article XVI of the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814.

Article CIV. His majesty King Ferdinand IV, his heirs and successors, is restored to the throne of Naples, and his majesty is acknowledged by the powers as king of the Two Sicilies.

Article CV. Affairs in Portugal. Restitution of the town of Olivença. . . .

Article CVII. His royal highness the prince regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and Brazil, wishing to give an unequivocal proof of his high consideration for his most Christian majesty, engages to restore French Guiana to his said majesty, as far as the river Oyapok.

Article CVIII. The powers whose states are separated or crossed by the same navigable river engage to regulate by common consent all that regards its navigation. For this purpose they will name commissioners, who shall assemble, at the latest, within six months after the termination of the congress, and who shall adopt, as the bases of their proceedings, the principles established by the following Articles.

Article CIX. The navigation of the rivers along their whole course, referred to in the preceding article, from the point where each of them becomes navigable to its mouth, shall be entirely free, and shall not, in respect to commerce, be prohibited to any one; it being understood that the regulations established with regard to the police of this navigation shall be respected, as they will be framed alike for all, and as favourable as possible to the commerce of all nations.

Article CX. The system that shall be established both for the collection of the duties and for the maintenance of the police shall be, as nearly as possible, the same along the whole course of the river, and shall also extend, unless particular circumstances prevent it, to those of its branches and junctions which in their navigable course separate or traverse different states.

Article CXI. The duties on navigation shall be regulated in a uniform and settled manner, and with as little reference as possible to the different quality of the merchandise, in order that a minute examination of the cargo may be rendered unnecessary, except with a view to prevent fraud and evasion.

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The amount of the duties, which shall in no case exceed those now paid, shall be determined by local circumstances, which scarcely allow of a general rule in this respect. The tariff shall, however, be prepared in such a manner as to encourage commerce by facilitating navigation; for which purpose the duties established upon the Rhine, and now in force on that river, may serve as an approximating rule for its construction. The tariff once settled, no increase shall take place therein, except by common consent of the states bordering on the rivers; nor shall navigation be burdened with any other duties than those fixed in the regulation.

Article CXII. The offices for the collection of the duties, the number of which shall be reduced as much as possible, shall be determined upon in the above regulation, and no change shall afterwards be made but by common consent, unless any of the states bordering on the rivers shall wish to diminish the number of those which exclusively belong to the same.

Article CXIII. Each state bordering on the rivers is to be at the expense of keeping in good repair the towing-paths which pass through its territory, and of maintaining the necessary works through the same extent in the channels of the river, in order that no obstacle may be experienced to the navigation. The intended regulation shall determine the manner in which the states bordering on the rivers are to participate in these latter works, where the opposite banks belong to different governments.

Article CXIV. There shall nowhere be established store-house, port, or forced harbour duties (*Droits d'étape, d'échelle, et de relâche forcée*). Those already existing shall be preserved for such time only as states bordering on rivers (without regard to the local interest of the place or country where they are established) shall find them necessary or useful to navigation and commerce in general.

Article CXV. The custom-houses belonging to the states bordering on rivers shall not interfere in the duties of navigation. Regulations shall be established to prevent officers of the customs, in the exercise of their functions, throwing obstacles in the way of navigation; but care shall be taken, by means of a strict police on the bank, to preclude every attempt of the inhabitants to smuggle goods through the medium of boatmen.

Article CXVI. Everything expressed in the preceding articles shall be settled by a general arrangement in which there shall also be comprised whatever may need ulterior determination. The arrangement once settled shall not be changed but by and with the consent of all the states bordering on rivers, and they shall take care to provide for its execution with due regard to circumstances and locality.

Article CXVII. The particular regulations relative to the navigation of the Rhine, Neckar, the Main, the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Schelde, such as they are annexed to the present act, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Article CXVIII. The treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts which are annexed to the present act, viz. :—

1. The treaty between Russia and Austria relative to Poland, of the 21st of April (3d of May) 1815, No. 12;
2. Treaty between Russia and Prussia, relative to Poland, of the 21st of April (3d of May), 1815, No. 13;
3. The additional treaty, relative to Cracow, between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, of the 21st of April (3d of May), 1815, No. 14;
4. The treaty between Prussia (Austria and Russia) and Saxony of the 18th of May, 1815, No. 16;
5. The declaration of the king of Saxony respecting the rights of the house of Schoenburg of the 18th of May, 1815, No. 17;
6. The treaty between Prussia and Hanover, of the 29th of May, 1815, No. 21;
7. The convention between Prussia and the grand duke of Saxe-Weimar, of the 1st of June,

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1815, No. 24; 8. The convention between Prussia and the duke and prince of Nassau, of the 31st of May, 1815, No. 23; 9. The act concerning the federative constitution of Germany of the 8th of June, 1815, No. 26; 10. The treaty between the king of the Netherlands and Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia, of the 31st of May, 1815, No. 22; 11. The declaration of the (eight) powers on the affairs of the Helvetic confederation of the 20th of March, No. 9; and the act of accession of the diet of the 27th of May, 1815, No. 20; 12. The protocol of the 29th of March, 1815, on the cessions made by the king of Sardinia to the canton of Geneva, No. 10; 13. The treaty between the king of Sardinia, Austria, England, Russia, Prussia, and France, of the 20th of May, 1815, No. 19; 14. The act entitled "Conditions which are to serve as the basis of the union of the states of Geneva with those of his Sardinian majesty," No. 19; 15. The declaration of the (eight) powers on the abolition of the slave trade of the 8th of February, 1815, No. 7; 16. The regulation respecting the free navigation of rivers, No. 11; 17. The regulation concerning the precedence of diplomatic agents, No. 8; shall be considered as integral parts of the arrangement of the congress, and shall have, throughout, the same force and validity as if they were inserted, word for word, in the general treaty.

Article CXLX. All the powers assembled in the congress as well as the princes and free towns, who have concurred in the arrangement specified, and in the acts confirmed, in this general treaty, are invited to accede to it.

Article CXX. The French language having been exclusively employed in all the copies of the present treaty, it is declared, by the powers who have concurred in this act, that the use made of the language shall not be construed into a precedent for the future; every power, therefore, reserves to itself the adoption in future negotiations and conventions of the language it has heretofore employed in its diplomatic relations; and this treaty shall not be cited as a precedent contrary to the established practice.

Article CXXI. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in six months, and by the court of Portugal in a year or sooner, if possible. A copy of this general treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the court and state of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty at Vienna, in case any of the courts of Europe shall think proper to consult the original text of this instrument.

In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this act, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Vienna, the ninth of June, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

VIII

CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

[This translation is from the text of the constitution as adopted April 14th 1871 and amended in 1873 and in 1888, given in Lawrence Lowell's *Governments and Parties of Continental Europe*]

His majesty the king of Prussia in the name of the North German Confederation, his majesty the king of Bavaria, his majesty the king of Würtemberg, his royal highness the grand duke of Baden, and his royal highness the grand duke of Hesse and by Rhine (und bei Rhein) for those parts of the grand duchy of Hesse lying south of the Main, conclude an everlasting confederation for the protection of the federal territory and of the laws effective within the same, as well as for the fostering of the welfare of the German people. This confederation shall bear the name German Empire, and shall have the following constitution:

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I. FEDERAL TERRITORY

Article 1. The federal territory consists of the states of Prussia with Lauenburg, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Waldeck, Reuss of the Elder Line, Reuss of the Younger Line, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg.

II. IMPERIAL LEGISLATION

Article 2. Within this federal territory the empire exercises the right of legislation according to the contents of this constitution, and to such effect that the imperial laws take precedence of local laws. The laws of the empire are rendered binding by imperial proclamation, made by means of a bulletin of the imperial laws (*Reichsgesetzblatt*). In so far as no other date is set in the published law for its going into effect, this date is to be the fourteenth day after the expiration of that day on which the copy of the imperial law bulletin in question was issued in Berlin.

Article 3. The right of citizenship is uniform for all Germany. By virtue thereof the native (subject, citizen) of every federal state is to be treated in every other state of the confederation as a native, and accordingly is to be admitted to permanent residence, to the pursuit of his trade, to public offices, to the acquisition of real estate, to the attainment of rights of local citizenship, and to the enjoyment of all other civic rights under the same conditions as a native, and is also to be treated as such in regard to legal prosecution and the protection of the law.

No German shall be restricted in the exercise of this privilege by the authorities of his own state or by those of any other state of the confederation.

Those regulations relating to the care of paupers and their admission to the privileges of any local community are not affected by the principles expressed in the first paragraph.

Moreover, for the present those treaties which exist between the individual states of the confederation in regard to the custody of persons to be banished, the care of sick persons, and the burial of deceased citizens remain in force.

The necessary regulations in regard to the fulfilment of military duty in relation to the native state will be made hereafter in the way of imperial legislation. All Germans shall have equal claims upon the protection of the empire, as against foreign countries.

Article 4. The following matters are subject to the supervision of the empire and to its legislation:

1. the regulations concerning removal from place to place, the acquiring of home and residence, citizenship in individual states, passports, and police surveillance of foreigners, and concerning the carrying on of trade, as well as the insurance business, in so far as these matters have not been already provided for in Article 3 of this constitution—in Bavaria, however, with the exclusion of matters relating to the establishment of home and residence—and also regulations in regard to colonisation and emigration to foreign countries;

2. legislation concerning customs duties, and commerce, and the taxes to be applied to the uses of the empire;

3. the regulation of the systems of weights and measures, and the coinage, together with the determination of the principles to be observed in the emission of funded and unfunded paper money;

4. the general regulations concerning the banking business;
5. patents for inventions;
6. the protection of intellectual property.
7. the organisation of common protection for German trade in foreign countries, of German navigation, and of the flag at sea, and arranging for general consular representation, which is provided by the empire;
8. the system of railroads, in Bavaria with the restrictions of the provisions in Article 46, and the construction of means of communication by land and water for the purposes of defence of the country, and for common intercourse;
9. rafting and navigation on those water routes common to several states, and the condition of these routes, as well as river and other water dues, likewise the signals in use in navigation of the sea (lighthouses, barrels, buoys, and other day signals);
10. the postal and telegraph service, in Bavaria and Wurtemberg, however, only according to the provisions in article 52;
11. provisions for the mutual execution of judicial sentences in civil matters and the satisfaction of requisitions in general;
12. likewise concerning the authentication of public documents;
13. common legislation as to the whole civil law, the criminal law, and judicial proceedings;
14. the imperial military organisation and the navy;
15. regulations for the surveillance of medical and veterinary practice;
16. regulation of the press and of societies.

Article 5. The legislative functions of the empire are exercised by the *Bundesrath* (federal council) and the *Reichstag* (diet). A concordance of the views of the majority of both houses is necessary and sufficient for the passage of a law of the empire.

If, upon the proposal of a law concerning the army, the navy, and those taxes specified in article 35, there occurs a difference of opinion, the vote of the presiding officer decides, if this vote is in favour of the maintenance of the existing arrangement.

III. BUNDES RATH

Article 6. The Bundesrath consists of the representatives of the members of the confederation, among whom the votes are divided so that Prussia with the former votes of Hanover, the electorate of

Hesse, Holstein, Nassau, and Frankfort shall have.....	17 votes
Bavaria.....	6 "
Saxony	4 "
Wurtemberg	4 "
Baden	3 "
Hesse	3 "
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	2 "
Saxe-Weimar	1 "
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1 "
Oldenburg	1 "
Brunswick	2 "
Saxe-Meiningen.....	1 "
Saxe-Altenburg	1 "
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.....	1 "
Anhalt	1 "
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt....	1 "
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen.....	1 "
Waldeck	1 "
Reuss of the Elder Line	1 "
Reuss of the Younger Line....	1 "
Schaumburg-Lippe	1 "

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Lippe	1 vote
Lübeck	1 "
Bremen	1 "
Hamburg	1 "
Altogether	58 votes

Every member of the confederation is entitled to appoint as many delegates to the Bundesrath as it has votes. The total of the votes accredited any one state shall, however, be cast as a unit.

Article 7. The Bundesrath takes action:

1. concerning the measures to be proposed to the Reichstag and the resolutions passed by that body;

2. concerning the general ordinances and regulations necessary for the execution of the laws of the empire in so far as the law of the empire does not prescribe otherwise;

3. concerning defects which may appear in the execution of the laws of the empire or in the above-mentioned ordinances or regulations.

Every member of the confederation is privileged to introduce proposals and bring them up for discussion, and it is the duty of the presiding officer to submit them to deliberation.

Resolutions are passed, excepting as prescribed in articles 5, 37, 78, by simple majority. The votes not represented or instructed are not counted. In case of a tie the vote of the presiding officer decides.

In the passage of a resolution concerning matters which according to the provisions of this constitution are not common to the whole empire, only the votes of those members of the confederation are counted to whom this matter is common.

Article 8. The Bundesrath appoints from among its members permanent committees:

1. on the army and the fortifications;
2. on naval affairs;
3. on customs and taxes;
4. on commerce and traffic;
5. on railroads, postal service, and telegraphs;
6. on the judiciary;
7. on accounts.

In each of these committees at least four states of the confederation shall be represented in addition to the presiding officer, and in these committees each state has but one vote. In the committee on the army and the fortifications Bavaria has a permanent seat. The remaining members of this committee as well as the members of the committee on the navy are appointed by the emperor; the members of the other committees are elected by the Bundesrath. These committees are to be reconstituted at every session of the Bundesrath, that is, each year, and then the retiring members shall be again eligible.

In addition, there shall be appointed in the Bundesrath a committee on foreign affairs, composed of the delegates of the kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, and two to be elected yearly by the Bundesrath from other states of the confederation; in this committee Bavaria presides.

The committees shall be provided with the officials necessary to the execution of their labours.

Article 9. Every member of the Bundesrath has the right to appear in the Reichstag, and shall be heard there at any time at his request to represent the views of his government, even when these have not been adopted by the majority of the Bundesrath. No one shall be at the same time a member of the Bundesrath and the Reichstag.

Article 10. The emperor is under obligation to afford to the members of the Bundesrath the customary diplomatic protection.

IV. PRESIDIUUM

Article 11. The king of Prussia shall be the president of the confederation, and shall bear the title German Emperor. The emperor shall represent the empire in international affairs, shall declare war and conclude peace in the name of the empire, enter into alliances and other treaties with foreign states, accredit and receive ambassadors.

The sanction of the Bundesrath is necessary for the declaration of war in the name of the empire, except when an attack is made on the territory of the confederation or its coasts.

" In so far as the treaties with foreign countries relate to such matters as, according to article 4, come within the scope of the imperial legislation, the approval of the Bundesrath shall be required for their ratification and the consent of the Reichstag to make them effective.

Article 12. The emperor shall convene the Bundesrath and the Reichstag, and open and adjourn and close them.

Article 13. The Bundesrath and the Reichstag shall be convened annually, and the Bundesrath may be convened for the preparation of business without the Reichstag, but the Reichstag shall not be convened without the Bundesrath.

Article 14. The Bundesrath must be convened upon the demand of one-third of its members.

" *Article 15.* The chancellor of the empire, who is to be appointed by the emperor, is to be the presiding officer of the Bundesrath and to have the supervision of its business.

The chancellor of the empire may appoint any member of the Bundesrath to represent him by written authorisation.

Article 16. The necessary bills shall be presented to the Reichstag in the name of the emperor according to the resolutions of the Bundesrath, and they are to be supported in the Reichstag by the members of the Bundesrath or by special commissioners to be appointed by them.

Article 17. The emperor is to prepare and publish the laws of the empire and to supervise their execution. The ordinances and regulations of the emperor are to be issued in the name of the empire, and require for their validity the signature of the chancellor of the empire, who thereby becomes responsible for them.

Article 18. The emperor appoints the officers of the empire, and has these render their oaths of office, and if necessary attends to their dismissal.

Officials of a state of the confederation appointed to an office under the empire shall enjoy the same rights with regard to the empire which were due them in their native state because of their official position, provided that no other stipulation has been made by imperial legislation before their entrance into the imperial service.

Article 19. If members of the confederation shall not fulfil their constitutional duties towards the confederation, they may be compelled to do so by means of [military] execution. This execution is to be ordered by the Bundesrath and to be carried out by the emperor.

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law of May 31st, 1869 (*Bundesgesetzblatt*, 1869, p. 145), there shall be elected 48 delegates in Bavaria, 17 in Württemberg, 14 in Baden, 6 in Hesse south of the Main, 15 in Alsace-Lorraine; the total of delegates therefore is 397.¹

Article 21. Leave of absence is not required of officials for entering the Reichstag.

When a member of the Reichstag accepts a salaried office of the empire, or a salaried office of a state of the confederation, or enters upon an office in the service of the empire or of an individual state which brings with it a higher rank or a higher salary, he loses his seat and vote in the Reichstag and can regain his place therein only by a new election.

Article 22. The transactions of the Reichstag are public.

Accurate reports of the transactions in the public sessions of the Reichstag are not to render their authors accountable.

Article 23. The Reichstag has the right within the competency of the empire to propose laws and refer to the Bundesrath or the chancellor of the empire petitions addressed to it.

Article 24. "The legislative period of the Reichstag lasts five years." For the dissolution of the Reichstag within this period a resolution of the Bundesrath with the approval of the emperor is required.

Article 25. In case of dissolution of the Reichstag the electors shall assemble within sixty days thereafter, and the Reichstag within ninety days.

Article 26. Without its own approval the Reichstag shall not be adjourned for a period longer than thirty days, and adjournment shall not be repeated during the same session.

Article 27. The Reichstag examines the legality of the election of its members and decides thereon. It regulates the routine of its business and its discipline by a code of rules and elects its presidents, its vice-presidents, and secretaries.

Article 28. The Reichstag passes laws by an absolute majority. The presence of the majority of the lawful number of members is necessary to render valid its resolutions.

Article 29. The members of the Reichstag are representatives of the whole people, and are not bound by orders or instructions.

Article 30. No member of the Reichstag shall at any time undergo judicial prosecution or discipline because of his vote or because of utterances made in the execution of his official functions, or shall otherwise be held responsible outside the assembly.

Article 31. No member of the Reichstag shall be tried or arrested for an act involving punishment during the session of the Reichstag without the consent of that body, except when arrested in the act or in the course of the following day.

Similar permission is necessary for arrest because of debt.

Upon the demand of the Reichstag, every legal proceeding against one of its members and all imprisonment in civil cases or preceding trial shall be suspended during the session.

Article 32. Members of the Reichstag are not allowed to draw any salary or compensation as such.

[¹ The total membership of the Reichstag as arranged by the constitution and by the election law, 397, as stated above, is distributed as follows, Prussia 235, Bavaria 48, Saxony 23, Württemberg 17, Alsace-Lorraine 15, Baden 14, Hesse 9, Mecklenburg-Schwerin 6, Saxe-Weimar 3, Oldenburg 3, Brunswick 3, Hamburg 3, Saxe-Meiningen 2, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha 2, Anhalt 2, and all the rest one each. The members are chosen in single electoral districts fixed by imperial law.]

[² The period was originally three years. It was changed to five by an amendment of March 19th, 1888.]

VI. CUSTOMS AND COMMERCE

Article 33. Germany forms a single territory in regard to customs and commerce, having a common tariff frontier. Portions of territory not adapted for inclusion in this tariff boundary remain excluded. All objects which enjoy free exchange within a state of the confederation may be introduced into every other state of the confederation, and are to be subject to taxation in the latter only in so far as similar domestic products in the same are subject to taxation therein.

Article 34. The Hanseatic cities, Bremen and Hamburg, together with a district of their own or of the surrounding territory adequate to the purpose, remain free ports outside of the common tariff boundary, until they request their inclusion in the same.

Article 35. The empire has the exclusive right of legislation concerning everything relating to customs, the taxation of salt and tobacco produced within the territory of the confederation, brandy and beer manufactured within it, and sugar and syrup made from beets or other domestic products; concerning the mutual safeguarding against fraud of the taxes levied in the various states of the confederation upon articles of consumption; also concerning the measures which are necessitated by special exemptions from taxation and for the protection of the common tariff boundary.

In Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, the taxation of domestic brandy and beer is reserved for local legislation. The states of the confederation will, however, endeavour to secure correspondence in their legislation concerning the taxation of these articles also.

Article 36. The imposing and the regulation of customs and excise (art. 35) within its own territory is reserved to each state of the confederation in so far as it has hitherto exercised these functions.

The emperor supervises the legal proceedings by imperial officials whom he assigns to the customs or excise offices and to the administrative boards of the various states, after hearing the committee of the Bundesrath on customs revenues.

Reports made by these officials concerning defects in the execution of the common legislation (art. 35) are presented in the Bundesrath for action.

Article 37. In taking action upon these ordinances and regulations for the execution of common legislation (art. 35), the vote of the presiding officer decides when it accords with the maintenance of the existing ordinance or regulations.

Article 38. The revenue from customs and other dues, mentioned in article 35, these latter in so far as they are subject to the legislation of the empire, goes to the imperial treasury.

This revenue consists of the whole income of the customs and other taxes after deduction of:

1. concessions in taxes and reductions resting upon the provisions of the laws or general constitutional regulations,

2. reimbursements for taxes improperly collected,

3. the cost of collection and administration, to wit:

- (a) in case of customs, the expenses necessitated by the protection and collection of the customs on the frontier and in frontier districts lying towards countries outside of the empire;

- (b) in case of the tax on salt, the expenses necessitated by the payment of salaries to officials intrusted with the collection and control of this tax in the salt mines;

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allowed to the various governments of the confederation according to the resolutions of the Bundesrath for the expenses of administering this taxation;

(d) in the case of the remaining taxes, 15 per cent. of the total receipts.

Those districts lying outside of the common customs boundary contribute to the expenses of the empire by the payment of an aversum [a sum of acquittance].

Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden have no part in the income derived by the imperial treasury from taxes on brandy and beer, nor in the corresponding portion of the above-mentioned aversum.

Article 39. The statements to be rendered at the end of each quarter by the revenue boards of the states of the confederation, and the final settlements to be made at the close of the year and upon the closing of the books, concerning the receipts of the customs and taxes on consumption, due to the imperial treasury according to article 38 in the course of the quarter or, respectively, of the financial year, are put together by the administrative boards of the states of the confederation, after having been examined, in general summaries, in which every duty is to be shown separately, and these summaries are to be forwarded to the committee of the Bundesrath on accounts.

By means of these summaries the latter temporarily determines, every three months, the amount due to the imperial treasury from the treasury of each state of the confederation, and informs the Bundesrath and the states of the confederation of the condition of these accounts, and also presents yearly a final statement of the amounts with its comments to the Bundesrath. The Bundesrath takes action upon this statement.

Article 40. The regulations of the customs-union treaty, of July 8th, 1867, remain in force in so far as they are not changed by the regulations of this constitution and so long as they have not been changed in the manner prescribed in article 7, respectively 78.

VII. RAILWAYS

Article 41. Railways which are considered necessary to the best interests of the defence of Germany or of the general commerce may be constructed at the expense of the empire, by virtue of a law of the empire, even against the objections of the members of the confederation whose territories these railways traverse, without detracting from the rights of local sovereignty, or concessions for their construction may be granted to private contractors together with the rights of expropriation.

It is the duty of every existing railway management to permit newly constructed railways to form junctions with their roads at the expense of the former.

All the legal regulations granting to existing railway companies the right of injunction against the construction of parallel or competing railways are hereby abolished throughout the empire, without prejudice to rights already acquired. Such right of injunction, moreover, is not to be granted in the concessions to be given in the future.

Article 42. The federal government binds itself to manage the German railways in the interest of general commerce as a uniform system, and for this purpose to have railways to be built in the future also constructed and equipped according to uniform standards.

Article 43. In accordance with this, harmonious arrangements as to management shall be made with all possible speed, especially, uniform regulations shall be introduced for the policing of the railways. The empire shall provide that the management of the railways shall at all times keep them in such con-

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dition as to construction that they afford the necessary security, and shall fit them out with rolling stock as the needs of traffic demand.

Article 44. Those having the management of the railways are bound to provide such passenger trains of the requisite speed as are necessary for traffic and for the establishment of schedules which shall properly harmonise, and in the same way to provide the freight trains necessary for the proper conduct of the freight traffic, and also to arrange for a direct transfer of passengers and freight from one railway to another at the customary rates.

Article 45. The empire shall have control of the rates of fare. It shall especially endeavour to attain the following objects:

1. that uniform regulations of traffic be established on all German railways as speedily as possible.

2. that the greatest possible uniformity and reduction of rates be attained, especially that with greater distances in transportation of coal, coke, wood, metals, stone, salt, crude-iron, manures, and similar substances, a rate sufficiently low be established to correspond to the needs of agriculture and industry, and that, in particular, the one *Pfennig* rate be introduced as soon as possible.

Article 46. In the case of conditions of distress, especially at a time of an unusual increase in the price of provisions, the railways are bound to introduce temporarily a reduced rate for transportation, especially of grain, flour, cereals, and potatoes, this rate to correspond to the special need and to be fixed by the emperor upon the advice of the competent committee of the Bundesrath. This rate, however, shall not descend below the lowest rate for raw products on the railway in question.

The preceding regulations as well as those in articles 42 to 45 are not applicable to Bavaria.

The empire also in Bavaria has the right to fix by way of legislation uniform standards for the construction and equipment of railways important for the defence of the country.

Article 47. To the demands of the authorities of the empire with reference to the use of railways for the needs of the defence of Germany all railway managements must comply without hesitation. Especially army equipments and all war material are to be forwarded at uniform reduced rates.

VIII. POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH SERVICE

Article 48. The postal and telegraph services are to be arranged and managed for the whole territory of the German Empire as uniform state institutions of communication.

The legislation of the empire provided for in article 4, as to postal and telegraph affairs, does not extend to those matters whose regulation, according to the principles which have obtained in the North German postal and telegraph administration, is left to administrative adjustment or fixed rules.

Article 49. The receipts from the postal and telegraphic services are common to the whole empire. The expenses are to be met out of the common income; the surplus is to go to the imperial treasury (Section XII).

Article 50. The emperor controls the administration of the postal and telegraph service. It is the duty and right of the magistrates appointed by him to establish and maintain uniformity in the organisation of the administration and in the management of the service, as well as in the qualifications of the officials.

The emperor has the authority to establish the rules of the service. He supervises the general administration and holds the exclusive right of control of the relations to other postal and telegraph services.

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It is the duty of all post and telegraph officials to obey the orders of the emperor. This duty shall be recognised in the oath of office. The power of appointment of all superior officials, *e.g.*, directors, advisers, inspectors, in the various districts of the postal and telegraph service throughout the whole German Empire, shall belong to the emperor, to whom these officials pledge themselves in the oath of office. The appointment of all superior officials (such as directors, advisers, inspectors) that are necessary for the administration of the postal and telegraph service, also the appointment of post and telegraph officials (such as inspectors and controllers) who, as agents of the aforesaid superior officials, shall act in the capacity of supervisors in the various districts, shall be made for the whole territory of the German Empire by the emperor, to whom these officials shall pledge their fealty in the oath of office.

Other officials required by the postal and telegraph service,¹ including those engaged in local and technical work and those at the actual postal and telegraph centres, etc., shall be appointed by the individual state governments.

In places where there is no independent postal or telegraph service, the appointments shall be settled by the terms of the special treaties.

Article 51. In consideration of the disparity that has hitherto existed in the amounts cleared by the different departments, and in order that a corresponding equalisation may be secured during the period of transition fixed below, the assigning of the surplus of the postal department for the general purposes of the country (art. 49) shall proceed as follows:

An average yearly surplus shall be computed from the surplus which has accrued in the several postal districts during the five years 1861 to 1865; the share that each district has had in the surplus accumulated for the use of the whole empire shall be determined by a percentage.

During the eight years following their entrance into the postal department of the empire, according to the proportion thus established the separate states shall have credited on the account of their other contributions to the expenses of the empire this quota which has accrued to them from the postal surplus.

After the period of eight years that distinction ceases to exist, and the postal surplus passes in its entirety to the treasury of the empire, according to the principle set down in article 49. Half of whatever quota of postal surplus accrues to the Hanseatic towns during the afore-mentioned period of eight years shall be placed at the disposal of the emperor to defray the expenses of establishing suitable postal service in the Hanseatic towns.

Article 52. The provisions contained in articles 48 to 51 do not apply to Bavaria and Würtemberg. Instead, the following shall be applied to these two states of the confederation:

The empire alone holds the right of legislation over postal and telegraph privileges, over the legal relation that the postal and telegraph departments bear to the public, over franks and tariff, exclusive, however, of any control of administration and tariff within Bavaria and Würtemberg. The empire holds the right, also under a like limitation, to legislate upon the establishment of rates for telegraphic communication.

In like manner the empire regulates postal and telegraphic communication with foreign countries, excepting the immediate communication of Bavaria and Würtemberg with neighbouring states that do not belong to the empire. For this exception provision is made in article 49 of the postal treaty of November 23rd, 1867.

Bavaria and Würtemberg have no share in the proceeds accruing to the treasury of the empire from the postal and telegraph service.

[¹ By combining the postal and telegraphic departments Germany has been saved a large number of officials and has effected important economies.]

IX. NAVY AND NAVIGATION

Article 53. The navy of the empire is united under the supreme authority of the emperor. He forms and organises it, appoints the naval officers and functionaries, and all of these, along with the common sailors, must take an oath of allegiance to him.

The harbours of Kiel and of the Jade are imperial harbours of war.

The sum necessary for the establishment and maintenance of the fleet and its appurtenances shall be taken from the treasury of the empire.

All seamen inhabiting the empire, including machinists and mechanics, employed in the navy, are exempt from service in the army; but, on the other hand, are compelled to serve in the imperial navy.

Article 54. The merchant ships of all the states of the confederation form a united commercial marine.

The empire determines upon the method of ascertaining the tonnage of vessels, regulates the issuing of certificates of measurement and shipping papers, and fixes the stipulations upon which permission to navigate a ship depends.

In the harbours and on all natural and artificial waterways of the various states of the confederation the merchant vessels of all these states shall be allowed equal rights and privileges. The taxes which are imposed upon the vessels or their loadings for the use of shipping conveniences in the harbours must not exceed the amount necessary for the maintenance and preservation of such conveniences.

On all natural waterways taxes may be imposed only for the use of special conveniences which are destined to increase the facility of traffic. These taxes, as well as the taxes for the navigation of artificial watercourses which are state property, must not exceed the amount necessary for the maintenance and preservation of such conveniences. These stipulations apply to the use of rafts, in so far as they may be floated on navigable waterways.

No single state, but the empire alone, has the right to levy on foreign vessels or their freight other or higher taxes than are levied on the vessels of the confederate states or their freight.

Article 55. The flag of the navy (including both merchant ships and ships of war) is black, white and red.

X. CONSULAR AFFAIRS

Article 56. All consular affairs of the German Empire are under the supervision of the emperor. He appoints consuls after a hearing of the committee of the Bundesrath on commerce and traffic.

No new state consulates may be established within the jurisdiction of the German consuls. The German consuls exercise the functions of a state consul for the confederate states that have no representations in their precincts. All the state consulates that now exist shall be abolished as soon as the organisation of the German consulates is completed, in such a manner that the representation of the individual interests of all the confederate states is recognised by the Bundesrath as secured by the German consulates.

XI. MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE EMPIRE

Article 57. Every German is subject to military service, and cannot supply a substitute to fulfil this duty.

Article 58. The cost and burden of the entire imperial military system must be borne equally by all the states of the confederation and their subjects,

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so that neither privileges nor prerogatives of individual states or classes can be taken into consideration.

In cases where an equal distribution of burdens is not possible without detriment to the general welfare, matters shall be equalised by law in accordance with justice.

Article 59. Every German that is liable to military service belongs to the standing army for seven years—usually from the completion of his twentieth to the beginning of his twenty-eighth year: the first three years in the field, the last four in the reserve. The next five years he belongs to the first levy of the militia; and then, until the 31st of March of that calendar year in which he completes his thirty-ninth year, he belongs to the second levy of the militia. In those states of the confederation in which until the present time a service longer than twelve years has been required, a gradual diminution of the time of service shall take place according as such diminution may be compatible with a proper regard for the military status of the empire.

In regard to the emigration of members of the Reserve Corps, only those rules shall apply that apply to the emigration of the members of the militia.

Article 60. The strength of the German army in time of peace shall be reckoned until December 31st, 1871, as 1 per cent. of the population of 1867, the confederate states contributing to this percentage according to their population. After that time the strength of the army shall be determined by legislation.

Article 61. After the publication of this constitution the entire military system of Prussia shall be instituted throughout the whole empire, as well the laws themselves as the regulations, instructions, and rescripts governing their execution, elucidation, or completion; for example, the military criminal code of April 3rd, 1845; the military regulations of the penal code of April 3rd, 1845, governing the punishment of military offenders; the enactment concerning the court of honour of July 20th, 1843; the stipulations in regard to drafting, time of service, matters of special payment and maintenance, of soldier billeting, claims for damages, mobilisation, etc.—for both peace and war. The military church regulations are, however, excepted. After the German army has been uniformly organised a comprehensive code of imperial military law shall be submitted to and constitutionally acted upon by the Reichstag and the Bundesrath.

Article 62. For the defrayment of the expenses of the whole German army and everything appertaining thereto, there shall be placed at the disposition of the emperor until December 31st, 1871, the sum of 225 (two hundred and twenty-five) *thalers* per capita for the soldiers of the army during time of peace (see Section XII).

After December 31st, 1871, the payment of these contributions to the imperial treasury must be continued by the separate states of the confederation. This reckoning shall be made according to the strength of the army in time of peace, as temporarily fixed in article 60, until it is altered by a law of the empire.

The expenditure of this sum for the entire army and everything appertaining thereto shall be determined by budget law.

The amount of expenditure for the army shall be determined upon the basis of the regular organisation of the imperial army, according to this constitution.

Article 63. The entire land force of the empire shall compose a united army which shall be under the command of the emperor in both peace and war.

The regiments throughout the whole army shall be numbered consecutively. The Prussian army shall be taken as the model for the color and cut of cloth-

ing.' It is left to the officers of contingent forces to decide upon the external insignia (cockades, etc.).

It is the emperor's duty and right to take care that all divisions within the German army be represented in full equipment and efficiency, and that unity be established and maintained in the organisation and formation, in the supply of arms, in the command and training of the soldiers, and in the qualification of officers. For this purpose the emperor has authority to inform himself at any time, by inspection, of the condition of the various contingents, and to provide for the supplying of any needs thereby discovered.

The emperor determines the force, construction, and classification of the contingents of the imperial army as well as the organisation of the militia, and he has the right to designate garrisons within the jurisdiction of the confederation, as well as to order any part of the army into action.

For the sake of maintaining the requisite uniformity in the administration, arming, and equipment of all the troops of the German army, the orders bearing upon these matters, which shall be in future issued for the Prussian army, shall be communicated in proper form to the commanders of the remaining contingents by the committee on the army and fortifications, provided for in article 8, No. 1.

Article 64. Absolute obedience to the commands of the emperor is required of all German troops. This obligation shall be embodied in the oath of allegiance.

The commander-in-chief of a contingent, as well as all officers who command troops of more than one contingent, and all commanders of fortifications, are appointed by him. The officers appointed by him take the oath of fealty to him. The appointment of generals and of all those officers fulfilling the duties of generals within the contingent is subject to the approval of the emperor.

The emperor has authority to choose officers from all contingents of the empire in case of the transfer of men with or without promotion to any positions to be filled by imperial appointment, whether in the Prussian army or * in other contingents.

Article 65. The right to erect forts within the territory of the confederation belongs to the emperor, who may acquire the means requisite thereto—in so far as the regular budget does not provide them—according to Section XII.

Article 66. Where special agreements do not otherwise stipulate, the princes of the confederation and the senate respectively appoint the officers of their contingents, subject to the limitation of article 64. They are the chiefs of the troops belonging to their respective jurisdictions, and enjoy the honours incident thereto. They have the right to make inspections at any time. They receive regular reports and announcements of any changes about to be made and timely information concerning promotions and appointments in the respective contingents, that these may be published in the different territories.

Furthermore, they have the right to use for police duty not only their own troops, but also any other imperial troops that may be stationed in their territories.

Article 67. Any sums appropriated to army purposes and not expended must under no circumstances fall to the share of a single government, but invariably to the imperial treasury.

Article 68. If the public safety of the country is threatened, the emperor may declare every part thereof in a state of war. Until a law is issued governing the grounds, the form of announcement, and the effects of such a declaration, the provisions of the Prussian law of June 4th, 1851 (Laws of 1851, page 451), shall be in order.

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Final Clauses of Section XI

The provisions contained in this section shall go into effect in Bavaria according to the provisions of the treaty of alliance of November 23rd, 1870 (*Bundesgesetzblatt*, 1871, Section 9), under III. Section 5, in Württemberg, according to the provisions of the military convention of November 21st-25th, 1870 (*Bundesgesetzblatt*, 1870, pp. 65-68).

XII. FINANCES OF THE EMPIRE

Article 69. All receipts and expenditures of the empire shall be estimated for every year and entered upon the imperial budget. The latter must be fixed by law according to the following principles, before the beginning of the fiscal year.

Article 70. All general expenses shall be defrayed by whatever surplus remains from previous years—the receipts accruing as well from the customs taxes and the common excise duties, as from the postal and telegraph service. In so far as the aforesaid expenses are not covered by such receipts they shall be met, as long as no taxes of the empire are instituted, through the assessment of the several states according to their populations. This assessment shall be determined by the chancellor of the empire, up to the limit of the amount fixed in the budget.

Article 71. The amount of general expenditure shall be, as a rule, granted for one year; it may, however, in special cases be granted for a longer period.

During the intermediate time fixed in article 60 the budget of army expenditures, arranged with lettered heads, etc., shall be laid before the Bundesrath and the Reichstag for their information.

Article 72. A yearly report of the expenditure of all receipts of the empire shall be submitted by the chancellor of the empire to the Bundesrath and the Reichstag.

Article 73. In case of extraordinary necessity a loan may be contracted in accordance with the laws of the empire, the empire itself furnishing security for such loan.

Final Clause of Section XII

Articles 69 and 71 regulate the expenditures of the Bavarian army only in accordance with the provisions of the final clause of Section XI of the treaty of November 23rd, 1870, and article 72, only in so far as is necessary to inform the Bundesrath and the Reichstag of the assignment to Bavaria of the sum required for the Bavarian army.

XIII. SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AND REGULATIONS REGARDING PUNITIVE MEASURES

Article 74. Every undertaking inimical to the existence, the integrity, the safety, or the constitution of the German Empire; any offence against the Bundesrath, the Reichstag, a member of the Bundesrath or of the Reichstag, a magistrate, or a public servant of the empire, while any one of these is engaged in fulfilling the duties of his office or duties related thereto, whether such undertaking or offence be through word of mouth, writing, printing, signs, pictures, or other impersonation, shall be judged and punished in the separate states of the confederation according to the laws which exist or shall hereafter exist in them, according to which laws shall be judged any similar

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act that is hostile to the individual state, its constitution, its legislature or assembly, or the members of its legislature or assembly, its officials or magistrates.

Article 75. For the offences against the German Empire designated in article 74, which if directed against one of the individual confederate states would be considered high treason, the superior court of appeals in Lubeck of the three free Hanseatic towns is the final authority in the first and last resort.

More definite regulations in regard to the authority and the administration of the superior court of appeals shall be determined by laws of the empire. Until such laws are instituted, the authority which the courts of the separate states have hitherto possessed, and the stipulations concerning the administration of these courts, shall stand.

Article 76. Quarrels among the different states of the confederation, in so far as they are not of a private nature and so to be settled by the courts qualified therefor, shall be adjusted by the Bundesrath upon the appeal of one of the parties.

Disputes about constitutional matters in those states of the confederation whose constitution makes no provision for the appointment of a board to adjust such disputes, shall be peaceably settled by the Bundesrath upon the appeal of one of the parties; or, if that is not successful, they shall be settled by legislative authority.

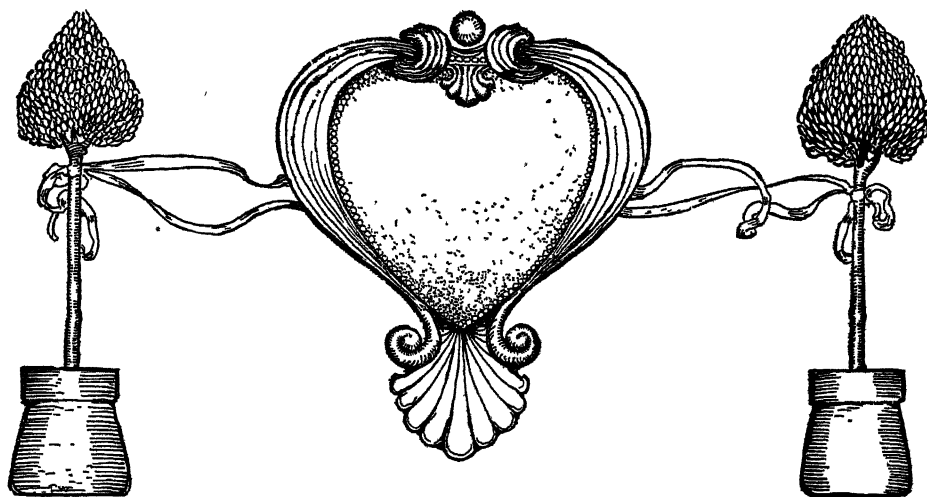
Article 77. If in one of the confederate states a case occurs where justice is denied and sufficient relief cannot be secured by legal means, then it is the duty of the Bundesrath to receive such legitimate complaints of the denial or restriction of justice as are to be judged according to the constitution and the existing laws of the state concerned. The Bundesrath shall then secure legal aid from the confederate government which has caused the difficulty.

XIV. GENERAL STIPULATIONS

Amendments of the constitution shall be enacted by the legislature. They shall be considered as rejected when fourteen votes are cast against them in the Bundesrath.

The provisions of the constitution of the empire which establish the fixed rights of individual states of the confederation in their relationships to the whole empire can be altered only with the approval of the state concerned.





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Alfred von Arneth was born in Vienna, July 10th, 1819. After completing a course of legal study a predilection for historical research caused him to enter the government service as an employee in the Imperial Archives. The reputation gained by his published works caused his advancement in 1858 to the position of vice-director of archives and ten years later to that of director. He entered political life in 1848 as a member of the national assembly ; was elected to the diet of Lower Austria in 1861 ; and in 1869 was appointed a life member of the Austrian

senate, where he participated in the celebrated debates on the confessional laws. Arneth was for many years a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, becoming its president in 1879. His official position in the archive office afforded unusual opportunity for research in Austrian history, and he published several scholarly works upon the eighteenth century period, and in particular the momentous reign of Maria Theresa. He died at Vienna in 1897.

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Karl Friedrich Becker, who was born at Berlin in 1777, studied philosophy and history at Halle, became a private tutor, and in 1798 was made a fellow of the Normal College at Berlin. Severe illness caused his retirement from active teaching in the year 1800, and the remainder of his short life was passed in the composition of his *World History for Children and Teachers*, the last volume of which was published shortly before his death in 1806. This work, charming in style and arrangement, has been repeatedly edited and enlarged and is a standard textbook in the German schools.

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Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck was born April 1st, 1815, at the Manor House of Schönhausen, in Brandenburg. His family had for six centuries been among the landed gentry of Prussia and many of his ancestors had held high rank in the kingdom. Educated at Berlin and Göttingen, he entered the public service at the age of twenty, but soon resigned, finding it extremely distasteful and not himself possessing the characteristics of the valuable clerk. For a number of years he lived quietly on the family estates, travelled in England, France, and Switzerland, and developed his mental powers by wide reading. As a young man he was inclined to liberal opinions, but soon acquired the strong monarchical principles in whose maintenance his life was passed. In 1847 he entered parliament and from this date until his final retirement in 1890 he was never free from public office. His work as the unifier of Germany is fully spread upon the preceding pages of this history and need not be here referred to. Bismarck was a maker of history, not a writer; but his letters and speeches and the recollections of his strenuous life as dictated to Horst Kohl will always be valuable to the historian of his period. Though not in the strict sense of the word a scholar, his mind was full of wide information, his memory apt and retentive, and he used words as he would a sword—to cut and smite. His family letters reveal his kindly nature, his strong affections, and earnest religious feeling. His speeches, strong, pungent, and interspersed with apt quotations, were always received with the close attention which they merited.

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William Coxe was born in London, March 7th, 1747, educated at Cambridge, and in 1771 became curate of Denham, but soon resigned and spent several years on the Continent as tutor of the marquis of Blandford and several other young English noblemen. Their travels were extensive and Coxe collected a vast store of information of all kinds, which appeared in numerous volumes of history and travel, evincing close observation and profound research. Upon his return to England he became rector of Bemerton in 1788, of Sturton in 1800, and archdeacon of Wiltshire in 1804. He died at Bemerton in Wiltshire, June 16th, 1828.

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Hans Delbrück was born at Bergen on the island of Rugen, November 11th, 1848, and was educated at Heidelberg and Bonn. His studies were interrupted by the Franco-German War, in which he served and was made an officer after the battle of Gravelotte. From 1874 to 1879 he was tutor of Prince Waldemar of Prussia. Entering public life in 1881, he was a representative in the chamber of deputies of Prussia until 1884, when he was elected to the Reichstag and took prominent place among the liberal conservatives. In 1883 he became an editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, and assumed its control in 1889. Since 1885 he has also occupied the chair of history in the University of Berlin, where his lectures have achieved great popularity. In addition to collaborating with Sybel in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, he has published several volumes of independent research upon notable events and personages in German history.

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Johann Gustav Droysen was born July 6th, 1808, at Treptow in Pomerania, Prussia. He

was educated at Berlin, where he became a lecturer on history in 1833 and professor in 1835. Called to the University of Kiel in 1840, he became prominent in the Schleswig-Holstein troubles as an advocate of the German claims, and represented Kiel in the Frankfort parliament. After holding a professorship at Jena he was recalled to Berlin in 1859, and devoted the remainder of his life to the duties of his office and the composition of historical works, whose vast erudition, lucid style, and critical acumen have caused him to be ranked among the greatest German historians. Droysen's writings cover a wide field. He was equally at home among the ancient Greeks as in more modern Germany, and in his life of Yorck von Wartenburg has given us a masterpiece of biography. His most important contribution to German history is the *Geschichte der preussischen Politik*.

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Eduard Duller, born at Vienna, November 8th, 1809, was educated in his native city and gave early promise of brilliant intellectual powers by producing at the age of seventeen a drama, *Meister Pilgram*, which was most favourably received. Feeling that his mind could not have proper development under the repressing influence of Metternich's rule, he left his native land in 1830, and spent the remainder of his life in Germany, residing successively in Munich, Frankfort, Darmstadt, and Mainz. During his residence in Darmstadt he became greatly interested in the German-Catholic movement and strongly upheld religious liberty. In addition to his numerous poetical and dramatic writings, Duller gave much attention to history and wrote a history of the Jesuits, besides several standard works upon the history of Germany. He died at Wiesbaden, July 24th, 1853.

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Maximilian Wolfgang Duncker, the eldest son of the publisher Karl Duncker, was born at Berlin, October 15th, 1811. While a student at Berlin University in 1834 he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for membership in the students' societies which the government was endeavouring to abolish. He was released after six months, but was debarred from pursuing his studies until 1839, when he entered the University at Halle, where he obtained a professorship in 1842. Duncker took an active part in the political strife from 1848 to 1852 and was refused promotion by the Prussian government on account of his opposition to Manteuffel. Recalled to Berlin in 1859, he held important official positions until 1875, when he retired from public life. During this active public career he pursued his historical researches and produced many voluminous works, which are distinguished for lucidity of style and accuracy of statement. Duncker's writings cover a wide range, and while his *Geschichte des Alterthums* is the foundation-stone of his eminent reputation, his contributions to German history are of great value. He died at Ansbach, July 21st, 1886.

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Einhard, sometimes known as Eginhard, the celebrated secretary and supposed son-in-law of Charlemagne, was born in Germany about the year 770. While a student at the monastery of Fulda he displayed such ability that he was sent to complete his education at the school of the palace. His acquirements and talents attracting the attention of the emperor, Einhard soon received important court appointments which brought him into close intimacy with the royal family. Whether the romantic story of his love for the princess Emma be true or false, it is at all events well told, and, after being embellished by the elegant pen of Addison, was thought worthy of insertion in the third volume of the *Spectator*. His tender attachment for his wife Imma is proved by a letter written after her decease, which recounts her virtues in the most affectionate terms, but it is far from certain that she was the daughter of the emperor.

After the death of Charlemagne, Einhard became abbot of several monasteries, finally settling at Mühlheim, where he founded a monastery and passed the remainder of his life. His death occurred March 14th, 840, and he was buried beside his wife, who had died a few years before. Their coffins are still shown in the castle of Erbach, whose counts claim him as an ancestor. Many of Einhard's works have been preserved and his letters are of great value.

for the history of his time. The *Vita Caroli Magni*, completed about the year 820, is the most important biographical history which has survived the Middle Ages.

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Gustav Freytag, a distinguished German dramatist and historical novelist, was born at Kreuzburg, Silesia, July 13th, 1816. He studied at Breslau and Berlin, taught in the University of Breslau, and in 1848 with Julian Schmidt founded at Dresden *Die Grenzboten*, a monthly periodical devoted to the exposition of liberalism in politics and especially distinguished for the soundness of its literary criticism, with which he maintained his connection until 1870. Freytag during this period published many successful novels, wrote comedies which still hold the stage, and a series of essays illustrating the history and manners of ancient Germany. During the Franco-Prussian War he was for a time attached to the staff of the crown prince, and a journal of those days, published in 1889 under the title of *Der Kronprinz und die Kaiserkrone*, revealed the liberal tendencies of Frederick III in a manner very displeasing to the young emperor William II. The series of historical novels, *Die Ahnen*, published in 1872-1880, is already classic in German literature. The stories begin in the early dawn of German history and reproduce in vivid, lifelike pictures the manners and customs of the past, the motives and passions which influenced the nation in its most formative and critical periods. After their completion Freytag withdrew from active life and resided at Wiesbaden until his death, which occurred April 30th, 1895.

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Bruno Gebhardt was born October 9th, 1858, at Krotoschin, Prussia, studied history at Breslau, gaining his degree of doctor of philosophy in 1884 by a dissertation entitled *Die Gramina der deutschen Nation gegen den römischen Hof*, which was published and has passed through several editions. He taught for several years in the gymnasium at Breslau, and afterwards in the industrial school at Berlin, of which he became a professor in 1899. Gebhardt has published several valuable works on German history and biography and collaborated in the production of a *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, published at Stuttgart, 1892.

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Friedrich Wilhelm Benjamin von Giesebrecht, who was born at Berlin, March 5th, 1814, pursued historical study at the University of Berlin under the tuition of Leopold von Ranke, under whose direction he subsequently published an excellent history of Otto II in the *Jahrbücher*, and edited the *Annales Altahenses*. Giesebrecht spent some years in historical research in Italy, and as a result published *De Literarum Studiis apud Italos primis mediæ ævi sæculis*. In 1857 he was appointed professor of history at Königsberg, and in 1862 succeeded Sybel at Munich, where he later became secretary of the Historical Commission. His great work is the *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, in the preparation of which he spent thirty-three years, and for which he was awarded by the Berlin Academy the Frederick William IV prize for distinguished service to German history. His historical writings are marked by extreme accuracy and evince the most careful and minute investigation. He died at Munich, December 17th, 1889.

Gieseler, J. K. L., Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Bonn, 1824-1856, 6 vols., English translation, Text-book of Ecclesiastical History, Philadelphia, 1836, New York, 1868.

Johann Karl Ludwig Gieseler, distinguished as a church historian, was born at Petershagen, in Westphalia, March 8rd, 1792. He was educated at Halle and served in the war of Liberation in 1813-1814. While acting as director of a gymnasium at Cleves he published his first essay on church history, in consequence of which he was called in the following year to the professorship of theology in the recently established University of Bonn. In 1831 he removed to Göttingen and devoted himself to the completion of his monumental work, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, three volumes of which were published during his life and two more in the year following his death. His contributions to periodicals were numerous and valuable, and he edited several ancient chronicles and biographies.

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Karl Rudolf Hagenbach was born March 4th, 1801, at Bâle, studied at Bonn and Berlin, and became professor of history at Bâle in 1828. He was a distinguished public lecturer and delivered several courses of lectures on the Reformation, the early history of the church, and on church history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were most favourably received, have passed through numerous editions, and been translated into other languages. His busy life was filled with literary work. In addition to his professorship and his public lectures, he was an admired preacher and a poet. Hagenbach published several doctrinal works, edited the *Kirchenblatt* for twenty three years, and a valuable series of biographies of the reformers of the church, to which he contributed the lives of Ecolampadius and Myconius. He died at Bâle, June 7th, 1874.

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Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, whose life was largely spent in the investigation of the politics and commerce of the ancients, was born near Bremen, October 25th, 1760, and educated at Bremen and the University of Göttingen. His first work was an edition of Menander's *De Encomiis*, and in the years 1792-1801 he travelled extensively through France, Italy, and the Netherlands while preparing material for an edition of the *Elogues* of Stobæus. In 1796 his *Ideen über Politik* appeared at Göttingen and at once gave him high rank among historians. In 1801 he became professor of history at Göttingen. As a teacher he was far beyond others of his time a stimulating and productive force. The formative periods of history were to him regions to be carefully explored, and, like all great pioneers, he possessed the energy and magnetism which inspire his followers. Numerous works evincing acute observation, careful research, and developing new views of ancient times came rapidly from his pen. For his *Versuch einer Entwicklung der Folgen der Kreuzzüge*, published in 1808, he was awarded a prize by the Institute of France. The last years of his life were comparatively unproductive, being devoted to the revision and reproduction of his earlier works. He died at Göttingen, March 6th, 1842.

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Otto Henne-am-Rhyn was born at St Gall, Switzerland, August 26th, 1828, and inherited a love for historical research from his father, a Swiss historian and poet. He studied at Berne and taught for several years before becoming editor of the *Freimaurerzeitung* at Leipsic in 1872. A profound student of the history of civilisation, he has published many works dealing with the growth and development of the Swiss and German peoples, their national characteristics, manners, and customs, besides an interesting and instructive treatise upon the Jewish race.

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Heinrich Friedrich Theodor Kohlrausch, born November 15th, 1780, at Landolfshausen, after completing his studies at Göttingen became tutor to young Count Wolf Baudissin, with whom he sojourned at the universities of Berlin, Kiel, and Heidelberg. He afterwards taught at Barmen, Düsseldorf, and Münster, and in 1830 was made school inspector of the kingdom of Hanover, serving as such until 1864, when he became general director. He wrote a number of works upon general history and chronology, mainly intended for use in schools, which have been frequently republished and are of high authority. *Deutsche Geschichte*, first published in 1816, is his most important production and is still a standard work. His long and useful life came to a close January 29th, 1867.

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Franz Xaver Krones, count of Marchland, was born at Ungarisch-Ostrau in Moravia, November 19th, 1835. He studied philosophy and history at Vienna and became instructor in Austrian history at Kaschau in 1857. From 1865 he was professor of history at the University of Gratz. Krones' published works upon Austro-Hungarian history are both numerous and valuable, including comprehensive reviews of general history as well as monographs upon important epochs and historical biographies of noted persons.

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Henry Charles Lea was born in Philadelphia, September 19th, 1825. He did not receive a college education, but entered his father's publishing business at the age of eighteen, becoming its head in 1865. The activity of a successful business life and a profound interest in general public affairs has not, however, hindered Mr. Lea's pursuit of his chosen literary career. His interest in mediæval church history has been fruitful in many valuable contributions to the literature of that eventful period, and his researches have shown in strong light much of the ignorance, superstition, and cruelty of the Dark Ages. He is a member of many

learned societies in Europe and the United States, and has been granted honorary degrees by several universities.

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Theodor Lindner was born May 22nd, 1843, at Breslau, received his education there and at Berlin, and after teaching in Breslau and Munster was appointed to a professorship in the University of Halle in 1888. His published works on German history cover a wide range and include some valuable biographies.

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János Mjáláth, a Hungarian poet and historian, was born at Pest, October 3rd, 1786. He was a member of a noble Hungarian family which had long been prominent in the state. His education was obtained at Erlau and Raab, and having chosen the profession of law he was until 1843 chancery-councillor at Pest. Compelled to resign his position by reason of a disease of the eyes, he endeavoured to maintain himself by literary work in Vienna and Munich, but, overcome by the cares and worries of life, drowned himself and his daughter in the Starnbergersee, January 3rd, 1855. His historical works are numerous and are of special value to the student of Hungarian history.

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Wolfgang Menzel, noted as critic and historian, was born June 21st, 1798, at Waldenburg, Silesia, and studied at Berlin, Jena, and Bonn. He was an ardent follower of Jahn and was engaged in the Turner movement in 1818. From 1820 to 1824 he taught at Aarau in Switzerland, but in 1825 took up his permanent residence in Stuttgart, where he established the *Litteraturblatt*, which he edited until 1848. Menzel was a member of the Württemberg diet from 1830 to 1838, joining Uhland, Schott, and Pfizer in the opposition party, but being unsuccessful in political life he returned to literary pursuits. His bitter attacks on Goethe led to sharp conflicts with Heine and others, and for years he was a "storm centre" in German literary circles. While teaching in Switzerland he wrote his popular *Geschichte der Deutschen*, and in his later and very numerous historical works developed his strong monarchical tendencies. His large library passed, after his death on April 23rd, 1873, into the possession of the University of Strasburg.

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Berthold Georg Niebuhr was born August 27th, 1776, at Copenhagen. His father, Karstens Niebuhr, who was among the first modern explorers of Arabia and Syria, superintended his

early education, and he completed his studies at Kiel and Edinburgh. He early showed remarkable aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge and was distinguished throughout life for the variety and accuracy of his information. Niebuhr was at first in government service at Copenhagen, afterwards at Berlin, but in 1806 at the opening of the University of Berlin he became a lecturer on history in that institution. The new critical methods which he applied to the study of history revealed the exactness of his thought and created a new science of historical study. While his conclusions may not be wholly accepted at the present day, he paved the way and indicated the proper means for historical research and criticism. Returning to public life, he was appointed ambassador at the papal court, and his sojourn in Rome enabled him to examine the sources of historical knowledge in which that city abounds. Returning to Germany in 1823, he lectured at Bonn on classical and archaeological subjects until his death, January 2nd, 1831. Niebuhr was a man of great mental power and vast acquirements. While his literary work was almost wholly confined to antiquity, his services in elucidating the sources of German history will cause him to be always ranked among the great historians of Germany.

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Wilhelm Oncken, born December 19th, 1838, at Heidelberg, was educated at Heidelberg, Göttingen, and Berlin, taught from 1862 to 1866 in Heidelberg, and in 1870 became professor of history at Giessen. From 1873 to 1876 he represented Giessen in the German parliament. In 1877 he became editor of the series entitled *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, to which he has contributed several valuable sections

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August Potthast was born at Hörter in Westphalia, August 13th, 1825. He studied at Halle; and, becoming interested in the history of the Middle Ages, has devoted his life to that work. By diligent study of the chroniclers of that period he accumulated a vast repertoire of historical fact, from which he has built his *Bibliotheca historica medii ævi*, a work of the utmost value to historical students. Potthast was commissioned by the Berlin Academy to continue the great work commenced by Jaffé in his *Regesta pontificum*, which that scholar had completed to the year 1198. Potthast's continuation covers the period from 1198 to 1304 and is a work of vast erudition, most useful to the student of ecclesiastical history. He was for years librarian of the Reichstag and has published several monographs on epochs of mediæval history, besides numerous contributions to periodicals. He died February 13th, 1898.

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Leopold von Ranke, born at Wiehe in Thuringia, December 21st, 1795, shares with Niebuhr the honour of creating the modern school of historical research. Educated at the University of Leipsic, he became instructor in classical history at Frankfurt. While preparing himself for this work by systematic reading of the ancient historians, he conceived the idea of imparting to modern history the interest and vitality whose absence in most writers rendered their writings dull and wearisome. In 1825 he was appointed professor at the Berlin University, and began special investigation of the relations of Venice with the German Empire. The knowledge of the value of diplomatic history thus obtained was of great service in his subsequent researches, and its use is a marked characteristic of his writings. The outcome of Ranke's study of the Reformation period in the various states of Europe was a series of luminous pictures, forming a related whole which are among the most notable of his contributions to modern history. Ranke became historiographer of Prussia in 1841, was ennobled in 1865, and received many private and national honours. He retired from his professorship in 1871, but at the age of eighty-one began the preparation of his *Weltgeschichte*. Failing sight compelled him to depend upon the assistance of readers and secretaries, but his mind, stored with the accumulations of sixty years, was an unfailling spring, and the published volumes had reached the period of the Crusades when he died, May 23rd, 1886.

For years before his death Ranke had been considered first among modern historians. This was due not alone to the value of his publications, but to his work in the university. He trained generations of historical students, who came not alone from Germany but from all other civilised countries to learn his methods and be imbued with his spirit. His writings are distinguished for methodical research, rigorous criticism, art in grouping and animating facts, and the portrayal of character. Dispassionate and serene in his study of an epoch, he was animated by the sole desire to learn what actually occurred and to sum up with clearness and brevity its great characteristics and the events bearing upon general history. He is a political historian and deals only with rulers and great events, ignoring economic or social problems and limiting himself to the history of the state, not of its people.

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Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller was born in Marburg, Württemberg, November 10th, 1759. His father was an army surgeon, later inspector of parks and gardens of the ducal summer residence, the "Solitude," near Stuttgart. His mother was the daughter of a baker and innkeeper named Kodweis. The military profession of the father necessitated frequent changes of residence, and the early education of the future poet and historian was under the instruction of the pastor of Lorch, where the family resided from 1763 to 1766. In 1766, Schiller's father being in garrison at Ludwigsburg, the boy became a pupil of the Latin school, which was later removed to Stuttgart and became a semi-military institution. Here he remained from his fourteenth year until he was twenty-one. He was intended for the ministry, but soon abandoned the idea and took up the study of law, leaving that again to study medicine. He was made most wretched by the harsh discipline of the school, but found some alleviation in the study of many forbidden books, which he managed to obtain in spite of the vigilance of his superiors. The works of Shakespeare, Goethe, Rousseau, Lessing, Herder, and Klopstock strongly influenced his character and turned his mind towards literature and the drama.

Schiller's life may be divided into three periods: that of his youth from 1759 to 1785, the Storm and Stress period, during which he wrote and published the *Robbers*, *Fiesco*, *Love and Intrigue*, and his lyric poems; the second was the period of scientific study and production from 1785 to 1794, during which he wrote *Don Carlos*, *The Revolt of the Netherlands*, *The Thirty Years' War*, and many philosophic and æsthetic treatises; the third period from 1794 to 1805 was that of his greatest productivity. His best poems and ballads date from this period, as well as his most important dramas—the *Wallenstein* trilogy, *Mary Stuart*, *Maid of Orleans*, and *William Tell*. His first important work was published when he was eighteen years of age. It was a powerful tragedy which at once established his fame throughout all Europe. It was put on the stage at Mannheim in 1782. On account of certain passages offensive to the duke of Würtemberg, Schiller was forbidden to write any more dramas, but to confine himself henceforth only to medical subjects. These restrictions being intolerable to the young poet, he fled to Mannheim, renounced his allegiance to the duke of Würtemberg, and became naturalised as a subject of the elector palatine. The ten years he spent in Mannheim were a constant struggle against poverty and debt in spite of his literary productions and journalistic enterprises. In 1787 he went to Weimar, there meeting Goethe, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship, later collaborating with him in the *Almanac of the Muses* and the *Xenien*. Through the influence of Goethe he obtained the post of professor of history at the University of Jena in 1789.

Schiller was tall and slight, his complexion pale, hair of a reddish colour, eyes hazel. His aims were high and he was deterred by no obstacle from reaching the goal he had set for himself. In spite of almost constant poverty and adversity and long years of physical suffering, he was cheerful, patient, tender, and sympathetic. He died of consumption, May 9th, 1805.

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Friedrich Christoph Schlosser was born at Jever in Oldenburg, November 17th, 1776. His first inclination was towards theological study, but after entering Göttingen in 1794 he devoted himself to scientific work. For some years he was tutor to Count Bentinck's children and was then appointed vice-rector of the college at Jever. During this period he turned his attention definitely to history, and in 1814 became professor at Frankfurt; two years later he was made librarian of that city. In 1817 he was made professor at Heidelberg University, where he soon attained high repute. Schlosser is a modern historian in the full sense of the term, and has exerted great influence upon his time by the liberalism and breadth of his thought. He is not so distinguished for erudition as for his love for truth and exact statement, and deals more with the life and civilisation of the people than with their wars and the lives of their princes. He died at Heidelberg, September 28rd, 1861, and a monument has been erected to his memory at his birthplace.

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Heinrich von Sybel, born at Düsseldorf, December 2nd, 1817, studied at Bonn and Berlin, where he was a pupil of Ranke, and in 1841 published his first work, a *History of the Crusades*, in which he controverted established beliefs. In 1844 he became professor extraordinary at Bonn, two years later removing to Marburg, where he wrote his notable *History of the French Revolution*, in which, from his use of material never before utilised, he was able to throw new light upon many important particulars. Called as professor to Munich in 1856, he instituted the Bavarian Historical Commission and founded the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Sybel returned to Bonn as full professor in 1861, and having in 1875 been made director of the Prussian archives, began the preparation of his chief work, *Die Begründung des deutschen Reiches*, for which his position afforded unusual facilities. He was prominent in public affairs and for many years was a member of the German parliament. In addition to his numerous individual publications Sybel was associated in the preparation of the political correspondence of Frederick the Great, and was an editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. He died at Marburg, August 1st, 1895.

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Heinrich von Treitschke, an eminent German historian and publicist, was born at Dresden, September 15th, 1834. He studied at Bonn, Leipsic, Tübingen, and Heidelberg, and became professor at Freiburg in 1863. His ardent advocacy of German unity led him at the period of the Seven Weeks' War to resign his professorship and assume the editorship of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* at Berlin, a position which he retained until 1889. In 1866 he was made professor at Kiel, but in the following year accepted a call to Heidelberg, where he remained until his permanent removal to Berlin in 1874. Treitschke was a member of parliament from 1871 to 1888 and prominent in debate as a representative of the liberal element. He succeeded Ranke as historiographer of Prussia in 1886 and lectured for many years in the University of Berlin, impressing his strong personality and ardent patriotism upon thousands of the German youth. His strong partisanship makes him less trustworthy as a historian than Ranke, but his sincerity and marked ability entitle him to high rank among modern German writers. Treitschke's published works are numerous and relate wholly to epochs of the nineteenth century. His style is picturesque, spirited, and graphic.

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Georg Weber was born at Beigzabern in the Rhine-Palatinate, February 10th, 1808. Upon the completion of his studies at Erlangen he became a professor in the high school of Heidelberg and from 1848 to 1872 was its director. His life was passed in the quiet performance of his professional duties and in the preparation of numerous historical works which are of special value to the student. Doctor Weber frankly stated that he wrote for the educated class, not for popular use, but the clear and easy style, the judicious arrangement, and unbiassed treatment of fact make his writings profitable and instructive to all. He died at Heidelberg, August 10th, 1888.

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Georg Winter, born at Breslau, February 3rd, 1856, is prominent among modern German historians. His individual works are already numerous and valuable, and having been an assistant of Ranke in the preparation of the *Weltgeschichte*, he became one of the editors of the volumes uncompleted at the death of that great historian.

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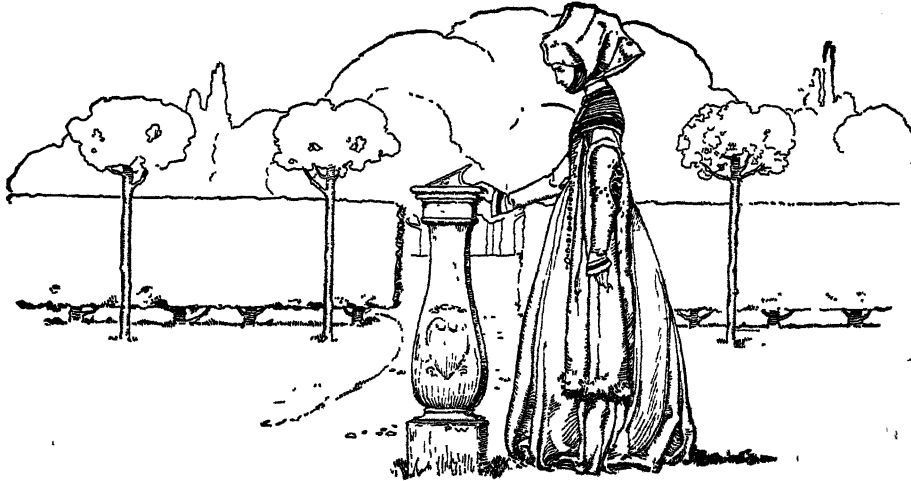
Adam Wolf, a noted Austrian historian, was born at Eger in Bohemia, July 12th, 1822. He studied at Prague and Vienna, becoming a lecturer on history in the University of Vienna in 1850. Appointed professor at Pest in 1852, he was for some years tutor to the daughter of Archduke Albert and in 1865 became professor at the University of Gratz, where he remained until his death, October 25th, 1883. A profound student of Austrian history, especially of the times of Maria Theresa, he wrote a number of important treatises, besides valuable biographies of Francis I and the archduchess Marie Christine.

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Eduard Zeller was born at Kleinbottwar in Württemberg, January 22nd, 1814. He studied at Tübingen and Berlin, and in 1840 became a lecturer on theology at Tübingen. His advanced views caused bitter opposition to his appointment to a professorship at Berne in 1847, and in 1849 he accepted a call to Marburg, where he remained until his appointment as professor of philosophy at Heidelberg in 1862. In 1872 he became professor at Berlin University, but at the age of eighty years retired from active life and settled at Stuttgart. Zeller ranks among the most noted German historians of philosophy and his publications are marked by original thought and profound erudition.

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HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES FROM THE TIME OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS TO THE PRESENT

[1188-1904 A.D.]

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

- 1188 **Conrad III** elected king of Germany over his rival, Henry Guelf (the Proud), duke of Bavaria. Conrad fears Henry and puts him under the ban, giving Saxony to Albert the Bear, and Bavaria to Leopold IV, markgraf of Austria.
- 1189 Death of Henry the Proud.
- 1140 His brother Welf asserts rights to Bavaria and is defeated by Conrad at Weinsberg.
- 1141 On death of Leopold of Austria, Bavaria falls to Henry Jasomirgott, brother of Henry the Proud. Conrad restores Saxony to Henry the Lion, son of Henry the Proud. Albert the Bear gives up claim to Saxony and his former possessions are restored to him.
- 1147 Conrad joins the Second Crusade.
- 1149 Return of Conrad renews strife with Welf of Bavaria. Conrad prepares to go to Rome to claim imperial crown.
- 1151 Death of Conrad's eldest son Henry, already crowned king of Germany.
- 1152 Death of Conrad. He has enjoined the electors to make his nephew, **Frederick (I) Barbarossa** emperor, which they do. The king of Denmark acknowledges himself Frederick's vassal.
- 1154 Frederick starts for Italy to restore the imperial authority there.
- 1155 He takes some small towns in northern Italy—is crowned king of Italy at Pavia and emperor by Adrian IV at Rome. Execution of Arnold of Brescia.
- 1156 Frederick undertakes to settle the Guelf and Ghibelline question. Bavaria restored to Henry the Lion. Henry Jasomirgott made duke of Austria. Welf receives Tuscany, Spoleto, and some of the countess Matilda's possessions. The Guelf power is once more fully established.
- 1157 Nearly all the western princes do homage to the emperor at the Diet of Wurzburg. Frederick bestows the crown of Bohemia upon Wladislaw. Rupture between pope and emperor on account of the former's confirmation of William II of Sicily.
- 1158 Frederick goes again to Italy. The Diet of Roncaglia defines rights of emperor against the Lombard cities. Revolt of Milan.
- 1160 Siege and destruction of Crema. Schism in the church.
- 1162 Siege and surrender of Milan. The city burned.

- 1163 Frederick again visits Italy to settle affairs in the kingdom.
 1166 Fourth visit of Frederick to Italy
 1167 Siege of Ancona Formation of the Lombard League. Union of Guelts and Ghibellines.
 Second coronation of Frederick by the anti-pope Paschal III
 1168 Plague nearly annihilates Frederick's army and he returns to Germany with difficulty.
 The Diet of Bamberg ends a feud between Henry the Lion and his foes.
 1169 Frederick's son Henry chosen king of the Romans Rebuilding of Milan. The new city of Alessandria built
 1174 Fifth expedition of Frederick to Italy.
 1175 Unsuccessful siege of Alessandria.
 1176 Disastrous defeat of Frederick by the Lombards at Legnano. He makes an armistice with the pope and the Lombards
 1177 Reconciliation of Pope Alexander III and Frederick at Venice
 1178 End of the schism in the church
 1182 Submission of Henry the Lion Division of the duchy of Saxony.
 1183 Peace of Constance. The Lombard cities gain their independence, recognising the overlordship of Frederick, which however they may redeem by annual payment
 1186 Frederick visits Italy for the sixth time He attempts to repress the growing energy of the Lombard and Tuscan cities. Marriage of Henry to Constance, daughter of Roger II of Sicily.
 1188 Frederick joins the Third Crusade Henry made vice-regent. He goes to war with Henry the Lion. Death of William II of Sicily Henry by virtue of his marriage claims the kingdom, but it is secured by Tancred
 1190 Henry comes to an understanding with Henry the Lion. Death of Frederick while bathing in a stream in Cilicia. **Henry VI** succeeds
 1191 Coronation of Henry as emperor He abandons Tusculum Siege of Naples in war with Tancred
 1194 End of a two years' war with Henry the Lion and liberation of Richard Cœur de Lion, his brother-in-law.
 1195 Henry subjugates the kingdom of Sicily which he treats in merciless fashion William III resigns the crown to Henry End of the Norman dynasty, Germany's most dangerous rival in Italy
 1196 Henry's eldest son Frederick elected king of the Romans
 1197 Rebellion in Sicily crushed Henry makes great plans for conquest of the Eastern Empire, but dies suddenly
 1198 Some of the German princes elect **Philip of Swabia**, Henry's brother, king Others bestow the title upon **Otto IV**, son of Henry the Lion A war for the crown between the Guelts and Hohenstaufens begins Pope Innocent III recognises Otto. The name Guelph applied to partisans of the pope Defeat of Otto and restriction of his power.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- 1208 Murder of Philip. Otto universally hailed as sovereign
 1209 Coronation of Otto as emperor. He abandons the estates of Matilda to the pope
 1212 In consequence of quarrels between Otto and the pope, the latter makes **Frederick II**, grandson of Barbarossa, king of Germany.
 1214 Battle of Bouvines. Otto in alliance with King John of England and others defeated by Philip Augustus of France He withdraws to the Harzburg
 1215 Coronation of Frederick as king of Germany He promises to undertake a crusade.
 1218 Death of Otto IV
 1220 Frederick's young son, Henry, to whom Swabia has been given, is elected king of Rome Coronation of Frederick as emperor upon renewing his promises to the papal see by Honorius III
 1222 Coronation of Henry as king at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)
 1226 Quarrels with the Lombard cities.
 1227 Abortive attempt of Frederick to conduct a crusade He is excommunicated for not fulfilling his promise Defeat of the Danish king, Valdemar II, at Bornhöved
 1228 Frederick sails for the East on his crusade. The pope excommunicates him for starting without absolution
 1229 The pope's army ravages Apulia Frederick concludes a ten years' truce with the Saracens, receives Jerusalem and other places, and returns to Italy. He is excommunicated a third time for coming back. Frederick drives the papal troops from his territories
 1230 Peace made with the pope Absolution of Frederick.
 1234 Revolt of Frederick's son Henry in lower Germany. He is subdued and sent to Italy. Public peace enacted at Mainz. The laws first published both in Latin and German.
 1236 Victories over the Lombard cities.
 1237 Frederick seizes Austria, and deposes Duke Frederick the Warlike The empress' second

- son, Conrad, elected king of the Romans. In Lombardy Frederick wins a decisive victory over the Lombard cities at Cortenuova. The smaller cities hasten to make peace. Milan holds out.
- 1238 Siege of Brescia. Frederick retires to Cremona. Frederick's natural son, Enzo, assumes title of king of Sardinia, which offends the pope.
- 1239 Beginning of war with the papacy. Excommunication of Frederick. Enzo captures Ancona.
- 1240 Frederick appears before Rome, but returns to Naples.
- 1241 Sea victory of Enzo at Elba. In Germany Duke Henry the Pious, of Liegnitz, fights a battle at Wahlstatt with the Mongols, who have invaded the country. Although victorious, the Mongols turn back.
- 1245 Innocent IV, having escaped from Frederick, summons council at Lyons and declares Frederick deposed. All subjects of the emperor are ordered to revolt, and a new election is called for.
- 1246 Henry Raspe, landgraf of Thuringia, is elected. He is defeated at Ulm by Conrad.
- 1247 Death of Henry. William of Holland elected to succeed him.
- 1248 Defeat of Frederick at Padua. He retreats to Naples.
- 1249 Victory at Fossalta for the Lombard cities. Capture of Enzo.
- 1250 Frederick dies at Fiorentino. His son, Conrad IV, succeeds. Germany torn by factions. Conrad stays in Italy. The pope refuses to recognize him as emperor. Conrad is by Frederick's will king of Sicily also. He and his brother Manfred recover Naples and Capua from the pope.
- 1252 The pope offers the crown of Sicily to Richard, earl of Cornwall, and to Charles, count of Anjou, in return for an alliance against Conrad and Manfred. Neither accepts.
- 1254 Death of Conrad, said to be caused by Manfred's ambitions. Manfred becomes regent in Sicily for Conrad's son Conradin.
- 1256 Death of William. *Interregnum* in Germany.
- 1257 Double election of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile to the German kingdom. The former is crowned at Aachen, but is recognised only in the Rhine valley. The latter never comes to Germany.
- 1258 Manfred states that Conradin is dead and has himself crowned king of Sicily. The pope refuses to recognise him.
- 1264 Pope Urban IV offers the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, who accepts.
- 1265 Coronation of Charles as king of Sicily. He proceeds against Manfred.
- 1266 Death of Manfred in battle of Benevento.
- 1267 Expedition of Conradin into Italy to recover his hereditary rights.
- 1268 Defeat of Conradin at Tagliacozzo. He is captured and executed.
- 1272 Death of Richard of Cornwall. The pope threatens to appoint an emperor if the electors do not choose one. A new era for the empire begins. Italy has been lost to it. The house of Anjou is established in southern Italy. The Guelph triumphs in the north have put an end to imperial authority. The ecclesiastical power has entirely overshadowed that of the emperor. The title continues only in name. The electors become a distinct element in the state.
- 1273 Diet at Frankfurt, assembled to elect a successor to Richard, king of the Romans, passes over the chief candidates, Ottocar king of Bohemia and Alfonso the Learned of Castile, and chooses Rudolf of Habsburg. He conciliates the papacy by making ample concessions.
- 1276 Vienna taken by Rudolf from the Bohemian king, who resigns Austria, Styria, Carinthia, etc., to Rudolf. Rudolf restores order in the realm.
- 1278 Ottocar defeated by Rudolf at the battle of Marchfeld. Death of Ottocar. His successor, Wenceslaus II, marries Rudolf's daughter.
- 1291 Rudolf dies.
- 1292 Adolphus of Nassau elected German king to the exclusion of Albert, Rudolf's son. Civil war.
- 1298 Albert I elected. He defeats and slays Adolphus at Gölheim, subdues Theobald of Pfirt, and makes peace with the electors.
- 1299 Treaty with Philip the Fair of France.
- 1300 A campaign undertaken by Albert to assert his claims to the domains of the deceased count of Holland fails. He puts down internal enemies.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- 1301 Charles Martel, son of Charles II of Naples, made king of Hungary by the pope. The Hungarians choose the son of Wenceslaus of Bohemia.
- 1303 Albert exchanges the alliance of Philip of France for that of Pope Boniface VIII. War with Wenceslaus II of Bohemia.
- 1306 Albert seizes the Bohemian kingdom on the death of Wenceslaus III and makes his own son Rudolf king.
- 1307 Battle of Lucka. Albert's troops defeated by the Thuringian princes. Death of Rudolf.

- of Bohemia. The Bohemians elect Duke Henry of Carinthia king. Albert invades Bohemia.
- 1308 Albert murdered by his nephew, John the Parricide. **Henry VII of Luxemburg** elected German king at Rhense. Waldemar, the powerful markgraf of Brandenburg, begins his rule.
- 1309 Henry makes a compact with the excluded princes of the house of Habsburg.
- 1310 Henry of Carinthia is expelled from the Bohemian throne and the crown transferred to John, son of Henry of Luxemburg. Henry of Luxemburg assembles an army to assert the imperial supremacy over Italy. He enters Lombardy and is crowned with the iron crown at Milan. He favours the Ghibellines Guelf rising against him. Unsuccessful siege of Brescia. The Genoese welcome Henry.
- 1312 Henry VII receives the imperial crown at Rome and attacks Florence. Waldemar of Brandenburg defeats Frederick of Thuringia at Grossenhain. War between Ludwig of Bavaria (the Bavarian) of the house of Wittelsbach and Frederick the Handsome of Austria.
- 1313 Henry prepares to oppose Robert king of Naples. Death of Henry VII. Battle of Gammelsdorf: Ludwig of Bavaria defeats Frederick the Handsome.
- 1314 **Ludwig (IV) the Bavarian** elected German king at Frankfort, and **Frederick the Handsome** at Sachsenhausen. The cities support Ludwig. General anarchy and war between the Habsburgs and Wittelsbachs.
- 1315 Battle of Morgarten. Duke Leopold of Austria, brother of Frederick, defeated by the Swiss confederates.
- 1316 Waldemar of Brandenburg defeats a league of Poland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway at Granson.
- 1322 Ludwig the Bavarian defeats and captures Frederick at Mühldorf.
- 1323 Brandenburg, left vacant by the extinction of Waldemar's family, conferred on Ludwig, son of Ludwig the Bavarian.
- 1324 Pope John XXII declares Ludwig deposed and his followers excommunicate. The electors refuse to acknowledge the sentence.
- 1325 Ludwig and Frederick agree to reign conjointly.
- 1326 Death of Leopold of Austria.
- 1327 Ludwig goes to Milan and receives the crown of Lombardy.
- 1328 Ludwig seizes Pisa. He is crowned emperor at Rome, and sets up an anti-pope, but finds himself surrounded by enemies and returns home.
- 1330 Death of Frederick the Handsome. His surviving brothers make peace with Ludwig. King John of Bohemia secures the inheritance of Henry of Carinthia by marrying his son, John Henry, to Henry's daughter, Margarete Maultasch, and makes a successful expedition into Italy.
- 1331 Ludwig fails in an attempt to reconcile himself with the pope. The Swabian League formed by the cities to resist oppression by the nobles.
- 1333 John of Bohemia forced to evacuate Italy.
- 1336 Division of the dominions of Henry of Carinthia. John of Bohemia takes Tyrol and the Habsburgs Carinthia and Carniola.
- 1337 Ludwig makes alliance with England against France.
- 1338 Diet of Frankfort. The estates of the empire declare John XXII's interdict against Ludwig to be null and void. The electors declare the choice of an emperor to rest with them independently of the pope's sanction.
- 1340 Ludwig abandons the English alliance for that of France.
- 1341 Lower Bavaria is united to Ludwig's dominions on extinction of the ducal house. Louis the Great, son of Charles Martel, becomes king of Hungary.
- 1342 Tyrol acquired for the house of Wittelsbach by the marriage of Margarete Maultasch with Ludwig of Brandenburg.
- 1346 Ludwig takes possession of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland in right of his wife. Clement VI excommunicates Ludwig and declares him deposed. **Charles (IV) of Luxemburg**, son of King John of Bohemia, elected German king. The cities refuse to receive him. He flees to France.
- 1347 Death of John of Bohemia at Crécy. Charles succeeds him. Death of Ludwig. Louis of Hungary invades Naples to avenge the death of his brother, King Andrew.
- 1348 Charles IV supports the claim of the false Waldemar to Brandenburg. Charles founds the University of Prague.
- 1349 **Gunther**, Count of Schwarzenburg, made German king by the supporters of the house of Wittelsbach, rivals of the false Waldemar. Günther resigns his claims for a money payment.
- 1350 Charles abandons Waldemar's cause.
- 1353 The count palatine resigns half the upper Palatinate to the Bohemian crown.
- 1354 Charles crowned at Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy.
- 1355 The Bohemian laws modified at Charles' suggestion. He negotiates a peace between the Visconti and the Lombard League and is crowned emperor at Rome. Charles attacked in Pisa. He returns home.

- 1356 The Golden Bull, agreed to by the diet at Nuremberg, regulates the method of the election of German emperors
- 1358 Alliance between Rudolf IV of Austria and the counts of Württemberg against Charles. Louis the Great of Hungary conquers Dalmatia from Venice
- 1360 Charles detaches the counts of Württemberg from Rudolf IV.
- 1364 By the Treaty of Brunn, between Rudolf and Charles, the houses of Habsburg and Luxemburg conclude a perpetual alliance by which on the extinction of the one house the other becomes its heir.
- 1366 Battle at the Iron Gates between the Hungarians and Turks.
- 1368 Charles leads an army into Italy against the Visconti and gains their promise not to make alliances against the pope Charles again goes to Rome.
- 1370 Louis of Hungary makes himself king of Poland.
- 1372 Battle of Altheim. The Swabian League defeated by the count of Württemberg.
- 1373 The Treaty of Fürstenwald. The house of Wittelsbach resigns the mark of Brandenburg to Charles IV. Pomerania and Mecklenburg acknowledge Charles' suzerainty.
- 1376 Charles' son Wenceslaus chosen emperor in his father's lifetime Ulm, Constance, and other cities unite to defend their liberties and refuse to do homage to Wenceslaus.
- 1377 Battle of Reutlingen The troops of the cities defeat those of Württemberg Charles confirms the liberties of the cities in return for their homage to Wenceslaus The cities in the Swabian League increased to thirty-two. Charles divides his territories among his sons
- 1378 Death of Charles IV. Wenceslaus succeeds.
- 1379 The dukes of Bavaria, the counts palatine, and the markgraf of Baden join the Swabian League Leagues of the sword, crown, lion, etc. formed by the knights to counter-balance the Swabian League. Wars between the towns and knightly leagues
- 1383 In the league of Ehingen, the Swabian League and the knightly leagues unite to preserve order. Death of Louis of Hungary His daughter Mary, wife of Wenceslaus' brother Sigismund, succeeds him
- 1384 Wenceslaus elected head of the leagues.
- 1385 Five Swiss towns join the league of cities
- 1386 Duke Leopold of Austria defeated and slain by the Swiss at Sempach.
- 1387 War between the princes and the Swabian League Sigismund, markgraf of Brandenburg, brother of Wenceslaus, crowned king of Hungary.
- 1388 Battle of Näfels. An Austrian army defeated by the Swiss Confederation. Battle of Dörfingen. The princes defeat the Swabian League
- 1389 Diet of Eger Wenceslaus persuades the princes and many of the towns to agree to a *Landfriede* or "king's peace" for six years. Massacre of Jews in Prague
- 1393 Conflict between Wenceslaus and the Bohemian clergy The Bohemian nobles form a noble league (*Herrenbund*) against Wenceslaus. They are joined by Sigismund of Hungary, Jobst of Moravia, and other princes.
- 1394 Wenceslaus imprisoned by the Bohemian nobles. John, duke of Görlitz, brother of Wenceslaus, defeats the Bohemian rebels
- 1395 Wenceslaus makes Galeazzo Visconti hereditary duke of Milan.
- 1396 Battle of Nikopol, the Turks defeat Sigismund of Hungary
- 1397 The diets of Temesvár (1397) and Buda (1405) organise the Hungarian chambers of peers and representatives
- 1400 Wenceslaus deposed by the electors.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

- 1401 They choose Rupert Clem, the count palatine, Roman king. Rupert makes alliance with the *Herrenbund*. He leads an army into Italy, but returns to Germany unsuccessful
- 1402 Sigismund of Hungary rules Bohemia for Wenceslaus He imprisons Wenceslaus.
- 1403 Wenceslaus escapes The Hungarians make Ladislaus of Naples king. Sigismund propitiates the Hungarians and Ladislaus withdraws.
- 1405 League of Marbach The archbishop of Mainz, the markgraf of Baden, the count of Württemberg, and seventeen Swabian cities unite against Rupert
- 1409 The archbishop of Prague commands Wycliffe's writings to be publicly burned
- 1410 John Huss laid under the ban of the church for heresy. Death of Rupert Sigismund of Hungary chosen emperor Another party elect Jobst of Moravia
- 1411 Jobst dies Agreement between Sigismund and Wenceslaus. Sigismund again elected. Frederick von Hohenzollern becomes administrator of Brandenburg.
- 1412 Hussite disturbances in Prague.
- 1414 Council of Constance meets to end the papal schism and deal with the Bohemian heresy and with church reform Sigismund attends it.
- 1415 John Huss burned at the stake by order of the council. The majority of the Bohemian nobles form an alliance to support Hussite doctrines.
- 1416 Jerome of Prague burned.

- 1419 Revolt of the Taborites, a branch of the Hussites in Prague. Wenceslaus murdered. Churches and cloisters attacked by the Hussites. They take arms and led by Zizka capture the citadel of Prague.
- 1420 Crusade declared against the Hussites. The Hussites institute a regular government under Nicholas of Hus and Zizka and it is supported by the main portion of the Bohemian nation. Sigismund's troops defeated before Prague. The Calixtines, or Utraquists, the moderate Hussite party, embody their doctrines in the Four Articles.
- 1421 The Hussites take many cities and ravage the country.
- 1422 Battle of Deutsch-Brod. Sigismund defeated by Zizka. Dissensions among the Hussites.
- 1424 Zizka dies.
- 1426 The Hussites defeat the imperials at Aussig and make raids into the empire.
- 1428 The Hussites invade Silesia and Hungary.
- 1431 Hussite victory at Taus. Sigismund receives the Lombard crown at Milan. Council of Bâle meets and negotiates with the Hussites.
- 1433 Sigismund recognises Eugenius IV as pope and is crowned emperor at Rome. The council of Bâle offers the Hussites concessions known as the Compactata, granting the administration of the cup in both kinds and consecration of Utraquist priests. The Hussites refuse the terms offered.
- 1434 The nobles in Bohemia unite to restore order and defeat the Hussites at Lipan. Order restored in Bohemia.
- 1436 Sigismund concedes the Bohemians' demands in favour of the independence of the church in Bohemia. The Compactata are accepted and Sigismund is received in Prague as king of Bohemia.
- 1437 Sigismund dies and the house of Luxemburg becomes extinct.
- 1438 Duke Albert of Austria elected German king as **Albert II**.
- 1439 Albert dies in a war with the Turks.
- 1440 With the election of Frederick III (IV) the empire returns to the house of Habsburg. Wladislaw Jagello of Poland chosen king of Hungary.
- 1442 Hungarians under John Hunyady defeat the Turks at Szent-Imre and the Iron Gates.
- 1443 Hunyady beats the Turks at Nish and crosses the Balkans.
- 1444 At Frederick's suggestion a force of Armagnacs invades Switzerland. It is defeated at Sankt Jakob. Battle of Varna. The Turks defeat Hunyady and kill Wladislaw Jagello. Wladislaw the Posthumous, king of Bohemia, son of Albert II, chosen king of Hungary. John Hunyady appointed governor in his absence. George Podiebrad becomes leader of the Utraquist party of Hussites, now the dominant one in Bohemia.
- 1445 Hunyady besieges Vienna to compel Frederick to release Wladislaw the Posthumous.
- 1446 Treaty between Frederick and Pope Eugenius IV. Two electors deposed. The electors league against the pope. War between Elector Frederick of Saxony and Duke William of Thuringia.
- 1447 Through the efforts of Æneas Sylvius the obedience of the German princes is restored to the pope.
- 1448 Battle of Kosovo. Hunyady defeated by the Turks. George Podiebrad takes Prague. War between Hussites and Catholics in Bohemia.
- 1449 The Markgrafs War of Albert Achilles of Brandenburg and other princes against Nuremberg. Several German princes combine to replace Frederick by George Podiebrad, but fail of their object.
- 1451 Frederick III recognises the authority of George Podiebrad in Bohemia. Podiebrad finally suppresses the Taborite sect of Hussites.
- 1452 Frederick crowned emperor at Rome. (This was the last occasion on which a German emperor was crowned at Rome.)
- 1453 Frederick permits Wladislaw the Posthumous to assume government of Hungary. Hungary threatened by the Turks after the fall of Constantinople.
- 1456 Hunyady defeats the Turks in a great battle at Belgrade. He dies.
- 1457 Lower Austria falls to Frederick on the death of Wladislaw the Posthumous. The crown of Hungary falls to Matthias Corvinus, son of Hunyady, that of Bohemia to George Podiebrad.
- 1462 Battle of Säckingen. Frederick, count palatine, defeats Ulrich of Württemberg and his allies. Rising in Vienna under Frederick III's brother Albert.
- 1463 The death of Albert puts Frederick in possession of Upper Austria.
- 1468 The pope refuses to confirm the Bohemian Compactata, excommunicates George Podiebrad, and incites Matthias Corvinus to war with him.
- 1469 Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia, but is soon after expelled thence.
- 1471 On the death of George Podiebrad, Wladislaw Jagello of Poland becomes king of Bohemia. Matthias continues the war with Bohemia.
- 1474 Charles the Bold of Burgundy besieges Neuss.
- 1475 Frederick relieves Neuss.
- 1477 Maximilian, son of Frederick III, marries Mary of Burgundy, heiress of Charles the Bold.

- 1479 By the Treaty of Olmütz, Wladislaw of Bohemia abandons Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia to Matthias Corvinus. Battle of Guinegate. Maximilian defeats the French. The Hungarians defeat the Turks at Kenyer-mesó.
- 1482 Death of Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian rules the Netherlands for their son Philip. Revolts against him. Peace of Arras Maximilian resigns Burgundy and Artois to France.
- 1485 Matthias Corvinus conquers Austria and forces Frederick to acknowledge his rights in Silesia. He makes Vienna his capital
- 1486 Maximilian chosen king of the Romans
- 1488 Great Swabian League of the archduke Sigismund of Austria, twenty-two Swabian cities, etc., to maintain order Frederick III invades the Netherlands to release Maximilian, kept prisoner at Bruges.
- 1489 Frederick defeats the Flemings at Bertborg.
- 1490 Frederick abandons the government to Maximilian. Wladislaw, king of Bohemia, becomes king of Hungary on the death of Matthias Corvinus. Maximilian attacks Wladislaw and recovers Austria.
- 1491 By the Treaty of Pressburg Wladislaw promises Maximilian the succession to Hungary if he himself should die without heirs.
- 1492 Charles VIII of France marries Maximilian's betrothed, Anne of Brittany; England and Spain unite with Maximilian against France.
- 1493 Peace made with Charles VIII, who surrenders Franche-Comté and Artois to Maximilian. Death of Frederick III. Maximilian succeeds him. Maximilian repels an invasion of the Turks.
- 1494 Maximilian surrenders the government of the Netherlands to his son Philip.
- 1495 Maximilian joins the league of Venice for the expulsion of the French from Italy. Diet of Worms. Permanent peace within the empire agreed upon Imperial chamber formed to settle quarrels between the princes. The tax called "common penny" imposed to support it.
- 1496 Failure of Maximilian's expedition into Italy. His son Philip marries Juana of Spain.
- 1499 War with the Swiss Confederation. Imperials are defeated at Dorneck. Maximilian makes alliance with Frederick of Naples against France. Diet of Augsburg. Imperial council of regency appointed for six years

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1501 Part of the imperial chamber's jurisdiction transferred to the Aulic council. Treaty with Louis XII of France, whom Maximilian promises to invest with the Milanese
- 1502 Electoral union formed at Gelnhausen. The electors agree to act in imperial affairs only by mutual consent and to maintain their privileges against the emperor
- 1504 Maximilian joins in the Bavaria-Landshut war of succession and wins the victory of Ratisbon. Treaty of Blois. Maximilian promises Louis XII the investiture of Milan.
- 1508 Unsuccessful invasion of Venetia by Maximilian. The Venetians conquer and retain Trieste and Fiume. Maximilian forms the league of Cambray with France, Spain, and the pope for the partition of Venice
- 1509 Successful expedition of Louis XII into Italy. Maximilian's expedition unsuccessful.
- 1510 The pope abandons the league.
- 1512 French victory at Ravenna Maximilian abandons the cause of the French, and they are expelled from Italy. The empire divided into administrative circles.
- 1513 Battle of Guinegate, or the Spurs, Maximilian with English troops defeats the French.
- 1514 Peasant insurrection in Hungary known as that of the *Kurucs* or Crusaders. The peasants under Dosza defeated at Temesvár and punished with great cruelty. Verböczy's codification of the laws called *Tripartitum Opus Juris Regni Hungaræ* adopted by the Hungarian diet
- 1515 On the death of Wladislaw of Hungary his son, Louis II, succeeds him.
- 1516 Expedition of Maximilian to Italy He makes peace with France.
- 1517 Luther begins his attack on the sale of indulgences.
- 1518 Luther summoned to Rome to answer the charge of heresy. Luther appears to a general council
- 1519 Death of Maximilian. Charles V, grandson of Maximilian, elected emperor
- 1520 A papal bull declares Luther a heretic and excommunicates him Charles crowned at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Luther burns the bull of excommunication
- 1521 Diet of Worms. By the Edict of Worms Luther is laid under the ban of the empire. He is concealed in the castle of Wartburg. His doctrines spread. The prince of Anhalt adopts them. The imperial chamber re-established. Belgrade captured by the Turks. Charles cedes Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola to his brother Ferdinand The emperor's troops drive the French from the Milanese.
- 1522 Charles cedes the Tyrol to Ferdinand The French fail in an attempt to recover the Milanese League between Charles, the pope, Venice, and other Italian cities against France. Bremen accepts the Reformation. It is preached in Silesia. Franz von

- Sickingen, at the head of troops of the Swabian League and the Rhenish League of Knights, attempts to introduce a reformation of the church by force. He besieges Treves unsuccessfully.
- 1523 Sickingen's castle of Landstuhl taken and himself slain.
- 1524 The diet of Nuremberg recommends the summoning of a council to settle the religious disputes. The Catholic princes of Germany unite in the league of Ratisbon to enforce the Edict of Worms. Magdeburg accepts the Reformation. Appearance of the fanatical sect of anabaptists. They rouse the peasants to rebel against their lords.
- 1525 A savage peasant war is repressed with equal barbarism. Charles V defeats Francis I at Pavia. John the Constant, elector of Saxony, espouses Luther's cause. Albert of Brandenburg, grandmaster of the Teutonic order of knighthood, adopts Lutheranism, converts East Prussia into an hereditary dukedom, and makes alliance with John the Constant. Luther, having abjured his monastic vows, marries a nun. The reformed doctrines are adopted by Philip, landgraf of Hesse Cassel, and by the city of Nuremberg.
- 1526 Treaty of Madrid. Francis renounces his claims on Milan and Naples and promises to restore Burgundy to Charles. Alliance of Torgau between the Protestant princes. The pope forms the Holy League of Cognac with Francis I against Charles. The diet of Speier effects a compromise with Luther's followers. Great Turkish victory over the Hungarians at Mohács. Death of Louis II of Hungary. Buda and Pest surrender to the Turks. Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, becomes king of Bohemia. John Zápolya, voivode of Transylvania, crowned king of Hungary. Ferdinand becomes king and expels John Zápolya.
- 1527 Charles' troops ravage the papal territories and take Rome. Sack of Rome. The pope a prisoner.
- 1528 The reformed doctrines accepted by the city of Brunswick and established in Brandenburg.
- 1529 The second diet of Speier issues a decree unfavourable to the reformers. The Lutherans protest and hence acquire the name of Protestants. Hamburg and Strasburg accept the Reformation. Charles signs the Treaty of Cambray with Francis I. The Turks, having overrun Hungary in support of John Zápolya, lay siege to Vienna.
- 1530 Charles receives the iron crown of Lombardy and is crowned emperor by the pope. He summons a diet at Augsburg. The Protestants draw up the Confession of Augsburg (it was subscribed to by the elector of Saxony, the markgraf of Brandenburg, Ernest, duke of Lüneburg, the landgraf of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the cities of Nuremberg, Reutlingen, Kempten, Windsheim, Heilbronn, and Weissenburg). Charles publishes a decree condemning Protestant doctrines and laying the Protestants under the ban of the empire. The Protestant princes unite in the Smalkaldic League (it included the elector of Saxony, the landgraf of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the counts of Mansfeld, the cities of Magdeburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Strasburg, Lindau, Constance, Memmingen, Biberach, Isny, Reutlingen, and Ulm).
- 1531 Ferdinand chosen Roman king. Göttingen adopts the Reformation.
- 1532 The "Carolina" ordinance regulating the punishment of crime in Germany promulgated. By the religious peace of Nuremberg, Charles agrees to leave the Protestants unmolested till the summons of a general council. Charles leads a great army to the relief of the little Hungarian city of Gunz besieged by a formidable Turkish force. The Turks retire.
- 1534 Peace of Nuremberg renewed. The Anabaptist commonwealth in Münster commits terrible excesses. Bugenhagen introduces the Reformation into Pomerania.
- 1535 The anabaptists in Münster put down. Charles V makes an expedition to Tunis, expels the usurper Barbarossa, and restores the king Mulei Hassan. Francis I seizes the occasion to renew the war.
- 1536 Francis I occupies Piedmont. Charles invades Provence, but finds it already desolated by the French and retreats in disorder.
- 1538 Treaty of Grosswardein between Ferdinand and John Zápolya; John to retain for life the part of Hungary actually in his possession. Ten years' truce with France (Truce of Nice). Mutiny amongst Charles' troops in Milan, Sicily, and Africa, their generals borrow money to pacify them.
- 1539 The Reformation established in Frankfort-on-the-Oder.
- 1540 Death of John Zápolya. His widow, aided by Martinuzzi, bishop of Grosswardein, asserts the claims of her son John Sigismund to Hungary.
- 1541 Expedition led by Charles against the pirates of Algiers. Great part of the fleet destroyed in a storm. The army returns, having accomplished nothing. Ferdinand's troops besiege John Sigismund in Buda. Buda is relieved by the Turks under Suleiman the Magnificent, who then takes possession of John Sigismund's Hungarian domains for himself.
- 1542 Hermann, archbishop of Cologne, adopts Protestantism.
- 1544 Battle of Cerisole in Piedmont. Imperial troops defeated by the French. Charles in-

- vades France in conjunction with Henry VIII. Peace of Crespy. Charles renounces his claims to Burgundy and Francis I his to Naples, Flanders, and Artois.
- 1545 The Smalkaldic League captures the Catholic duke, Henry of Brunswick, after having driven him from his dominions. The council of Trent assembles to consider the question of reform.
- 1546 Charles makes a secret treaty with the Protestant duke, Maurice of Saxony, and concludes a league with the pope. The princes of the Smalkaldic League renounce their allegiance to Charles. Maurice occupies the electorate of Saxony. Charles subdues all the members of the league except John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the landgraf of Hesse. The elector of Saxony recovers his dominions.
- 1547 The pope transfers the seat of the general council from Trent to Bologna. The German members continue to sit at Trent. The Bohemians demand the restoration of their liberties and make alliance with the elector of Saxony. At the battle of Muhlberg Charles crushes the forces of the elector of Saxony. The landgraf of Hesse submits and is imprisoned by Charles. The Saxon electoral dignity transferred to Maurice. Ferdinand suppresses the Bohemian revolution and restricts the liberties of the towns. He holds the "Bloody Diet" and executes the ringleaders of the revolution.
- 1548 Charles promulgates the Augsburg Interim, which concedes the communion in both kinds, but upholds the Roman Catholic doctrine in general and fails to satisfy the Protestants. The imperial cities refuse to recognise the Interim. Charles compels most of them to submit.
- 1549 The Jesuits settle in Bavaria.
- 1550 Transylvania and the Hungarian possessions of John Sigismund surrendered to Ferdinand in exchange for territories in Silesia.
- 1551 Magdeburg taken by Maurice of Saxony after ten months' siege and compelled to accept the Interim. Maurice makes a secret alliance with Henry II of France.
- 1552 Maurice declares for the Protestants. The French capture Metz, Verdun, and Toul. The Swabian cities join Maurice. He defeats the imperial troops at Reuti and captures Ehnenberg. Flight of Charles V from Innsbruck. By the Peace of Passau, Charles concedes religious liberty to the Protestants. Maurice leads his army against the Turks. Charles besieges Metz. Canisius founds a Jesuit college at Vienna.
- 1553 Charles returns from Metz. Albert of Brandenburg carries on a predatory war against the Catholic princes till he is defeated at Sieveshausen by Maurice of Saxony, who is there mortally wounded.
- 1555 Religious peace of Augsburg agreed to by the diet presided over by Ferdinand; religious liberty granted to the Protestants of the Augsburg Confession, toleration in individual states dependent on the rulers, in a clause known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation, ecclesiastics converted to Protestantism are required to vacate their benefices; the Protestants reject this clause. Ferdinand's declaration granting liberty of conscience to Protestants of the Augsburg Confession being subject to ecclesiastical princes, is rejected by the Catholics.
- 1556 Charles resigns the empire to his brother Ferdinand I. The family of Zápolya re-established in Transylvania. Pope Paul IV refuses to recognise Ferdinand as emperor. The papal coronation of the emperor is declared unnecessary. A Jesuit college founded at Prague. The University of Ingolstadt handed over to the Jesuits by the duke of Bavaria.
- 1558 Ferdinand crowned at Frankfurt.
- 1559 The Aulic council reorganised by Ferdinand.
- 1560 Pope Pius IV reconvenes the council of Trent. The diet of princes at Naumburg declares the emperor to be alone capable of summoning a general council.
- 1561 The elector palatine, Frederick III, becomes a convert to Calvinism and attempts to establish it in the Palatinate.
- 1563 The council of Trent confirms the existing dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church.
- 1564 Ferdinand dies and is succeeded in the empire by his son Maximilian II. Maximilian's troops invade the territories of John Sigismund Zápolya.
- 1566 Suleiman the Magnificent invades Hungary and dies at the siege of Sziget.
- 1567 Maximilian makes concessions to the Protestants of Bohemia. The Elector Augustus of Saxony takes Gotha, where the freebooter, William von Grumbach, is sheltered by the duke. The duke of Gotha imprisoned for life.
- 1568 German troops sent to aid the prince of Orange are defeated by the duke of Alva at Jemgum. Maximilian commissions David Chytraus to organise the Protestant church in Austria and Styria.
- 1571 Death of John Sigismund Zápolya. Maximilian succeeds to his Hungarian dominions. Stephen Báthori becomes voivode of Transylvania.
- 1575 The diet of Ratisbon elects Maximilian's son Rudolf king of the Romans.
- 1576 Death of Maximilian. His son succeeds as Rudolf II and begins to put restrictions on the Protestants in his Austrian dominions. The elector palatine, Ludwig VI, expels the Calvinist preachers from the Palatinate.
- 1580 The Lutheran princes and cities issue the *Book of Concord*, embodying the Lutheran as

- opposed to the Calvinistic doctrines, and require its acceptance by priests and teachers. Schism between the Lutherans and Calvinists finally effected.
- 1582 Gebhard, archbishop and elector of Cologne, embraces Calvinism. The emperor and pope depose Gebhard, who resists the sentence Civil war in Cologne. The Lutheran princes decline to support Gebhard
- 1583 On the succession of Frederick IV to the Palatinate the Lutherans are expelled
- 1584 Ernest of Bavaria establishes himself as elector of Cologne by expelling Gebhard and prohibits Protestant worship
- 1591 Turks invade Hungary
- 1592 The Strasburg Protestant canons choose John George, markgraf of Brandenburg, as their bishop. The Catholic minority elect Charles, cardinal archbishop of Mainz War between the rival bishops.
- 1594 League between the elector palatine, the duke of Wurtemberg, and other Protestant princes to withhold aid for the Turkish war until their grievances are settled, they complain of imperial and papal encroachment on their religious and civil jurisdiction and of the attempted introduction of the Gregorian calendar.
- 1595 Peasant disturbances in Austria. Rudolf makes alliance with Sigismund Báthori, voivode of Transylvania, against the Turks.
- 1596 The Turks capture Erlau and defeat an Austrian army at Kereztes.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1604 John George, markgraf of Brandenburg, resigns the Strasburg bishopric to the archbishop of Mainz for a money payment. Revolt of Stephen Bocskay and the Protestants of upper Hungary against government persecution. They are joined by the Transylvanian exiles under Bethlen Gábor Bocskay with the aid of the Turks makes himself prince of Transylvania and master of upper Hungary
- 1605 Rudolf II orders the decrees of the council of Trent to be accepted in Bohemia.
- 1606 Rudolf's brother Matthias concludes the Peace of Vienna with Stephen Bocskay, the laws of Hungary are confirmed, freedom of religious worship is granted her, and the appointment of only native officials promised; Bocskay is recognised as prince of Transylvania and East Hungary. Matthias concludes a truce with the Turks at Zsitvatorok. Bocskay dies
- 1607 Sigismund Rákóczy succeeds Bocskay.
- 1608 Diet of Ratisbon. The Protestants demand the abolition of the illegal jurisdiction of the Aulic council and the retention by their party of the ecclesiastical property belonging to it in accordance with the Peace of Passau. A Protestant union formed at Ahausen by the elector palatine, Christian of Anhalt, the duke of Wurtemberg, markgrafs of Ansbach, Kulmbach, and Baden, and the count palatine of Neuburg Matthias wins over the Hungarians by confirming their privileges. He invades Bohemia with Austrian and Hungarian troops and forces Rudolf to cede to him Hungary, Austria, and Moravia
- 1609 The elector of Brandenburg, the landgraf of Hesse, with Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, and other imperial cities join the Protestant Union. The estates of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia compel Matthias to restore their religious privileges The Protestant Union demands religious and administrative reforms Various princes lay claim to the vacant duchy of Jülich and Cleves John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of Neuburg by the Treaty of Dortmund agree to take joint possession. Rudolf refuses to recognise them and appoints the archduke Leopold administrator. Civil war in Jülich. The Bohemian Protestants extort from Rudolf full toleration of religious worship and independent church and school government. Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, unites the Catholic princes in a Catholic league.
- 1610 The Protestant Union renewed, the members agreeing to support the Treaty of Dortmund. Rudolf confers Jülich on the elector of Saxony Henry IV of France prepares to come to the aid of the union, which negotiates with the United Provinces and other Protestant powers Death of Henry IV. The Protestants invade Alsace. Maximilian of Bavaria makes peace with the union.
- 1611 The Bohemians transfer their crown to Matthias
- 1612 Death of Rudolf II Interregnum Matthias elected emperor
- 1613 Bethlen Gábor, assisted by the Turks, makes himself prince of Transylvania.
- 1614 The count palatine of Neuburg goes over to Catholicism and quarrels with John Sigismund of Brandenburg The prince of Orange comes to the aid of John Sigismund, and Spanish troops under Spinola support Neuburg The peace of Xanten arranges a division of the Jülich territories between Brandenburg and Neuburg. The Dutch and Spanish refuse to leave the country
- 1616 Ferdinand of Styria, cousin of Matthias, crowned king of Bohemia.
- 1618 Ferdinand orders the Protestant churches in Bohemia to be destroyed. The people petition Matthias, who supports Ferdinand The delegates of the Bohemian estates invade a meeting of the council of regency in Prague and fling two of the members

- from the window This act gives the signal for the Thirty Years' War. The Bohemian estates organise a government under thirty directors. Matthias endeavours to make peace The Bohemian insurrection spreads Matthias persuades the Catholics to dissolve their league The Protestants renew the union and send an army under Mansfeld to assist the Bohemians. The Austrians and the Catholics of the empire refuse to assist Matthias.
- 1619 Matthias dies Protestants in Austria withhold their allegiance from Ferdinand. The Bohemian insurgents refuse his terms, the Moravians join them, and the allied armies under Thurn march on Vienna Spanish troops under Boucquoi defeat Mansfeld. The Bohemians withdraw from Vienna. Ferdinand elected emperor as **Ferdinand II**. Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia form a confederacy with Austrian Protestants and Hungarian malcontents against Ferdinand, depose him, and bestow the Bohemian crown on Frederick V of the Palatinate Bethlen Gábor of Transylvania invades Hungary, taking many fortresses, including Pressburg He summons the Hungarian estates which join the confederacy against Ferdinand Bethlen and Thurn defeat Boucquoi and threaten Vienna. Boucquoi defeats the Hungarians at Hamburg The Catholic League arms for Ferdinand.
- 1620 The elector of Saxony and other Lutheran princes side with Ferdinand A Spanish force under Spinola sent against the Palatinate The Protestant Union agrees not to support Frederick's claims to Bohemia, and the league not to attack the Palatinate. The Austrian Protestants submit to Ferdinand. Bethlen Gábor elected king of Hungary The forces of the league capture Pisek Other towns in Bohemia submit. Battle of the White Mountain. Frederick is defeated and flees to Berlin. The Bohemians submit to Ferdinand
- 1621 Pressburg and other Hungarian cities recovered by the imperials Boucquoi killed at the siege of Neuhäusel His troops retire Bethlen Gábor wins successes Ferdinand punishes the Bohemian insurgents by executions and confiscations and lays Frederick under the ban of the empire The Protestant Union promises neutrality The duke of Bavaria reduces the upper Palatinate Mansfeld relieves Frankenthal and devastates the bishoprics of Speier and Strasburg Christian of Brunswick raises an army for Frederick V and plunders the districts on the Main.
- 1622 By the Treaty of Nikolsburg Ferdinand II surrenders Bethlen Gábor seven Hungarian provinces with the principalities of Ratibor and Oppeln, and Bethlen resigns the crown of Hungary The forces of the league under Tilly defeated by Mansfeld at Wiesloch Tilly defeats the markgraf of Baden-Durlach at Wimpfen and Christian of Brunswick at Höchst and drives Christian and Mansfeld into Alsace Frederick disavows Mansfeld and Christian, who pass into Holland. The conquest of the Palatinate completed by Tilly. Mansfeld invades East Friesland. Christian raises an army in lower Saxony
- 1623 Ferdinand transfers the electorship of the Palatinate from Frederick V to Maximilian of Bavaria Christian of Brunswick invades Westphalia and is defeated by Tilly at Stadtlohn
- 1624 Mansfeld retires to Holland. Catholicism restored in Bohemia. The peasant resistance repressed with great cruelty Wholesale emigrations from Bohemia.
- 1625 Protestant League formed under Christian IV of Denmark Tilly invades Calenberg and Brunswick The emperor accepts Wallenstein's offer to raise an army at his own expense
- 1626 Bethlen Gábor allied with Christian of Denmark Tilly defeats Christian IV at Lutter am Barenberge Wallenstein repulses Mansfeld at the bridge of Dessau Mansfeld invades Silesia, wins the battle of Oppeln, and invades Moravia He joins Bethlen Gábor in Hungary. Bethlen Gábor makes peace with Wallenstein. Pappenheim crushes a peasant rising in Upper Austria Death of Mansfeld
- 1627 Wallenstein and Tilly invade Denmark. Ferdinand abolishes the Bohemian liberties and renders the Bohemian government purely monarchical, hereditary, and Catholic, and cruelly persecutes the Protestants, banishing large numbers
- 1628 The dukes of Mecklenburg laid under the ban of the empire and their territories transferred to Wallenstein, who assembles a fleet, invades Pomerania, and unsuccessfully besieges Stalsund Ferdinand suppresses Lutheranism in Austria. Christian IV destroys Wallenstein's fleet
- 1629 Ferdinand publishes the Edict of Restitution, commanding the restoration of ecclesiastical property secularised since the Peace of Passau. Peace between the emperor and Christian IV. The latter's dominions are restored and he abandons his allies.
- 1630 Ferdinand sends an army which expels the duke of Mantua from his dominions A diet at Ratisbon demands and obtains Wallenstein's dismissal. Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany, occupies Stettin, and makes alliance with the duke of Pomerania. He expels the imperials from Pomerania and invades Brandenburg.
- 1631 Gustavus Adolphus concludes the Treaty of Bärwalde, which promises him a subsidy. Peace of Cherasco between Ferdinand and Richelieu Ferdinand restores Mantua to its duke Gustavus takes Frankfort and Landsberg. Tilly takes and sacks Magde-

- burg. The Swedes conquer Mecklenburg and reinstate its dukes. The landgraf of Hesse and the elector of Saxony join Gustavus. Gustavus defeats Tilly at Breitenfeld and captures the fortresses on the Main and Rhine
- 1632 The Swedes universally successful. Prague taken by the Saxons and Lutheranism restored. Tilly defeated and slain at Ram. Wallenstein is restored to his command and raises a fresh army. He drives the Saxons from Bohemia and threatens Nuremberg. Gustavus fails to dislodge Wallenstein from his position. Battle of Lutzen. The Swedes defeat Wallenstein. Gustavus slain
- 1633 Oxenstierna, the Swedish chancellor, renews the alliances of Gustavus in the union of Heilbronn and is appointed director of the evangelical alliance. Charles Ludwig, the son of Frederick V, restored to the Palatinate Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar commands the Swedes and obtains many successes. Wallenstein makes conquests in Silesia and Brandenburg.
- 1634 Wallenstein disgraced and murdered. The emperor's son, Ferdinand, king of Hungary, succeeds Wallenstein. He captures Ratisbon and wins the battle of Nördlingen. The imperials invade the Palatinate and take Heilbronn.
- 1635 Peace of Prague between the emperor and the elector of Saxony settles the questions concerning ecclesiastical property and toleration, which is not to be exercised in Ferdinand's hereditary dominions. The union of Heilbronn dissolves; imperials under Piccolomini are sent to the Netherlands. They compel the French to raise the siege of Louvain and invade France.
- 1636 By the Treaty of Wismar France engages to carry on the war on her side of the Rhine and Sweden in Silesia and Bohemia. The Swedes victorious at Wittstock. Zabern in Alsace taken by Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.
- 1637 Death of Ferdinand II. Ferdinand of Hungary succeeds as **Ferdinand III**. Death of Duke Bogislaw of Pomerania. The elector of Brandenburg claims his territories and joins the imperials in invading them. Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar defeats the duke of Lorraine.
- 1638 Bernhard captures Säckingen, Laufenburg, and Waldshut, defeats Johann von Werth at Rheinfelden and Götz at Wittenweiler. The sons of Frederick V attempt to recover the Palatinate and are defeated at Minden. Bernhard takes Breisach.
- 1639 The Swedes drive the imperials from Pomerania and invade Bohemia. Death of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.
- 1640 The Swedes expelled from Bohemia.
- 1641 The Swedes threaten Ratisbon where the diet is assembled
- 1642 Imperials defeated at Kempen. Swedes under Torstenson invade Silesia and Moravia and rout the imperials at Breitenfeld.
- 1643 Negotiations for a general peace opened at Münster and Osnabrück. Torstenson overruns the Danish territories. The imperials and Bavarians defeat the French at Tuttlingen
- 1644 George Rákóczy, prince of Transylvania, invades the Habsburg territory. Swedish victory at Jüterbog. Torstenson invades Bohemia
- 1645 Torstenson defeats the imperials at Jankau and approaches Vienna. Rákóczy invades Hungary. French victory at Allerheim. Peace of Linz between Ferdinand and George Rákóczy.
- 1646 Swedes under Wrangel invade Bavaria, but are driven out by the archduke Leopold
- 1647 The elector of Bavaria concludes a separate armistice with France and Sweden, but soon after breaks it. Ferdinand grants privileges to the Hungarian Protestants in order to secure the Hungarian crown for his son
- 1648 Turenne and Wrangel defeat the imperials at Zusmarshausen and overrun Bavaria, but are checked by Piccolomini. The Swedes surprise the Kleenseite of Prague and besiege the old town. A general peace (the Peace of Westphalia) signed at Münster and Osnabrück. France retains Metz, Toul, and Verdun, Sweden, upper Pomerania, Rugen and Wollin, and Wismar, the lower Palatinate restored to Charles Ludwig, son of Frederick V; the Swiss confederacy's independence recognised, the religious differences adjusted and privileges extended to the Calvinists, the emperor's prerogatives greatly diminished; he surrenders Alsace to France
- 1651 Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, invades Berg to assist the persecuted Protestants. He is compelled to make a peace with the duke of Neuburg by which liberty of conscience is secured to the Protestants
- 1654 Dispute between Sweden and the empire for the sovereignty of Bremen temporarily adjusted through Dutch mediation
- 1656 The Great Elector as a vassal of Poland for East Prussia, being involved in the war between Poland and Charles X of Sweden, is forced to transfer his allegiance from Poland to Sweden by the treaty of Königsberg. The troops of the elector and Charles X defeat the Poles at Warsaw. By the Treaty of Labiau, Charles X acknowledges the independent sovereignty of Brandenburg over East Prussia.
- 1657 Alliance between Poland and the emperor. Ferdinand III dies. The king of Denmark and the Great Elector join the Polish alliance. The imperials expel Sweden's ally,

- George (II) Rákóczy of Transylvania, from Poland. By the treaty of Wehlau Poland recognises the Great Elector's independent sovereignty in the dukedom of Prussia. The Great Elector makes alliance with Poland. The Turks depose Rákóczy.
- 1658 Leopold I, son of Ferdinand III, elected emperor. The Rhenish Alliance formed between Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Münster, Sweden, Neuburg, Hesse-Cassel, and Lüneburg to maintain their rights under the peace of Westphalia. Louis XIV of France joins the alliance. Charles X invades Denmark.
- 1659 The allies invade Pomerania. England and France send fleets to aid the Swedes. The allies defeat Charles X at Nyborg.
- 1660 Peace of Oliva ends the war between Sweden and Poland and confirms the independent sovereignty of East Prussia to the Great Elector. Battle of Klausenburg. Rákóczy defeated by the Turks. Leopold sends aid to the Transylvanians. The Turks take Grosswardein.
- 1662 The battle of Nagy-Szöllos establishes Michael Abafi as prince of Transylvania under Turkish protection.
- 1663 The Turks under Ahmed Köprili invade Austrian territory. Abafi attacks Croatia. Leopold summons a diet to Ratisbon. The diet becomes permanent.
- 1664 The German states, aided by foreign powers, collect forces against the Turks. Imperials under Montecuculi rout Turks at St. Gotthard on the Raab. Leopold concludes a twenty years' truce with the Turks; Abafi acknowledged as independent prince of Transylvania; the Turks retain Grosswardein.
- 1670 Thirteen Hungarian comitats join with Francis, son of George (II) Rákóczy, in an association against Leopold.
- 1671 Rákóczy defeated and the other leaders executed. Leopold quarters troops on the Hungarians.
- 1672 Leopold and the Great Elector conclude an alliance with the Dutch against France and send troops.
- 1673 Leopold establishes a new form of government in Hungary under a president and council and institutes a cruel persecution of the Protestants. The Great Elector concludes the truce of Vossem, by which he agrees not to fight against France. Leopold makes an alliance with Spain. Imperial troops under Montecuculi repel a French invasion of Franconia and the allied troops take Bonn.
- 1674 The diet of Ratisbon declares war on France. The Great Elector joins the imperials.
- 1675 The Great Elector defeats the Swedes at the battle of Fehrbellin, and takes Rügen, Usedom, and Wolgast.
- 1677 Stettin taken by the Great Elector.
- 1678 Stralsund and Greifswald taken by the Great Elector. He occupies all Pomerania. The Dutch conclude a separate peace with France at Nimeguen. Hungarian rebels under Tóköly make irruptions into Hungary and Austria from Transylvania.
- 1679 Leopold makes peace with France and Sweden. The Great Elector obliged to abandon his conquests in the Treaty of St. Germain.
- 1680 Louis XIV establishes *chambres de réunion*, through which he unearths the claims of France to imperial fiefs, which he proceeds to "reunite" to France.
- 1681 The Great Elector makes alliance with France. Louis XIV seizes Strasburg. Leopold makes alliances with Brunswick-Lüneburg, Bavaria, Sweden, Spain, and the United Provinces. The Hungarian constitution restored.
- 1682 Tóköly is installed as prince of upper Hungary by the Turks, and captures several cities.
- 1683 Great Turkish invasion of Hungary. Leopold makes alliance with John Sobieski, king of Poland. The Turks drive back the imperial troops and besiege Vienna. Tóköly defeated at Pressburg. John Sobieski relieves Vienna and defeats the Turks at Parkány.
- 1684 The emperor and Spain conclude the truce of Ratisbon with France, Louis is confirmed in possession of Strasburg, Kehl, and places reunited before August, 1683, and is conceded supreme right over Alsace.
- 1685 Death of Charles, elector palatine. Philip William of Neuburg succeeds. Louis XIV supports the claims of the duchess of Orleans.
- 1686 The Great Elector joins with the emperor and the United Provinces against France. In the league of Augsburg, the emperor, the United Provinces, Sweden, Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, and the Palatinate unite against France.
- 1687 Louis conquers the Palatinate. The imperials under Charles of Lorraine defeat the Turks at Mohács. The emperor's general, Caraffa, punishes an alleged conspiracy by tortures, proscriptions, and executions on a spot known as the Bloody Theatre of Eperies. Leopold abolishes the Hungarian rights to elect and resist the sovereign. The Hungarian diet consents to render the crown hereditary in the male Habsburg line. Erlau recovered from the Turks.
- 1688 The Great Elector dies. Belgrade and Munkács taken by the imperials.
- 1689 The French waste the Palatinate and withdraw. Mainz and Bonn taken by the imperials. Leopold, the United Provinces, England, Bavaria, and Savoy join in the Grand Alliance against France.

- 1690 The French defeat the allies at Fleurus. The Turks take Belgrade and win other successes. Tököly invades Transylvania and is made its prince by the Turks, but is expelled by the imperials.
- 1691 The Turks defeated at Slankamen.
- 1692 The allies defeated by the French at Steenkerke.
- 1693 Allies defeated at Neerwinden and Marsaglia.
- 1696 Turks defeat the imperials at Lugos. Indecisive battle of Olasch between the Turks and the imperials under Augustus of Saxony.
- 1697 Imperials under Prince Eugene of Savoy defeat the Turks at Zenta and invade Bosnia. Peace of Ryswick. Strasburg ceded to France. France resigns her claims on towns in the empire except in Alsace.
- 1699 Peace of Karlowitz. Austria, Russia, Venice, and Poland make peace with Turkey. Transylvania and Hungary between the Theiss and Danube secured to Austria.
- 1700 Death of Charles II of Spain. Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, succeeds as Philip V. Leopold prepares to assert the claims of his son, the archduke Charles, to the Spanish succession. The elector of Brandenburg promises his aid.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1701 The elector of Brandenburg crowned king of Prussia as **Frederick I.** Imperials under Eugene invade Italy and defeat the French at Carpi and Chiari.
- 1702 Grand Alliance between the emperor, the United Provinces, and Great Britain. The circles of Franconia, Swabia, and Upper and Lower Rhine join the Grand Alliance, which declares war on France. The allies take Kaiserswerth and Landau. Drawn battle between Eugene and the French and Spaniards at Luzzara. The elector of Bavaria joins France.
- 1703 Portugal accedes to the Grand Alliance. The French invade Baden and join the elector of Bavaria, who invades the Tyrol but is expelled thence. The duke of Savoy joins the Grand Alliance. Rebellion in Hungary under Francis Rákóczy II.
- 1704 Allies under Marlborough and Eugene defeat the French at Blenheim, invade Alsace, and conquer Bavaria.
- 1705 Leopold dies and is succeeded by his son, **Joseph I.** Eugene defeated at Cassano. Peasant rebellion in Bavaria repressed with severity. Rákóczy institutes a Hungarian confederacy of which he is proclaimed *dux*. The confederates win successes and overrun Transylvania. Imperials recover Transylvania.
- 1706 Marlborough wins the battle of Ramillies, which gives the allies command over almost the whole Spanish Netherlands. French successes on the Rhine. Eugene wins the battle of Turin and is appointed governor of the Milanese. Charles XII of Sweden having invaded Saxony forces the elector (Augustus II of Poland) to sign the Peace of Altranstadt.
- 1707 The allies fail in an attempt to take Toulon.
- 1708 Allies are successful at Oudenarde and take Lille and Ghent. Joseph annexes Mantua. Rákóczy defeated at Trentschin. Minorca, Majorca, and Sardinia conquered by the allies.
- 1709 Fruitless peace negotiations with France. Battle of Malplaquet won by the allies.
- 1710 Hungarian insurgents defeated at Zadok. Imperials defeated at Villaviciosa.
- 1711 By the Treaty of Szatmár the emperor amnesties the Hungarian confederates and confirms Hungarian liberties and freedom of worship. Death of Joseph I. The archduke Charles elected emperor as **Charles IV.**
- 1712 French successes in the Netherlands.
- 1713 **Frederick William I** becomes king of Prussia. Treaty of Utrecht. The Grand Alliance, the emperor excepted, makes peace with France, recognising Philip V as king of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Sardinia, the Milanese, and Naples to belong to Austria.
- 1714 Treaties of Rastatt and Baden between the emperor and France, Naples, Milan, Mantua, Sardinia, and the Netherlands secured to Charles VI. He reinstates the elector of Bavaria. Prussia declares war on Sweden and occupies Rugen and Stralsund.
- 1715 Treaty of Westminster, the emperor makes alliance with England and recognises the claims of George I to Bremen, Lauenburg, and Verden. The Barren Treaty arranges the surrender to Charles by the Dutch of the Netherlands provinces formerly belonging to Charles II of Spain.
- 1716 Eugene defeats the Turks at Peterwardein and takes Temesvár.
- 1717 Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland. Eugene defeats the Turks at Belgrade. The Spaniards conquer Sardinia and invade Sicily.
- 1718 Austria and Venice agree to the Peace of Passarowitz with Turkey, part of Bosnia, Wallachia, and Servia, and the Banat of Temesvár ceded to Austria. Quadruple alliance between Great Britain, France, and the emperor (afterwards joined by United Provinces), Sicily to be ceded to the emperor in exchange for Sardinia. By the Pragmatic Sanction Charles VI makes his daughter Maria Theresa his heiress.

- 1719 Peace of Stockholm. Sweden resigns Bremen and Verden to Hanover.
- 1720 Spain joins the Quadruple Alliance. Peace of Stockholm between Prussia and Sweden; Usedom and Wolhin, and the country between the Oder and the Peene ceded to Prussia.
- 1725 Alliance between the emperor and Spain. Treaty of Hanover between Great Britain, France, and Prussia.
- 1726 Russia makes alliance with Charles VI and guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction. By the Treaty of Wusterhausen Prussia guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction.
- 1727 Charles VI concludes an armistice with England, France, and the United Provinces.
- 1729 By the Treaty of Seville, Spain breaks with the emperor and makes alliance with France and Great Britain.
- 1731 Alliance between Great Britain and the emperor in the Treaty of Vienna, the emperor promises to abolish the Ostend Company, Great Britain guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction. Spain and the United Provinces guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.
- 1732 The German princes, except the Bavarian, Saxon, and palatine electors, guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.
- 1733 Charles VI supports the elector of Saxony's candidature to the Polish throne and so involves him in war with France. The Milanese overrun by the troops of France, Spain, and Sardinia. Kehl taken by the French.
- 1734 The Spaniards conquer Naples, defeating the imperials at Bitonto. The Spaniards subdue Sicily. Indecisive battle of Parma between the French and imperials. French successes on the Rhine.
- 1735 The imperials relieve Mantua. Preliminaries of Vienna. France and Sardinia make peace with the emperor.
- 1737 Unsuccessful campaign against the Turks.
- 1738 Fresh Turkish successes. Definitive Treaty of Vienna between France and the emperor.
- 1739 Philip of Spain and his son Charles accede to the Treaty of Vienna, Charles retaining the Two Sicilies. The Turks defeat the imperials at Kiozka. Peace of Belgrade, the emperor surrenders Servia with Belgrade and Austrian Wallachia to the Turks.
- 1740 Frederick (II) the Great becomes king of Prussia. Charles VI dies. Maria Theresa succeeds to his Austrian dominions. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, disputes her claims. Frederick II occupies Silesia and begins the First Silesian War.
- 1741 The Prussians defeat the Austrians at Mollwitz. France, Prussia, Spain, and Saxony unite against Maria Theresa for the War of the Austrian Succession. England, Holland, and Russia declare for Maria Theresa. The elector of Bavaria, aided by French troops, takes Linz and invades Bohemia. Maria Theresa appeals to the Hungarians. The tribes rally to her standard. Charles Albert takes Prague and is crowned king of Bohemia.
- 1742 Charles Albert elected emperor as Charles VII. The Austrians recover Linz and invade Bavaria. Frederick invades Moravia and Bohemia and defeats the Austrians at Chotusitz. Peace of Breslau; Austria cedes Silesia to Prussia. The Austrians besiege the French and Bavarians in Prague. Great Britain sends succour to Maria Theresa. The king of Sardinia espouses her cause. French attempt to relieve Prague frustrated. French retreat from Prague. The elector of Saxony (Augustus III, king of Poland) goes over to Maria Theresa.
- 1743 Austrian victory over the Spaniards at Campo Santo. Maria Theresa crowned at Prague. Austrians conquer Bavaria. "Pragmatic army," Austria's British, Dutch, Hessian, and Hanoverian allies, under George II of England, defeats the French at Dettingen. Maria Theresa makes alliance with Great Britain and the king of Sardinia at Worms, ceding Sardinia various Italian possessions.
- 1744 The French invade the Austrian Netherlands. Austrians occupy Alsace. Frankfurt Union between Prussia, the emperor, France, Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and the elector palatine formed against England and Maria Theresa for the Second Silesian War. East Friesland lapses to Prussia. Frederick occupies Bohemia. His allies reinstate Charles VII in Bavaria. Successful Austrian expedition against Naples. King of Sardinia defeated at Cuneo. Hungarians rise to defend Maria Theresa. Frederick expelled from Bohemia.
- 1745 Charles VII dies. Treaty of Fussen, the new elector of Bavaria renounces his Austrian claims. French victory at Fontenoy. The Spaniards overrun the Milanese. Alliance between Austria, Augustus of Poland and Saxony, and the maritime powers concluded at Leipzig. The Prussians defeat the Austrians and Saxons at Hohenfriedberg. Great Britain makes peace with Prussia. Austrians severely defeated by Frederick at Soor. The duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, elected emperor as Francis I. Prussians defeat the Austrians at Hennesdorf and the Saxons at Kesseldorf. Peace of Dresden. Maria Theresa confirms Frederick's possession of Silesia.
- 1746 Austrian Netherlands occupied by the French. They defeat the Austrians at Rocoux. Austrian successes in Italy. The imperials defeat the French and Spaniards at Piacenza.
- 1747 French defeat the allies at Lawfeld and storm Bergen-op-Zoom. The increase of ecclesiastical property forbidden in the Austrian dominions and many festivals abolished.

HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES

- latter are confirmed in possession of the Rhine's left bank, the Austrian Netherlands, Holland, and Jülich Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Spain, and Portugal acquiesce in the treaty. Third partition of Poland Warsaw and part of the modern Russian Poland fall to Prussia and part to Austria. Russia absorbs the remainder of Poland. Masséna defeats the Austrians at Loano Austrian victories at Kreuznach, Mannheim, and Mainz
- 1796 Armistice between Austria and France Bonaparte defeats the Austrians at Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Lodi, and occupies Milan Austrians defeated at Lonato, Castiglione, Roveredo, Bassano. Austrian victories at Amberg and Würzburg French under Moreau invade Bavaria, but are forced to retreat. Bonaparte, defeated at Lavis and Caldiero, is victorious at Arcola and Rivoli
- 1797 The imperialists take Kehl. The French capture Mantua Bonaparte invades the dominions of Austria and compels her to agree to the Preliminaries of Leoben. Peace of Campo-Formio, by which Francis II resigns the left bank of the Rhine, Flanders, and his provinces in Lombardy, and receives the Venetian territories, the see of Salzburg, and part of Bavaria. A congress summoned to Rastatt to adjust other questions. Frederick William II of Prussia dies and is succeeded by his son, Frederick William III, who abolishes the Religious Edict
- 1799 Failure of the Rastatt congress to reach an agreement. Austria joins England and Russia in a Second Coalition against France Archduke Charles defeats Jourdan at Stockach. Armed attack on French envoys at Rastatt The allies drive the French from Switzerland, defeat them at Magnano and Novi, and expel them from Italy The French defeat the Russian, Korsakoff, at Zurich English defeated at Bergen-op-Zoom Austrian victory at Fossano. The Russian troops are withdrawn
- 1800 Moreau defeats the Austrians at Stockach Bonaparte defeats the Austrian, Melas, at Marengo and recovers Italy. Austrians defeated at Hohenlinden with heavy loss.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 Peace of Lunéville signed by Francis II in behalf of Austria and the empire; Tuscany and Modena ceded to the Cisalpine Republic
- 1803 A decree of the diet of Ratisbon sanctions territorial changes, the ecclesiastical principalities abolished, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and Salzburg made electorates, the liberties of the imperial cities abolished except in six cases; Prussia receives the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, the greater part of Munster, the Thuringian territories of the Mainz electorate, Erfurt, the Eichsfeld, and the imperial cities of Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, and Goslar, Bavaria acquires the ecclesiastical territories of Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Augsburg, part of Passau and Eichstätt, twelve abbeys and seventeen imperial cities and towns, including Ulm, Nordlingen, Memmingen, Kempten, and Schweinfurt, with a population of 854,000 To Austria fall the ecclesiastical principalities of Trent and Brixen. The French conquer Hanover. On Napoleon declaring himself emperor of the French, Francis II assumes the title of Emperor of Austria and makes it hereditary in his family
- 1805 Austria joins England, Russia, Sweden, and Naples in the Third Coalition against France. Napoleon has for allies Hesse, Nassau, Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria; the latter is invaded by the Austrians Austrians defeated at Elchingen. Capitulation of Ulm, the Austrian, Mack, surrenders with all his army. The Tyrol bravely but uselessly defended by the peasants. The emperor of Russia goes to Berlin and in the Treaty of Potsdam obtains from the king of Prussia a promise to join the coalition. Napoleon occupies Linz Russians defeated at Amstetten and Austrians at Mariazell. French checked at Durrenstein Napoleon enters Vienna and defeats the allied armies in the great Battle of the Three Emperors at Austerlitz. Peace of Pressburg; Austria cedes her south German provinces with the Tyrol to Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden and Venetia and Dalmatia to the kingdom of Italy, and receives Würzburg and Berchtesgaden. Württemberg and Bavaria made kingdoms Prussia agrees to abandon Ansbach to Bavaria, and Cleves and Neuchâtel to France in exchange for Hanover
- 1806 Napoleon forms the Confederation of the Rhine under his suzerainty and consisting of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Usingen, Nassau-Weilburg, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Arenberg, and eight other states. Napoleon declares the German empire dissolved. Francis II resigns the dignity of German emperor and is henceforth known as Francis I, emperor of Austria. Prussian districts of Elten, Essen, and Werden annexed by the grand duke of Berg (Murat). Prussia summons Napoleon to evacuate south Germany and recognise the formation of a North German Confederation. Saxony and Weimar make alliance with Prussia Prussians defeated by Napoleon at Saalfeld, Jena, Auerstädt, Halle, and Lubeck The Prussian fortresses surrender. Napoleon enters Berlin Prussian armies capitulate at Prenzlau and Ratkau. Napoleon in Berlin decrees the Continental System, declaring the British

- Iles in a state of blockade, the British excluded from all intercourse with Europe, and all merchandise belonging to British subjects lawful prize
- 1807 Indecisive battle of Eylau between Napoleon and the Russians and Prussians. Obstinate resistance to the French in Silesia and at Kolberg in Pomerania. Russia and Prussia join in the Fourth Coalition, supported by England and Sweden. Dantzic surrenders to the French. Allies defeated at Friedland. Russia concludes a separate peace. By the Peace of Tilsit Prussia cedes her territory west of the Elbe to Napoleon, her gains in the second and third partitions of Poland become the grand duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon forms the kingdom of Westphalia from Brunswick, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, parts of Saxony, and Prussia. Abolition of serfdom and compulsory labour in Prussian domains. Prussian army reorganised
- 1808 Austria institutes the *Landwehr* or militia. Napoleon engages to evacuate Prussia, exacting a large indemnity and retaining garrisons in Stettin, Kustrin, and Glogau. The Prussian town ordinance restores self-government to the boroughs. The Prussian constitution altered, a state council with five ministers instituted. France compels the resignation of the Prussian reforming minister Stein
- 1809 Fifth Coalition between Austria and England. Austria renews the war. The Tyrol revolts. Archduke John defeats Eugène de Beauharnais at Sacile. Austrians defeated at Thann, Abensberg, Landshut, Eckmühl, and Ratisbon. Eugène defeats Archduke John at the Piave. Linz and Vienna capitulate. Archduke Charles defeats Napoleon at Aspern. The Tyrolese defeat the French at the Brenner Pass. The Prussian free-lance Schill defeated by the French at Stralsund and his officers executed. Eugène defeats Archduke John at Raab. French victory at Wagram. The armistice of Znaim ends the war. Treaty of Schönbrunn, Austria resigns the Tyrol, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, the Innviertel, and part of the Hausruckviertel to Bavaria; and Carinthia, part of Carniola, Istria, Trieste, Gorz, and Gradiska to Napoleon, who forms them into the Illyrian Provinces. The French subdue the Tyrol. Count Metternich becomes chief minister in Austria
- 1810 Napoleon marries the archduchess Marie Louise. Cloisters and other ecclesiastical foundations in Prussia made state property. New educational system organised in Prussia. Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg incorporated with France.
- 1811 State bankruptcy in Austria. Notes reduced to one-fifth their nominal value. Freedom of trade proclaimed throughout Prussia.
- 1812 The civil code of 1811 given effect throughout the Austrian empire except in Hungary and Transylvania. Emancipation of the Jews in Prussia. Austria obtains neutrality for her own territories in the Franco-Russian war, but has to supply Napoleon with a contingent. Prussia concludes a treaty with Napoleon, leaving her fortresses in French hands. Napoleon's disastrous Russian expedition. By the Convention of Tauroggen, the Prussian auxiliaries suspend hostilities
- 1813 The Prussian king summons his people to arms. Enthusiastic response. Russia and Prussia form the Sixth Coalition at Kalish. The French abandon Berlin and retreat to the Elbe. The Prussian militia forces of the *Landwehr* and *Landsturm* formed. The war of Liberation begins. The Prussians take Lüneburg. The confederation of the Rhine sides with Napoleon. Napoleon defeats the allies at Lützen. The king of Saxony declares for France. Napoleon defeats the allies at Bautzen. Armistice. Austria joins the Coalition. Allies victorious at Grossbeeren and the Katzbach, and defeated at Dresden. Allies victorious at Dennewitz. The Treaty of Ried detaches Bavaria from Napoleon. Napoleon defeated in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig. Napoleon withdraws to France. Dissolution of the kingdom of Westphalia. The legitimate rulers of Hesse, Oldenburg, and Brunswick return to their sovereignties. The French expelled from Minden, Munster, and East Friesland. Three allied armies converge on France from Holland, Coblenz, and Switzerland.
- 1814 The French surrender Dantzic and other Prussian fortresses. The allies enter France. Indecisive battle of Brienne. Napoleon defeated at La Rothière. Peace congress at Châtillon. Napoleon wins successes at Champaubert, Montmirail, Chateau Thierry, Etoges, Vauxchamps, Montereau. Allies victorious at Bar-sur-Aube. Congress of Châtillon fails. Allied forces of Bulow and Blücher join hands at Soissons. Napoleon defeats Blücher at Craonne and the Prussians at St Priest, but is checked by Schwarzenberg at Arcis-sur-Aube. Allies march on Paris, defeating the French at La Fère Champenoise. Fight before Paris. Allies enter the city. Napoleon surrenders and is sent to Elba. The Bourbons restored. First Peace of Paris ends the war, France is allowed her boundaries of 1792 with some additions. The congress of Vienna meets to readjust the territorial divisions of Europe.
- 1815 Napoleon returns to France. Europe unites against him. Murat, king of Naples, declares for him. A British army under Wellington lands in the Netherlands, and is joined by troops from the Netherlands, Nassau, Hanover, and Brunswick. Prussians under Blücher sent to the Netherlands. Murat defeated at Tolentino by the Austrians, who occupy Naples and restore Ferdinand IV. An Austrian force enters Alsace. Final act of the Vienna Congress passed. Germany recognised as an alliance of thirty-

- nine sovereign states, under the name of the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*), with a diet (*Bundestag*) at Frankfort-on-the-Main under the presidency of Austria.
- 1815 In a secret treaty between Austria and Ferdinand of Naples, king of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand pledges himself against liberal innovations
- 1817 Union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia. Riot at the Wartburg festival in Eisenach.
- 1818 Prussian Customs law (*Zollgesetz*) abolishes internal customs and establishes a general frontier tariff. Conferences of representatives of Russia, England, Austria, Prussia, and France at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) lead to the evacuation of France by the allies, France agrees to co-operate with the allies in maintaining the peace of Europe. Bavaria, Baden, and Nassau receive constitutions.
- 1819 Murder of the anti-nationalist editor Kotzebue. Ministers of Austria, Prussia, and several minor German states confer at Karlsbad and pass the Karlsbad Decrees, declaring for an extraordinary commission at Mainz to investigate secret societies, government inspection of the universities, and a strict censorship of the press. The diet of the confederation confirms the decrees. Constitutions introduced into Württemberg and Hanover. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen joins the Prussian customs system.
- 1820 Constitutions granted to Brunswick and Hesse. Conference of ministers of different states agree to the Supplementary Act of Vienna altering the laws of the German Confederation and limiting the force of constitutions in German states. Humboldt and other liberal Prussian ministers resign. Congress of Troppau between the czar, the Austrian emperor, and the Prussian king; they formulate the principle of the right of sovereigns to interfere in foreign countries to suppress resistance to authority, England protests.
- 1821 An Austrian army restores despotic power to Ferdinand of Naples. Insurrection in Lombardy, supported by Piedmontese rebels, suppressed by Austria.
- 1822 Death of the Prussian chancellor, Hardenberg; the king becomes his own minister. Congress of Verona attended by representatives of Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, France, Two Sicilies, and Sardinia results in a permission to France to interfere in Spanish affairs. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt joins the Prussian customs system.
- 1823 Provincial estates with advisory power established in Prussia. Saxe-Weimar and Anhalt-Bernburg join the Prussian customs system.
- 1824 Prussian province of the Lower Rhine with Jülich, Cleves, and Berg formed into the Rhine province or Rhenish Prussia.
- 1825 Attempt of the Prussian government to introduce a new ritual into the Prussian church excites eager opposition.
- 1826 Lippe-Detmold and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Anhalt-Dessau, and Anhalt-Cöthen join the Prussian customs system.
- 1828 Austria and England intervene to prevent Russia's occupying Constantinople. Customs union between Prussia and the grand duchy of Hesse. South German Customs Union (*Süddeutscher Zollverein*) formed between Württemberg, Bavaria, and the Hohenzollern principalities. Central German commercial union (*Mitteldeutscher Handelsverein*) formed between Hanover, the electorate of Hesse, Saxony, Brunswick, Nassau, the principalities of Schwarzburg and Reuss, and Frankfurt and Bremen.
- 1829 Commercial treaty of Prussia and Hesse with the South German Union.
- 1830 Revolutionary movement in the Bavarian Palatinate.
- 1831 Austrian troops suppress insurrection in Rome and restore Pope Gregory XVI. The electorate of Hesse joins the Prusso-Hessian customs alliance. Constitution granted to Saxony.
- 1832 A second insurrection in Rome suppressed by Austrian troops. France asserts her power in central Italy. Revolutionary agitation and repressive measures throughout Germany.
- 1833 Frankfurter Attentat fails and is severely punished. Customs agreement between the Prusso-Hessian and south German customs unions. The kingdom of Saxony and the Thuringian states acquiesce in the customs agreement. Reforms in Hungary releasing the peasants from most of their burdens. The Magyar language introduced into debate.
- 1834 The *Deutscher Zoll- und Handelsverein* (German Customs Commercial Union) results from the customs agreement. A separate customs alliance called *Steuerverein* formed by Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, and Schaumburg-Lippe.
- 1835 Death of Emperor Francis. His son, Ferdinand I, emperor of Austria, succeeds. The *Staatskonferenz* formed to act as a regency.
- 1836 Baden, Nassau, Homburg, and Frankfort-on-the-Main join the German *Zoll- und Handelsverein*.
- 1837 The king of Hanover refuses to recognise the Hanoverian constitution.
- 1838 Commercial treaty between Austria and England.
- 1840 Frederick William III of Prussia dies and is succeeded by Frederick William IV. The king of Hanover forces a constitution of his own on the people. England, France,

- Russia, Austria, and Prussia interfere in the war between Turkey and the pasha of Egypt. Acre taken by the British, Austrian, and Turkish fleets.
- 1842 Brunswick, Lippe, and Luxemburg join the German *Zoll- und Handelsverein*. Legal and political literary club founded in Austria.
- 1846 Revolt in Galicia suppressed and Cracow annexed to Austria.
- 1847 Frederick William IV convokes the united diet of his kingdom. He decrees that the diet shall meet only for certain defined purposes, and that a committee shall meet once in four years
- 1848 The Hungarian diet ordains the exclusive use of the Magyar language in all branches of the administration and in schools, with certain exceptions in favour of Croatia and Slavonia. Revolution in France echoed in Germany. The confederation diet promises a change in the constitution. The Viennese compel the dismissal of Metternich and the grant of a constitution. The Hungarians obtain a responsible ministry and various reforms. Croatia, Slavonia, Temesvár, and Transylvania revolt against the Magyar predominance. The Berlin mob forces the Prussian king to appoint a liberal ministry. Revolutions in Hesse, Nassau, Saxony, and Hanover. Lombardy and Venice revolt against Austria. Preliminary Parliament meets at Frankfurt to revise the constitution of the German Confederation. Troops of the confederation sent to aid Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark. Prussia suppresses a rebellion in Poland. German national assembly meets. Archduke John of Austria becomes Reichsverweser (imperial vicar) of the German Empire with a responsible ministry. Insurrection in Prague suppressed. The Austrians defeat the Sardinians at Custoza. Truce of Malmö suspends the Schleswig-Holstein War. Jellachich, ban of Croatia, invades Hungary; Kossuth forms a committee of national defence in Hungary. Hungarians defeat Jellachich. Murder of two conservative deputies. The Viennese government determines on war with Hungary and appoints Jellachich commander-in-chief. Revolution in Vienna. The Austrian emperor flees to Olmütz and his forces reduce Vienna. The Austrian emperor resigns his crown to Francis Joseph I. Prussian national assembly dissolved. Frederick William IV grants a Prussian constitution.
- 1849 Hungarian diet transferred to Debreczen. Budapest occupied by the Austrians. Hungarians defeated at Kápolna, successful in Transylvania. Austrians victorious at Novara, Venice capitulates. The Hungarian diet deposes the Habsburgs. The Schleswig-Holstein War renewed. New constitution in Austria. The imperial crown offered to the king of Prussia and refused by him. Dreikönigsbündniss, an alliance between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, formed. Hungarians recover Pest. Popular insurrections in Saxony, Bavaria, and Baden suppressed by Prussia. Danish victory at Fredericia. German national assembly dissolved. Russia sends Austria help against the Hungarians. Hungarian main army surrenders at Világos. Komárom capitulates to the Austrians. Hungary placed under martial law and subordinated to the Viennese government. Administration of the German Confederation confided to a commission. Radetzky's campaign against Sardinia. Sardinians are repulsed at Mortara and Vigevano. Battle of Novara.
- 1850 The Union Parliament meets in Erfurt in accordance with an imperial constitution drawn up by the members of the Dreikönigsbündniss and accepted by many of the states. The parliament recognises the constitution. College of princes formed to exercise provisionally the central power. Prussia and Germany make peace with Denmark, which subdues Schleswig and Holstein. Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg join Austria in sending representatives to a new confederation diet. Disturbances in Hesse. Prussia arms to maintain the union and the Hessian constitution. Olmütz conference between Prussian and Austrian ministers. The union dissolved. Dresden ministerial conferences to discuss a German constitution.
- 1851 The old German Confederation restored. Bismarck appointed Prussian envoy to the confederation. On the reconstitution of the Zollverein, Austria fails to supplant Prussia as its guiding spirit.
- 1852 Austrian constitution of March, 1849, is abolished and an attempt made to Germanise the various provinces. The confederation diet recognises a reactionary constitution in Hesse. London Protocol; England, Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden guarantee the succession of Prince Christian of Glücksburg to the whole Danish monarchy.
- 1853 Commercial treaty between Austria and Prussia. Prussia acquires from Oldenburg a site for the construction of a harbour. Beginning of difficulties in the Crimea.
- 1854 The *Steuerverein* united with the German *Zoll- und Handelsverein*. Hungary released from the reign of martial law.
- 1855 Concordat between Austria and Rome gives the Roman clergy control over public instruction, and exempts the bishops from the jurisdiction of the courts of law, giving them a measure of judicial power. Battle of Sebastopol.
- 1856 Peace of Paris.
- 1858 William, prince of Prussia, becomes regent of Prussia and appoints a liberal ministry. Radetzky dies and is succeeded by Archduke Maximilian. Convention signed for free navigation of the Danube. Diplomatic war in Piedmont.

- 1859 The Austrians invade Sardinian territory and are defeated at Magenta and Solferino. By the Preliminaries of Villafranca, confirmed in the Peace of Zurich, Austria resigns Lombardy. National languages permitted in Hungarian schools
- 1860 The Austrian emperor issues the October diploma or constitution
- 1861 The Prussian regent becomes king as William I. The February patent completes the October diploma and increases centralisation, dissatisfaction of the various nationalities in the Austrian Empire
- 1862 Bismarck becomes first minister in Prussia. Prussia, in the name of the *Zollverein*, concludes a commercial treaty with France, the minor states protest
- 1863 Francis Joseph summons an assembly to Frankfort to deliberate on the reform of the confederation, the Prussian king refuses to appear. Christian IX succeeds to the Danish throne and occupies Holstein. The prince of Augustenburg disputes his claims to Schleswig-Holstein. The Polish insurrection
- 1864 Prussian and Austrian armies occupy the duchies Duppel taken from the Danes and Jutland occupied By the Peace of Vienna, Denmark surrenders Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to Austria and Prussia. The German states agree to the commercial treaty with France
- 1865 February patent suspended, Hungarian demand for a responsible ministry refused. In the convention of Gastein, Austria cedes Lauenburg to Prussia for a money payment.
- 1866 Prussia proposes a scheme for the reform of the confederation Alliance concluded between Italy and Prussia. European congress proposed. Austria refers the Schleswig-Holstein question to the confederation diet and convokes the Holstein estates. Prussia declares the Gastein convention violated and occupies Holstein Austria persuades the confederation diet to mobilise its forces. Prussia declares the confederation dissolved "Seven weeks' war" between Prussia and Austria Most of the German states side with Austria. The Prussians occupy Saxony. The Hanoverians defeat the Prussians at Langensalza, but are surrounded and capitulate Prussian victories at Nachod and Skalitz. Austrian victory at Custoza Austrians defeated by the Prussians at Königgrätz (or Sadowa) Francis Joseph hands over Venice to Napoleon III Prussians defeat the Bavarians at Kissingen and Hammelburg Austrians defeated at Aschaffenburg The Austrians defeat the Italians at Lissa Truce of Nikolsburg mediated by Napoleon Peace of Prague, Austria surrenders Venetia to Italy, recognises the dissolution of the German Confederation, consents to the reconstitution of Germany without Austria Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Nassau, the electorate of Hesse, and Frankfort-on-the-Main incorporated with Prussia
- 1867 A responsible ministry appointed in Hungary Beust succeeds Belcredi as Austrian minister-president. Transylvania incorporated with Hungary The provincial diets of the Austrian empire ordered to elect a Reichsrath according to the February constitution The constituent imperial diet meets at Berlin and promulgates the constitution of the north German Confederation The command of the military forces and the direction of diplomacy confided to Prussia Prussia prevents the proposed annexation of Luxemburg by France. Francis Joseph crowned king of Hungary; amnesty to Hungarian outlaws Bismarck concludes a customs treaty with the south German states, by which they agree to send representatives to the diet of the North German Confederation, thus converted into a *Zollparlament* for matters concerning the customs. Financial agreement (*Ausgleich*) between Austria and Hungary Parliamentary government established in Cisleithania, "Burgerministerium" appointed
- 1868 The Austrian Reichsrath passes laws abrogating the concordat of 1855 Bohemian declaration demanding autonomy for the Bohemian kingdom The Galician resolution sets forth a claim for greater independence of the central government Disturbances in Bohemia and Moravia.
- 1869 A federal supreme commercial court erected at Leipzig The Austrian emperor agrees to support Napoleon III if Prussia should disturb the *status quo* agreed on at the Treaty of Prague. Insurrection of the Bocchese
- 1870 Failure of the attempt of the Austrian minister Potocki to reconcile the Czechs. France protests against the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to the Spanish throne Prince Leopold withdraws his candidature France requires the king of Prussia to declare that no Hohenzollern shall ever be allowed to become a candidate for the Spanish throne, the king refuses War between France and Prussia The south German princes join forces with Prussia. French victory at Saarbrücken The French driven from Weissenburg French defeated at Worth and Spicheren Strasburg besieged by the Germans French checked at Colombey-Neuilly Battle of Vionville The French army under Bazaine defeated at Gravelotte and St. Privat and shut up in Metz Fights at Buzancy and at Nouart German victory at Beaumont An attempt to break out of Metz prevented in the battle of Noisseville. Battle of Sedan and surrender of Napoleon III and 84,580 French. French defeated at Sceaux. Paris besieged. Vitry and Strasburg surrender to the Germans German victories at Artenay and Orleans. Soissons surrenders. The Germans take Château-

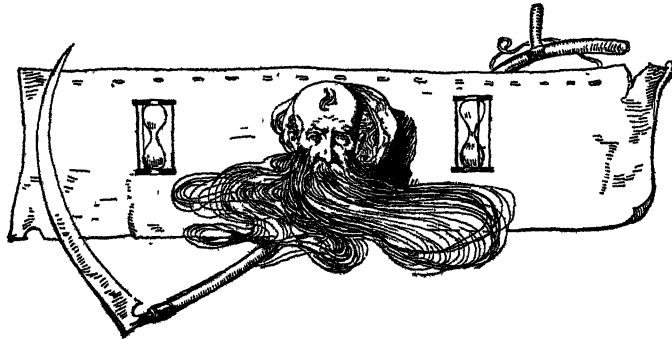
- dun and Chartres Schlettstadt surrenders. Metz capitulates Dijon taken. French victory at Coulmiers The Germans evacuate Orleans Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt enter the North German Confederation Germans, victorious at Châteauneuf, occupy Nogent-le-Rotrou Thionville capitulates. French under Garibaldi repulsed at Dijon. Bavaria and Württemberg join the North German Confederation German victories at Beaune-la-Rolande and Amiens. French success at Villepion. Battle of Champagne French defeated at Loigny, Pouilly, Orleans French defeated at Beaugency and Nuits. Bombardment of Paris begins. French defeated at the Hallue and Vendôme.
- 1871 Mézières surrenders. German victories at Bapaume, Cornelle, and Le Mans Rocroi surrenders. German victory at St. Quentin. French sortie from Mont Valérien fails Battle of Belfort. The king of Prussia proclaimed German emperor as **William I.** Longwy surrenders Capitulation of Paris and armistice concluded at Versailles. French army, defeated at Pontarlier, withdraws to Switzerland, where it is disarmed. Belfort surrenders Preliminaries of Versailles First German imperial diet meets at Berlin Peace of Frankfurt France gives up part of Lorraine with Metz and Thionville and Alsace except Belfort to Germany and pays a large indemnity. The *Kanzelparagraph* provides for the punishment of clerical agitators in the German Empire. The Viennese government recognises Bohemia as a separate kingdom; the Czechs draw up the Bohemian constitution called the Fundamental Articles; the emperor's refusal to recognise it produces the resignation of the Hohenwart ministry Beust dismissed.
- 1872 Jesuits and similar orders excluded from German territory. League of the Three Emperors (of Russia, Germany, and Austria).
- 1873 The right of election to the Austrian Reichsrath transferred from the provincial diets to the people Universal exhibition in Vienna The Vienna *Krack*, or financial crisis. Prussian May laws requiring secular university training for the clergy and establishing a royal tribunal for ecclesiastical matters, Catholic resistance severely punished.
- 1874 Septennial law concerning the peace establishment in Germany
- 1876 Death of Deák The Andrassy note drawn up by the ministers of Austria, Russia, and Germany demands from the Porte reforms in the revolted Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina The Saxon districts of Transylvania deprived of their privileges
- 1877 Disputes in the Hungarian diet concerning the renewal of the Ausgleich. New tariff agreement between Austria and Hungary
- 1878 William I. wounded by a would-be assassin; temporary regency. Congress of Berlin settles the affairs of the Balkan peninsula. Austria commissioned to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. The occupation takes place in spite of the resistance of the Mohammedan population, who are subdued after heavy fighting Socialistic law passed by the German diet William I. resumes the government
- 1879 Count Taaffe makes a compromise with the Czechs Alliance between Germany and Austria against Russia Imperial customs tariff accepted by the German diet.
- 1880 Diplomatic relations between the papacy and Germany renewed Government offices and law courts in Bohemia and Moravia ordered to transact business in the language in which it is introduced. The Germans in Austria establish a German school union to aid German schools
- 1881 Prussian May laws ameliorated The Austrian Germans join together as the United Left. Revolt in Dalmatia extends to Herzegovina
- 1882 Revolt in Dalmatia and Herzegovina finally put down. The clerical party in Austria founds the Clerical Club Attempt on the life of Francis Joseph by Irredentists
- 1883 The Triple Alliance formed between Germany, Austria, and Italy Anti-Jewish riots in Hungary
- 1884 Society of German Colonisation founded. Workmen's accident insurance law passed for Germany. Angra Pequena, Togoland, Kamerun, and Bismarck Archipelago taken under German protectorate
- 1885 General act of the Berlin Conference concerning European occupation of East Africa signed by fourteen European powers Dispute between Germany and Spain over the Caroline Islands settled by the pope's arbitration In Austria the United Left separates into the German Austrian and German clubs Reform of the Hungarian house of magnates
- 1886 Solomon Islands taken under German protectorate. Agreement with England concerning Zanzibar
- 1887 German protectorate proclaimed over Witu. Germans involved in civil war in Samoa.
- 1888 Death of the emperor William. His son, **Frederick III.**, succeeds. Frederick dies and is succeeded by **William II.** Rising in East Africa, agreement with England to suppress it In Austria the German Austrian and German clubs join as the United German Left.
- 1889 Death of the crown prince Rudolf, only son of Francis Joseph. Germans carry on a successful war in East Africa Riots in Pest apropos of the army bill Berlin Treaty between Germany, Great Britain, United States, and Samoa to guarantee Samoa's neutrality.

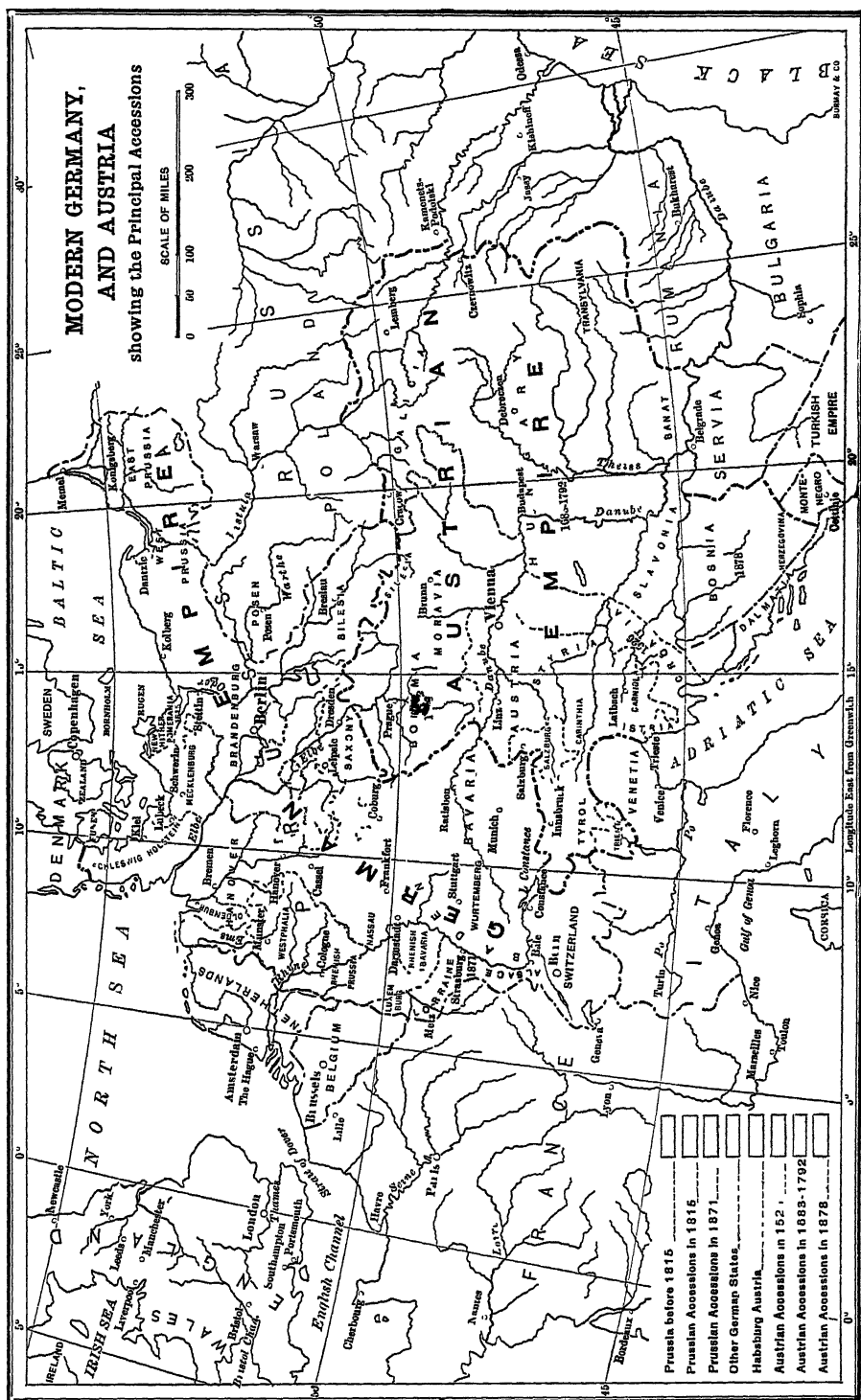
HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES

- 1896 Bismarck dismissed. Boundaries of German Southwest Africa defined. Germany recognises the British protectorate over Zanzibar; Helgoland ceded to Germany. The socialist law abrogated.
- 1891 Triple Alliance renewed. Germany makes commercial treaties with Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium. Negotiations for an Ausgleich between the Viennese government and Bohemia fail.
- 1892 Reform of the Austrian currency.
- 1893 War in German Southwest Africa with the chief Witboi. Failure of Taaffe's reform bill and his resignation.
- 1894 Agreement between France and Germany concerning Kamerun. Rumanians prosecuted for protesting against their grievances.
- 1895 The Jewish religion recognised and freedom of worship sanctioned in Hungary.
- 1896 Millennium exhibition in Buda. Badeni's reform bill carried through the Austrian Reichsrath.
- 1897 Badeni's language ordinances introduced into Bohemia. Disgraceful scenes in the Reichsrath over the discussions on the renewal of the Ausgleich with Hungary, disorders in Vienna. Badeni resigns. Bohemian language ordinances revised, riots in Prague. Kiao-chau, China, is seized by a German fleet as a result of the murder of two German missionaries. Lease of a German zone at Kiao-chau for ninety-nine years secured.
- 1898 Kiao-chau is declared a German protectorate. The prolongation of the Ausgleich proclaimed by imperial warrant. Assassination of the empress-queen Elizabeth by an anarchist.
- 1899 Compromise with Hungary concerning the Ausgleich; the bank charter renewed till 1910, the customs union provisionally renewed till 1907; the Reichsrath refuses to confirm the compromise which is proclaimed by imperial warrant.
- 1900 Berlin treaty concerning Samoa abrogated; Great Britain receives compensation elsewhere, the Germans retain certain of the islands as a crown colony, the United States assuming sovereignty over others. Murder of the German minister in China; a German field marshal appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the powers in China. Anglo-German or "Yangtse" agreement concerning China. Chancellor Hohenlohe resigns. He is succeeded by Count von Bülow. Celebration of the bicentenary of the Prussian monarchy.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

- 1902 Revival of the strife of nationalities in the Austrian Reichsrath. The Brussels convention and the sugar bill accepted by the German diet. The fleets of Germany and England blockade the Venezuelan ports. Triple Alliance renewed to 1915. Renewal of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich.
- 1904 Prohibition to Jesuits to settle in Germany removed. The Hungarian nationalists abandon their demand for the exclusive use of the Magyar language in the Hungarian army.
- 1905 Agitation for universal suffrage in Hungary and Austria. Germany quarrels with France over Morocco.
- 1906 International conference at Algeciras; adjudication of Franco-German disagreement over Morocco. Austrian parliament passes a universal suffrage bill.
- 1907 The German elections favour the government. First election in Austria under the new suffrage law. A new Ausgleich is agreed upon between Austria and Hungary.





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VIKINGS MAKING A LANDING

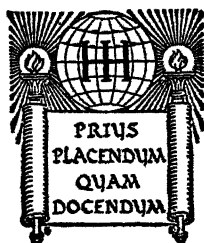
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THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative
of the Rise and Development
of Nations from the Earliest
Times as recorded by over
Two Thousand of the Great
Writers of All Ages. Edited
with the Assistance of a Dis-
tinguished Board of Advisers
and Contributors

BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XVI—SCANDINAVIA; SWITZERLAND TO 1715

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H. VON TREITSCHKE, H. WHEATON

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

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CHAPTER I

THE LEGENDARY PERIOD OF SCANDINAVIAN HISTORY

MONTELIUS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SCANDINAVIANS

"CONCERNING the point of time when northern and Gothic lands received their first inhabitants," says Lagerbring,^b "we know absolutely nothing, and this ignorance we share with all other European countries. Our legends do not go back so far, and even assuming that they had preserved to us the record of a memorable event of such remote antiquity, we could not put faith in them. Johannes Magnus^c was quite at liberty to assure us that Magog, the grandson of Noah, was pleased to set a term to his wanderings in Sweden; but we are likewise at liberty not to believe him."

After showing how Dr. Bång, a disciple of Rudbeck,^d by way of demonstrating his patriotic zeal, prevailed upon our common ancestor Adam to settle in Sweden, Lagerbring continues: "Our own times have lost this fine taste for antiquity, and we now think that our history will not suffer hurt if we make it a few centuries older or younger." Geijer concurs in Lagerbring's opinion that the Jotes [Jotuners or Jotuns], the aboriginal inhabitants of Sweden, were a Lapp or Finnish tribe, but seeks to prove that two other tribes distinct from each other, though closely akin by religion and origin, subsequently migrated thither. First came the Götar [Goths], and after them (probably a short time before the birth of Christ) the Svear [Swedes], under the leadership of Odin.

About the middle of the nineteenth century two Norwegian historians,

Keyser and Munch, propounded another theory concerning the immigration, which attracted much attention for a time, and was as follows:

In the dim backward of time, more than three or four hundred years at least before Christ, the Germans started on their wanderings from the ancient primitive home of their race, about the upper Volga and its tributaries, in the heart of Russia. Several tribes migrated into Germany across the Baltic and the south of Sweden, and we still see a remnant of them in the Gothic population of Sweden and Denmark. Further north the Svear took their way, and migrated into Middle Sweden by way of the Åland Islands. Further north still went the Northmen, either round the bay of Bothnia or by the maritime route from the White Sea. Their oldest settlements are consequently in Halogaland, far to the north, and thence they spread southward over Norway.

The views respecting the immigration of northern tribes which we have here mentioned are based upon the scanty information that can be gathered from historical records. But these records all date from a period when our forefathers were already settled in the north, and the oldest native writings which tell us anything about the immigration were chronicled several thousand years after the event. Under the circumstances any attempt to resolve the question by these methods must be barren of result, every answer must be open to doubt.

The possibility of finding a satisfactory answer only came into view with the discovery of monuments which date from primitive times, and may possibly be referred to the immigration period. About half a century ago it was incontrovertibly demonstrated that both the stationary and movable antiquities which were then attracting more general attention than before dated from periods very remote from one another, that the most ancient go back to the first settlement of the country, and that the inhabitants of northern lands had passed through three great stages of development before the full light of history begins to shine upon the north with the introduction of Christianity.

Since we have as little cause for assuming an immigration *en masse* at the beginning or during the course of the Bronze Age as at the beginning of the Iron Age, it follows that at the end of the age of Stone Scandinavian lands were peopled by the same race as was settled there in the Iron Age; or, in other words, that our Germanic forefathers had already migrated into the country in the Stone Age. What we know of the conditions of the Stone Age, or more correctly speaking of the last portion of that period, does not militate against this theory. We possess a not inconsiderable number of human skulls, found in the graves of that period, which supply us with important particulars concerning the population of the country at the time. Most of these skulls are elongated in form and bear a strong resemblance to those of the present inhabitants of Scandinavia. Professor Virchow, who has examined the skulls from the Scandinavian graves of the Stone Age, says that he inclines to the opinion that the forefathers of the present inhabitants of the country were actually living there in the Stone Age.

Besides these long skulls, others, comparatively short, have been found in the same graves. They are distinct from those of the Scandinavian race and remind us rather of the Finnish tribes. They have been supposed, probably not without reason, to belong to the aboriginal inhabitants of Scandinavia, the people that possessed the land before the immigration of our Germanic forefathers. And although there seem to be no grounds for regarding these aborigines as the ancestors of the Lapps, who have now

been driven into the extreme north of the Scandinavian peninsula, that does not preclude the possibility that they belonged to the same group as the Lapps and Finns of to-day.

We cannot, however, come to any definite conclusion as to the race to which these aboriginal inhabitants belong until we discover graves dating back to that part of the Stone Age which preceded the immigration of our own forefathers. That probably took place at the beginning of the so-called Neolithic Age, that is to say the period to which the dolmens, chamber tombs, and other megalithic graves belong. Up to this time not a single grave can be referred to the so-called *Kjökkenmødding* or Paleolithic Age in Scandinavia, and we therefore know absolutely nothing of the skull conformation of the population of that date.

If the views here set forth are correct, our forefathers came to this country at a time when the use of metals was then unknown. This does not imply that they were on the level of "savages." It is most probable that even at the time of their immigration they possessed all our common domesticated animals, as they certainly did long before the end of the Stone Age, and in all likelihood they were not ignorant of agriculture.

It was long supposed that the results of philological research were incompatible with the theory that our Germanic ancestors separated themselves from other Indo-Germanic races as early as the Stone Age, and appeared in the north at so remote a period. Philologists fancied that they had discovered that the use of metals was known before the migration of the Indo-European tribes. Recent research has now shown that this view is incorrect, and that the separation had taken place before metals and the uses of metal were known. The theory that our forefathers migrated to this country during the Stone Age meets with no contravention from the philological point of view.

Any attempt to determine the exact time at which our forefathers first appeared in this country must always be compassed with great difficulties. As far as we can tell at present, the Stone Age of the north ended about the second half of the second millennium B.C. The large number of graves and other monuments dating from the Neolithic Age which are still to be seen after the lapse of thousands of years proves that the duration of the period was so long that we may assume without hesitation that it began, at latest, in the third millennium B.C. I, for my part, see nothing to prevent us from supposing that it goes back even farther; and according to that view our forefathers would have migrated hither more than four thousand years ago.

The Route of the Invaders

Of the route by which they came we can say no more than that, in all probability, they started from the regions about the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and advanced to the northwest through countries that were peopled by Germanic tribes in the very dawn of history. On reaching the Baltic they took possession of the Cimbric peninsula and the Danish islands. Thence, as we learn from their graves and the various forms in which they were made, they first crossed to Kåne, and pressed forward along the west coast into Vestergotland, where the extensive plains were of great value to them. After that they continued to spread; some by way of Dal and southwestern Vermland, and the forest-clad region of southern Vestergotland, to which the great water course of the west coast afforded them an easy means of

access; some by way of Blekinge, Småland, and the western portion of Östergötland.

It is worthy of note that while the west coast of Sweden is extremely rich in graves of the Stone Age, there is a great paucity of such remains on the east coast; and in both Öland and Gotland we find fewer memorials of this period than might have been expected, considering the great importance of these two islands in later civilisations. The Svealand districts, which are like wise not rich in monuments of the Stone Age, were settled very much later, and in all likelihood from Vestergötland. Thousands of years later the way from Denmark and Skåne to the lowlands of Mälardalen lay through Vestergötland; and the first railway which connected Stockholm with the Sound took the same route. In Norrland monuments of the Stone Age corresponding to those found in other parts of Sweden are so rare that there can have been nothing but isolated settlements there. One colony of this sort certainly lay far back to the north, on the Byske Elf, near the present Skellefteå. And it is possible that these monuments of the Stone Age in northern Sweden date from a period when bronze was in use in the south of the country. In Norrland, as in northern Norway, many Lapp remains dating from the Stone Age have been found, which go to prove that at one period this race occupied a far larger portion of the country than it does at present.

The notion that our forefathers came to this country from the East, through Russia, gains no support from the more exact knowledge of prehistoric conditions which we now possess. Such vestiges of Germanic habitation as are met with in Russia may unhesitatingly be explained either by the emigration of Germanic hordes from the southern shores of the Baltic into what are now the Baltic provinces and the districts bordering on them, or by colonies from Sweden which certainly came into existence long before the days of Rurik. The conclusion to which archæological research on the subject of the immigration of our forefathers has led is in accord with the usual assumption of historians—namely, that our Gothic ancestors were settled in the north from time immemorial. When we read in Johannes Magnus^c that King Sven ruled over the Goths (Götar) in Sweden shortly before the Flood we can hardly repress a smile. Yet the fugitive archbishop was probably less mistaken than many people have supposed. By his reckoning the Flood took place about 2304 B.C. We have shown that, in all probability, our forefathers migrated to the north quite as long before our era as that, even if they had not long been dwelling here by that time.^e

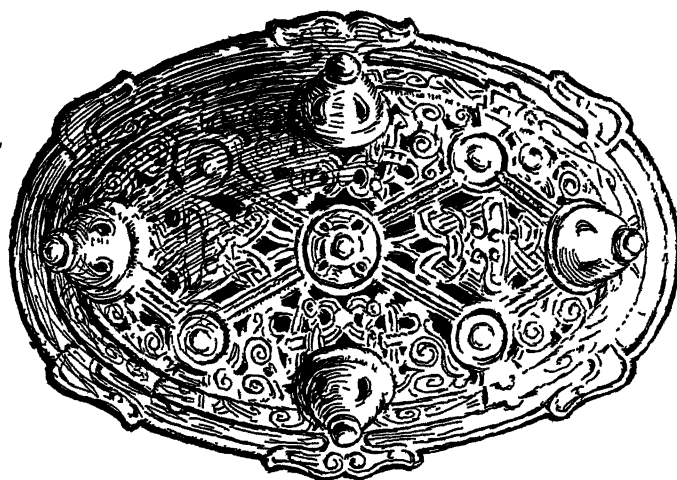
THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS

That the original inhabitants differed widely from the Gothic conquerors, in language, manners, religion, and character, is certain. The earliest poems of the latter—those traditionary relics of a far more ancient age—are filled with allusions to this distinction. They represent the Finns and Lapps as magicians, as invested with uncontrollable authority over the elements; and the Jotuns as at once giants and magicians. But the warriors of Odin arrogated to themselves no such powers, though their priests might. Legend, indeed, records some instances in which these powers were communicated to fortunate Gothic heroes; but the old inhabitants were the teachers, and what knowledge they imparted—which was always grudgingly imparted—was little in comparison with that which they retained. In the old Sagas, in the collection of Snorre Sturleson,^f in Saxo Grammaticus,^g and even in later

authorities, we everywhere discover a marked antipathy between the victors and the vanquished. It originated in a two-fold cause—in the difference of religion no less than that of race; and it was embittered in the same degree that it was perpetuated by mutual hostilities. The Finn, indeed, was unable to cope with the powerful Goth; but this sense of inferiority sharpened his invention, and made his hostility to be dreaded in proportion to its secrecy. The blow was struck in darkness; and the Goth, who had a sovereign contempt for the valour of his foe, was led to attribute it to supernatural rather than to human agency.

What ancient history really informs us concerning the people of the north may be comprised in a few lines. They were split into tribes; and of these the Suiones (the Svear) were the most conspicuous. They were a rich and powerful maritime nation; and, if Tacitus^h is to be credited, their kings

were despotic. Lest they should turn against one another, or, what was worse, against their rulers, their arms were taken from them, and kept by the royal slaves. They were, no doubt, a tribe which inhabited Sweden. In the same region were the Guttones, or Goths, another tribe, probably, of more ancient arrival. As the lands of the two were con-



OLD SCANDINAVIAN BUCKLE

terminous, the Suiones must have often called on their king for weapons, unless, indeed, their enemies, too, had been disarmed. But this alleged disarming [says Dunham^k] is pure fable. The Dankiones—probably the Danskir or Danes—bordered on the Guttones. If, by Cadononia, Tacitus really means the peninsula, the Teutones were also there. In regard to the Fenni, who are manifestly the Finns, he doubts whether he should call them a Teutonic or a Sarmatian tribe. Ptolemy locates them in western Lithuania; Tacitus, more to the north. For many centuries after Tacitus no great additions were made to the history of the north. In the fifth we learn that between the Elbe and the Baltic—no doubt, too, on both sides of that river, to some extent—were Angles, Jutes, and Saxons. Of these the first had no other seat. The second were doubtless a bastard colony from the more northern parts of the peninsula; and the last were an offset from the great Saxon confederation. The Jutes were the fewest in number; yet they were the progenitors of the men of Kent and the Isle of Wight, and of a tribe among the West Saxons. The rest of the Saxons—West, East, and South—were derived from the Saxon division of the colonists. The Angles gave their name to the people who bore it (the East Angles and Middle Angles) and likewise to the Mercians and Northumbrians. Such, according to that vener-

able authority the *Saxon Chronicle*,¹ was the connection between these people and the island of Great Britain. But, reverting to the state of northern Europe after the time of Tacitus, yet before geography made us well acquainted with it, King Alfred,² in his epitome of Orosius, adds some particulars which he had learned from his own inquiries. These particulars he derived from Ottar, a Norwegian, and Wulfstan, a Danish seaman. The former said that he lived north of all the Northmen, in Halogaland, opposite to the west sea; that north of him there was an immense waste land, some parts of it, however, being visited by the Finns for hunting in summer and fishing in winter; that he had once sailed round the North Cape to the White Sea, and on the coast had found a people called Beormas, who spoke a kindred language with the Finns. "This Ottar," says the king, "was a rich man, according to the opinion of his own country; he had six hundred tame deer, and six decoy ones, whose value in catching the wild deer was incalculable, hence these decoy deer were much esteemed by the Finns." But this Norwegian captain had not above twenty head of horned cattle, and as many sheep and swine. The Finns paid rent in skin, feathers, whalebone, and ropes for shipping. (The proprietors of these lands were evidently Goths, the conquering tribe.) Ottar further said that the country of the Northmen (Norway) was long and narrow, cultivated on the sea coast but to the east overlooked by wild barren mountains. Yet Finns inhabited them even in the ninth century — a proof that they were tributary to these Goths, especially as we may infer from this Norwegian's account that they were the only people that paid rent: the dominant race were freeholders. Opposite to this country of the Northmen, in the south, was Swevland, or Sweden; and to the north, the country opposite was Quenland, or that portion of the region between the gulf of Bothnia and Mount Sevo. "These Quens," says Ottar, "frequently assailed the Northmen, and the Northmen were no less inclined to pass the mountains against the Quens. From Halogaland [where Ottar dwelt] to the north of the land inhabited by the Northmen is a great distance — so great that no one could reach it by sea in a month." To be brief, the whole course of the navigation, from the extremity of Norway to the south of Jutland, is so minutely described as to render it impossible for anyone to mistake the localities intended, or to refuse credit to the relation of this old Norwegian navigator.

"The followers of the historic Odin," says Wheaton,³ "were the Svear, known unto Tacitus under the name of Suiones; and the inhabitants whom they found in the country were another tribe of Goths, who had emigrated thither at a remote period, veiled from the eye of history. The primitive people by whom it was occupied, were the Jotnar [Jotuns] and Dwarfs; the Fenni of Tacitus; the Skrithfiuni of Procopius, and the Quens and Finnas mentioned by the Norwegian navigator to King Alfred. They were gradually expelled, and driven further north, towards the arctic circle, by the Goths and Svear, with whom they maintained perpetual war, embittered by religious rancour, often represented, in the fictions of the northern age, under the allegory of a contest between the celestial deities and the giants or evil genii." But of this subject more hereafter, when we come to the exploits and policy of Odin.

The Heroes of Tradition

Of the Scandinavians, prior to the arrival of Odin, and, indeed, for centuries after that event, little, as far as regards their domestic history, is

known. Rejecting wholly, as fabulous, the boast of native writers that they had monarchs centuries before the foundation of Rome, we may, however, admit that they had kings—or, if the reader pleases, local judges, in time of peace, and military chieftains in war. There is reason to think that their chieftains, who assumed the regal title, were at one period, and, indeed, generally, exceedingly numerous. "At this time," says a chronicler, speaking of the age following the birth of Christ, "there were many kings in the north." Sweden had a dozen of them; Norway no fewer than eighteen; Jutland had usually two, and the various islands composing the rest of the Danish monarchy had each one. As in the heroic age of Greece, so in that of Scandinavia the same condition of society produced the same form of government. Of these *reguli* some were probably hereditary, some elective; some were certainly principal, others tributary. This distinction was the result, first, of some fancied superiority in the family of certain princes, but, in a greater degree of their superior success. In Norway, for instance, the Finnish family of Fornjoter (Forniot) was esteemed the most ancient, and was that to which all the princes of that country referred their origin.

But let us not forget that little dependence is to be placed on the alleged progenitors of these *reguli*, or the names of the *reguli* themselves, or their respective order of succession, or on the deeds attributed to them. All is darkness, uncertainty, contradiction. In the history of Norway, for instance, we are referred to Swedish kings as contemporary, whom the history of the latter kingdom places many generations before or after the alleged period. This is more strikingly the case in regard to the Danish and Swedish kings. In the history of the one we are referred to that of the other; yet the latter, in a majority of cases, have not one syllable on the subject. Names and events, on which the destinies of each country seem to turn, are mentioned by one class of historians and passed over by another as having had no existence. But if so little reliance is to be placed on these regal successions, we must not lose sight of the fact that were they and the events ascribed to them wholly fabulous (yet wholly fabulous they are not, since tradition does not so much create as amplify and distort), they would still demand our attention. Reject them, and nine-tenths of northern history must be rejected with them. And these traditionary songs, which form the entire history of the north, deserve our notice in another respect—they supply us with the best, the only picture of national manners. For this reason we shall cast a hasty glance at the more remarkable events which Saxo represents as prior to the Odinic times, but which, in fact, were subsequent.

Of the Swedish and Norwegian history during this fabulous or mythologic, or at best doubtful period, we have little information beyond what is afforded us by the historian of Denmark, and he only mentions them incidentally. Not so in regard to the Danish themselves, which, thanks to his romantic bias and untiring industry, are sufficiently well known to us.

Prior to the reign of Dan, the son of Humble, Denmark, like the whole of the north, was subject to chiefs—whether hereditary or elective we need not inquire. But such a form of government had its evils. A hundred tyrants were more galling than one; and Dan, who gave his name to the nation, was invested with an authority superior to the other chiefs, and with the regal title. On his death, the sceptre passed by election, and not by inheritance, into the hands of his son Humble; but the people found that monarchy, too, has its curses, though they are neither so numerous, nor so great as those inseparable from an aristocracy. Lother, the brother,

THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIA

of Humble, revolted, was victorious, and enabled to usurp the regal dignity. As he had been a rebellious subject, so he made a tyrannical king. The most illustrious of the Danes he deprived of property or life, until a conspiracy served him as he had served so many others.

Skiold, the son of Lothar, was raised to the vacant dignity, a proof (always supposing the traditionary guides of Saxo to be worthy of credit) that the hereditary principle has great force even in the most ancient forms of society; indeed, the application of this principle to the chief magistracy of the state is the natural and almost inevitable result of the patriarchal system — a system which we all know to be coeval with the existence of the world. Skiold was the Hercules of his age; and at a time when wild beasts disputed with man the empire of the forest, he was a greater benefactor than if he were merely a warrior. Even in his youth he was a prodigy; he would seize and fetter the most savage bear, leaving to his followers the less noble task of despatching the monster. Yet he frequently struggled with the bravest of his own species; no wrestler of Scandinavia could withstand him; in a single combat, he overthrew the duke of the Alamanni or Swabians, his army and that of his enemy being spectators; reduced that people to the condition of tributaries, and returned home in triumph, accompanied by the daughter of the duke, the beautiful Awilda, whom he made the partner of his throne. Nor was he less distinguished for wisdom than for valour. He was a legislator: bad laws he abolished, and enacted such as were required by an improved state of society. He was a great friend to the poor and the afflicted; the debts of others he often paid from his own treasury; the spoils taken in battle he uniformly abandoned to his followers; and it was one of his noble sayings that, while money was the reward of the soldier, glory was enough for the general. So much esteemed, indeed, was this prince that his posterity were glad to derive additional distinction from his name; and the Skioldungs, or the descendants of Skiold, were long dear to Denmark.

Gram, the son of Skiold, and the fifth king, was endowed with equal strength and equal enterprise, and his life was more romantic. His first consort was the daughter of his tutor or governor, a grim old chief; but thinking this lady beneath him, or, more probably, anxious to reward his brother-in-arms, Bessus, he soon bestowed her upon that hero. The dearer the gift, the greater the merit of the action; nor are similar instances of liberality wanting in other pagan heroes of the north. Probably Gram undervalued a conquest so easy as the wife he thus presented to his friend; and his ambition was roused by the hope of obtaining a lady whom nothing short of the highest courage could win. Gro, the daughter of Sigtrug, king of the Swedes, had been affianced to a giant, *viz.* a Jotun or a Finn. Indignant at this prostitution of royal blood and virgin modesty, the Danish monarch, attended by his never-failing companion, Bessus, passed into Sweden, killed the relatives of Gro, subdued the country, and brought away the princess in triumph.

But, with all his valour, Gram was inconstant. Leading his army against the king of the Finns, he was so struck with the beauty of that monarch's daughter that he was speedily converted from an enemy into a suitor; and he obtained a promise of her hand on the condition of repudiating Gro. Scarcely, however, had he left the Finnish territory when a Saxon duke arrived, courted the lady, and the nuptial day was appointed. But he was not of a temper to bear this insult. Leaving his troops, he repaired silently and quickly into Finland, assumed a mean disguise, entered the royal palace,

and took a humble seat. Being asked what brought him there, he replied his profession as leech—a character held sacred in all ancient communities, and sure of access to every house. As he had expected, the assembled guests were soon steeped in drunkenness. According to the manner of the times, he sung his own exploits, beheaded the unsuspecting bridegroom, prostrated many of the attendants to the earth, and bore away the princess to his vessel, which awaited him on the coast. But his end was fatal. By Swibdager, king of Norway, he was deprived of empire and of life; his dominions became the prize of the victor; and his two infant sons, Guthrum and Hadding, were secretly carried to Sweden, and confided to the charge of two giants.

Here Saxo is careful to explain what he means by the word “giant.” There were, he assures us, three species. First, there were the vulgar giants, those who excelled all mankind in bodily stature. Next, were the wise men, who were as much inferior to the former in bulk as they were superior in knowledge: these penetrated into the secret workings of nature, and were enemies of the monster giants, whom they subdued. Like the Persian magi, they struggled for and obtained the chief power of the state wherever they settled, and arrogated to themselves a divine no less than a regal authority; in short, they were expert magicians, able to delude all mankind by their prestiges. Next, we have the third class of giants, who were the offspring of the two preceding, and were inferior to one parent in magnitude of body, to the other in knowledge; yet, in both respects, they were above the ordinary standard of our nature, and were thought, by their deluded admirers, to inherit some portion of divinity. After this sage distinction, the Danish ecclesiastic observes that we ought not to be surprised at the credulity of the Northmen, for were not the Romans, though the wisest of men, equally credulous? Whatever may be thought of that distinction, or of the personages whom he has drawn from everlasting obscurity, of the existence of this credulity we have abundant evidence; and it furnishes one of the best comments on the manners and opinions of the times.

Swibdager, the conqueror of Gram, and the sixth king of Denmark, found the weight of three crowns too much for one brow. At the entreaty, therefore, of Gro, the divorced queen of Gram, he recalled her son Guthrum from exile, and placed him, as a vassal, on the throne. This prince was naturally despised as the slave of a foreign prince. Not so his brother Hadding, who, preferring liberty to a dependent court, and the hope of avenging his father’s death to the smiles of that father’s murderer, remained in exile, and with him were the hearts of Denmark. Of all the ancient heroes of the monarchy, this is, perhaps, the most celebrated. Wondrous, indeed, were his actions. While a youth, he inflamed the heart of Hardgrip, the giant daughter of his giant foster-father, who urged him to make a corresponding return. How could he love a giantess? Was he—whom she could, almost, enclose in one of her hands—a fit match for her? The thing was impossible. “By no means,” was the reply. “We of the superhuman breed can change, at pleasure, our forms, and even our substances; in short, we can reach the clouds, or reduce ourselves to your size.” The royal youth consented; and never had man a more useful or more faithful companion. Her magical knowledge was of more avail to him than her valour, for in that he could equal her; but she could furnish him with superior weapons, defend him from unseen danger, and cure his wounds where human aid would have been useless.

At length, perceiving that he yearned to revisit his native country, she

resolved to accompany him. On their journey, they one night arrived at a house where a corpse was duly laid out, until the mournful funeral rites were celebrated. Here was an opportunity of consulting the will of the gods, and the magic giantess availed herself of it. Producing a piece of wood on which certain verses of might, in Runic characters, were inscribed,¹ she caused it to be placed by Hadding under the tongue of the deceased. The effect was instantaneous: the corpse began to speak, and to utter the direst anathemas on her who had disturbed the repose of the dead. It predicted her immediate destruction in a neighbouring wood. No sooner, indeed, had they reached the wood, and erected their tent for the night, than a huge hand was seen to move around them. The terrified Hadding called on his companion for help; and she, dilating her body to a great extent, was able to seize the hand, and present it for amputation to the prince. From the wound issued more venom than blood. But the victory was dearly purchased; the gigantic witch was torn to pieces by the irritated powers of darkness. "Neither her supernatural condition," says Saxo, "nor her vast bulk availed her."

Hadding, however, did not much suffer by the event: a wise old man with one eye, pitying his disconsolate situation, provided him with a brother-in-arms, a celebrated pirate, and both entered into what was considered the holiest of compacts in the manner of the times, viz. each besmeared the footsteps of the other with his own blood. The two heroes being conquered by a chief on whom they made war, the same old man took Hadding on horseback to his own mysterious seat, and both renovated and prodigiously fortified him by a magic drink. At the same time a metrical prophecy told him how he was to escape from the captivity which impended over him. Who was this unknown benefactor? On his return to the place whence he was taken, he could perceive, through the folds of his mantle, that he was conveyed over the sea. The horse which bore him was evidently a demon, obedient to Odin, the god of the north.

After some great exploits in the east, to which his ardour, no less than his fear of Swibdager, bore him, Hadding returned to Scandinavia. In a sea-fight he defeated and slew his enemy, and thus became sovereign of Denmark, or, we should say, of the Danish islands—for Jutland and Skåne obeyed different princes. Asmund, the son of Swibdager, he thus transformed into a foe, and a foe, too, greatly to be dreaded. In a battle which ensued, finding that the tide of success was against him, he silently invoked the aid of the wizard giant Wagnoft, the father of his deceased mistress, Hardgrip. Wagnoft obeyed the spell, and was immediately by his side. Asmund lost the battle, and fell; but in his last moments he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had rendered Hadding lame for life. And he had another kind of joy, dear enough to a pagan: his wife Gunhilda, disdaining to survive him, slew herself with his sword, and was laid in the same grave with him. An invasion of his own country by Uffo, the son of Asmund, prevented Hadding from pursuing his advantage; but the following spring he again invaded Sweden; but his ranks were thinned alike by famine and disease. His men were obliged to feed on their horses; next, on their dogs; and, lastly, on each other. To increase their consternation, a

¹ In the Scandinavian superstition every rune was consecrated to some deity. Nearly all the magic of the north consisted in runes. They could raise or allay tempests, they could change times, and they could bring the most distant objects together. They could produce good or bad seasons, they could raise the dead; in short, they were omnipotent over all nature, & the invisible no less than the visible world.

nocturnal voice assured them of great evils. The following night, even, another unknown voice threatened the Swedes with destruction. Both armies, therefore, were alarmed; each had a supernatural enemy, while each was perhaps unconscious that it had, also, a supernatural friend. That same night the two armies engaged; when, behold! two aged men, of a form larger than the human, were seen by the light of the stars in the battle,—one for the Swedes, the other for the Danes. The latter were subdued, and their king was glad to flee to his own country.

But misfortune pursued him. One day, as he was cooling his limbs in the waters of the sea, he perceived a fish different from any that he had ever seen; as it was near the shore, he killed it, and it was taken to his camp. But what was his consternation when a sea-nymph appeared, and denounced direct vengeance on his head! He had killed one of the gods under the form of a fish. Henceforth the elements should be hostile to him; if he ventured on the deep, his vessel should be wrecked by the fury of the tempest; on land, the house which received him should, by a tempest, also be levelled with the ground; his flocks should perish in the fields; every place which he visited should be cursed for his sake: and this dreadful doom was to remain in force until he had propitiated the divine wrath by frequent sacrifices. The mandate was not to be despised; during the course of a year altars perpetually smoked with oxen immolated to Fro, the awful deity of the winds.

The life of Hadding was full of portents and marvels. Scarcely had he rescued the princess Regnilda of Norway from the obligation of marrying a giant, by killing the monster and making her his bride, when a most wonderful adventure befell him. One winter evening, as he was supping with his bride, a woman like a culler of simples was seen to raise her head from the ground close by the hearth; she inquired whether the king did not wish to know where such herbs grew at that season of the year. He replied that he should very much wish to know. Hearing this, she enveloped him in his own mantle, and sank with him into the ground. What they saw in this subterranean journey bears some resemblance to the descriptions which have been given us of the Scandinavian world of spirits. They first entered a dark path, worn out by the feet of many travellers, and here they perceived some great ones of the earth—some in purple and gold—whose doom appeared to consist in their indefinite windings. Passing them, they entered a region of some fertility, whence the woman had derived her simples. Further still, they reached a river of precipitate course and black waters, which rolled along the weapons of many heroes, and over which a bridge conducted them to a different region. One of the first objects that met their eyes was two armies engaged in deadly strife. "Who are these?" demanded Hadding. "These," replied the sorceress, "are they who fell in battle; and it is their delight in this world continually to imitate their martial deeds in the other." At length they reached a high wall, totally impassable. The woman, indeed, made no attempt to scale it; but, twisting off the head of a cock which she had brought with her, she threw it over; when, behold! the cock began to crow as if nothing had been done to it! Unable to proceed further, the adventurous travellers returned to the palace.

The rest of this monarch's life must be hastily despatched. He triumphed over Uffo, who fell in battle, and bestowed the vacant throne of Sweden on Hunding, brother of the deceased monarch. His last days were embittered by the unnatural conduct of his daughter Ulwilda, who, with her husband, planned his destruction. Though he escaped all the snares of his enemies,

at length he laid violent hands upon himself, leaving the throne of Denmark, and the superiority over that of Sweden, to his eldest son, Frode I.

Frode I was also a great warrior, and he carried his depredations from Russia to the British islands, on which, unfortunately for the natives, he made a longer stay than kings, whose sole object was plunder, were accustomed to make. If there were any truth in the Danish account of this period, Scotland and South Britain were in frequent intercourse with the northern kingdom — sometimes for war and sometimes for peace. But these accounts are all to be distrusted. Events which happen at a much later period have been removed to the one before us; and the basis has been so much overlaid by fable that no ingenuity can separate the true from the false. When Frode commenced his reign, he found the treasury empty. How replenish it? By an expedient frequently to be found in Scandinavian legends. On a solitary island, a dragon, formidable alike for size and venom, brooded over immense riches. The youthful monarch hastened to the spot, entered the cave, fought and killed the serpent, and brought away the golden hoard. Whether there be any meaning in this and similar fables has been much disputed: probably, however, it had a foundation, and the dragon may have been some terrible pirate whom Frode destroyed, and whose subterraneous riches he seized. This unexpected supply, we are told, enabled him to pursue his expeditions on various coasts of Europe. But we have no inclination to follow him. We may, however, allude to the way in which he gained possession of London; because the same expedient is often to be found in northern writers. Despairing of the reduction of a place so well defended, he caused a report to be spread that he had suddenly died in his tent. Permission was asked to bury him in one of the temples of the city, and was granted. On the day appointed, the pretended corpse was borne through the gates; a great number of Danes attended to do honour to their monarch; but, under the garb of mourning, they hid their weapons of war; and, on a signal being given, they threw off the mockery of woe, assailed the Britons, and took the city by surprise.

Of the immediate successors of this monarch little is known. Haldan, his son, was a great warrior, who put his own brother to death, and was hated by the people. Roe, the son of Haldan, was a quiet prince, mean in stature, but with a mind whose care it was to make his subjects happy. Helge,¹ his brother and successor, with whom, during his own life, he had shared the throne, was also a prince of great qualities; but his vices were still greater. "Whether his lust or his tyranny were more intolerable," says the historian, "is very doubtful." His amours are too disgusting to be recorded. At length, seeing the execration in which he was held, he bade adieu to his country; and it proved a final adieu. According to report, he fell on his own sword. In the reigns of these princes, we have no mention of the Norwegian sovereigns; but those of Sweden — let us not forget that it is a Dane who writes — are represented as still dependent on Denmark. Rolf (or Rollo) succeeded his father, and was much beloved by his subjects.² He fell through the treachery of a brother-in-law, who was excited to the deed by the sister of Rolf. Daughters conspiring against fathers, sisters against brothers, wives against husbands are among the common events of Scandi-

¹ Both Roe and Helge reigned some centuries after the time fixed by Saxo — as recently as the fifth century of the Christian era.

² Whether there was any other Rolf than the celebrated Rolf Krake, who is thought to have reigned in the sixth century after Christ, is doubtful. The best northern writers admit of no other.

navian history. As this prince died without issue, the Danish states elected for their monarch Hoder, a descendant of the famous Hadding, who had been educated by Gewar, a king of Norway. As it is in the reign of this latter monarch that Odin is again introduced on the stage of northern history — his first appearance being referred by Saxo to the time of Hadding — we can no longer refuse to notice what antiquity records with respect to him. In this, as in other parts of this introduction, the reader may admit or reject what he pleases.

According to Saxo, this personage was a mortal, king of the Hellespont, who laid claim to the honours of divinity, and was actually worshipped by most of Europe. His profound knowledge of magic procured him the character. His ordinary residence was Byzantium; but he held Upsala, which he frequently visited, in much esteem. Anxious to testify their respect for this new deity, the kings of the north cast a golden statue in his honour, adorned it with bracelets and other costly ornaments, and sent it to Byzantium. It was received by Odin with great joy, and placed in the temple of the gods. But Frigg, the wife of Odin, whom Saxo judges to be quite worthy of such a husband, stripped the statue of its ornaments to adorn herself. The incensed deity hung the mechanics who acted by her orders; and, for greater security, placed the image on a high pedestal, and by his wonderful art rendered it vocal to human touch. But when was female vanity cured? To secure the aid of a domestic of the temple, Frigg did not hesitate to grant him the last favour; and by his aid, the gold, being again abstracted, again adorned her person.

This two-fold injury was too much for a god to withstand; and Odin left the country for a season, until the public discourse, like a nine days' wonder, had evaporated itself into empty air. During his absence, several persons — probably priests of his own temple — arrogated to themselves the attributes of divinity. These, on his return, he forced not only to lay down their borrowed honours but to flee from the country. Among them one is mentioned whose case affords a curious illustration of popular superstition. Mitothin was a great magician, and had long enjoyed the favour of the gods. But they were incensed with his impiety, while he no longer paid them the slightest homage. On the return of Odin he fled to Funen, and was killed by the inhabitants. In his tomb, however, he was amply revenged: he introduced into the whole region various kinds of plague; he destroyed multitudes of the inhabitants, until they, one day, opened his sepulchre, exhumed his body, cut off his head, and drove a stake through the corpse: then the mysterious visitation was at an end. He is, probably, the first vampire on record.

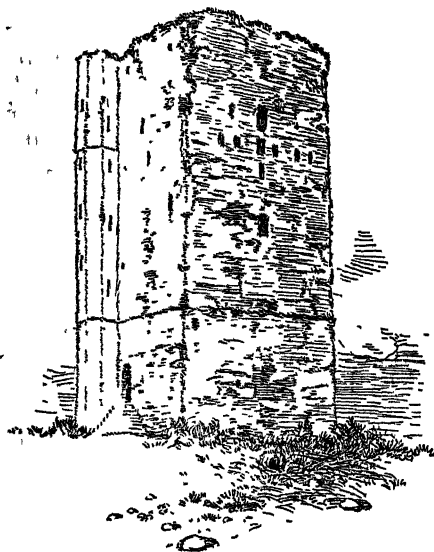
The account of Snorre Sturleson,^f who followed Norwegian, not Danish authorities, differs in many respects from the preceding.^g It may best be given in his own words:

SNORRE STURLESON'S ACCOUNT OF ODIN

The country east of the Tanaquisl in Asia was called Asaland, or Asaheim, and the chief city in that land was called Asgard.¹ In that city was a chief called Odin, and it was a great place for sacrifice. It was the custom there

¹ Asgard is supposed by those who look for historical fact in mythological tales to be the present Assor; others that it is Chasgar in the Caucasian ridge, called by Strabo Aspurgum — the Asburg or castle of Aas; which word Aas still remains in the northern languages, signifying a ridge of high land.²

that twelve temple godars¹ should both direct the sacrifices and also judge the people. They were called Diars, or Drotners, and all the people served and obeyed them. Odin was a great and very far-travelled warrior, who conquered many kingdoms, and so successful was he that in every battle the victory was on his side. It was the belief of his people that victory belonged to him in every battle. It was his custom when he sent his men into battle, or on any expedition, that he first laid his hand upon their heads, and called down a blessing upon them; and then they believed their undertaking would



HELSINGBORG'S KARNA

be successful. His people also were accustomed, whenever they fell into danger by land or sea, to call upon his name; and they thought that always they got comfort and aid by it, for where he was they thought help was near. Often he went away so long that he passed many seasons on his journeys.

Odin had two brothers, the one called Ve, the other Vitir, and they governed the kingdom when he was absent. It happened once, when Odin had gone to a great distance, and had been so long away that the people of Asa doubted if he would ever return home, that his two brothers took it upon themselves to divide his estate; but both of them took his wife Frigg to themselves. Odin soon after returned home, and took his wife back.

Odin went out with a great army against the Vanaland people; but they

were well prepared, and defended their land, so that victory was changeable, and they ravaged the lands of each other, and did great damage. They tired of this at last, and on both sides appointed a meeting for establishing peace, made a truce, and exchanged hostages. The Vanaland people sent their best men, Njord the Rich, and his son Frey. The people of Asaland sent a man called Hæner, whom they thought well suited to be a chief,² as he was a stout and very handsome man, and with him they sent a man of great understanding called Mimir; and on the other side the Vanaland people sent the wisest man in their community, who was called Quaser. Now, when Hæner came to Vanaheim he was immediately made a chief, and Mimir came to him with good counsel on all occasions. But when Hæner stood in the Things or other meetings, if Mimir was not near him, and any difficult matter was laid before him, he always answered in one way, "Now let others give their advice"; so that the Vanaland people got a suspicion that the Asaland people had deceived them in the exchange of men. They took Mimir, therefore, and beheaded him, and sent his head to the Vanaland people.

Odin took the head, smeared it with herbs so that it should not rot, and sang incantations over it. Thereby he gave it the power that it spoke to him, and discovered to him many secrets. Odin placed Njord and Frey as

¹ Hof godars, whose office of priests and judges continued hereditary in Scandinavia. *a*

² These exchanges appear not to have been of hostages, but of chiefs to be incorporated with the people to whom they were sent, and thus to preserve peace *a*

priests of the sacrifices, and they became deities of the Asaland people; Njord's daughter Freya was priestess of the sacrifices, and first taught the Asaland people the magic art, as it was in use and fashion among the Vanaland people. While Njord was with the Vanaland people he had taken his own sister in marriage, for that was allowed by their law; and their children were Freyn and Freya. But among the Asaland people it was forbidden to come together in so near relationship.

There goes a great mountain barrier from northeast to southwest, which divides the Greater Sweden from other kingdoms. South of this mountain ridge it is not far to Turkland, where Odin had great possessions. But Odin having foreknowledge and magic-sight, knew that his posterity would come to settle and dwell in the northern half of the world. In these times the Roman chiefs went wide around in the world, subduing to themselves all people; and on this account many chiefs fled from their domains. Odin set his brothers Ve and Vitir over Asgard; and he himself, with all the gods and a great many other people, wandered out, first westward to Gardarige [Russia], and then south to Saxland [Germany]. He had many sons; and after having subdued an extensive kingdom in Saxland he set his sons to defend the country. He himself went northwards to the sea, and took up his abode in an island which is called Odinsö in Funen. Then he sent Gefion across the sound to the north, to discover new countries; and she came to king Gylfe, who gave her a ploughgate of land. Then she went to Jotunheim, and bore four sons to a giant, and transformed them into a yoke of oxen, and yoked them to a plough, and broke out the land into the ocean right opposite to Odinsö, which land was called Zealand, where she afterwards settled and dwelt. Skiold, a son of Odin, married her, and they dwelt at Leidre.¹ Where the ploughed land was is a lake or sea called Laage. In the Swedish land the fiords of Laage correspond to the nesses in Zealand. Brage the Old sings thus of it:²

Gefion from Gylfe drove away,
To add new land to Denmark's sway, —
Blythe Gefion ploughing in the smoke
That steamed up from her oxen-yoke:
Four heads, eight forehead stars had they
Bright gleaming, as she ploughed away;
Dragging new lands from the deep main
To join them to the sweet isle's plain.

Now when Odin heard that things were in a prosperous condition in the land to the east beside Gylfe, he went thither, and Gylfe made a peace with him, for Gylfe thought he had no strength to oppose the people of Asaland. Odin and Gylfe had many tricks and enchantments against each other; but the Asaland people had always the superiority. Odin took up his residence at the Mälar Lake, at the place now called Sigtuna. There he erected a large temple, where there were sacrifices according to the customs of the Asaland people. He appropriated to himself the whole of that district of country, and called it Sigtuna. To the temple gods he gave also domains. Njord dwelt in Noatun, Frey in Upsala, Heimdall in Himinbjörg, Thor in Thrudvong, Baldur in Breidablik; to all of them he gave good domains.

When Odin of Asaland came to the north, and the gods with him, he began

¹ Leidre, or Hleidre, or Leire, at the end of Isafjord, in the county of Lithrabor, is considered the oldest royal seat in Denmark. ²

² This fable is possibly the echo of some tradition of a convulsion in which the ocean broke into the Baltic through the Sound and Belts, or in which the island of Zealand was raised from the deep. ⁴

to exercise and teach others the arts which the people long afterwards have practised. Odin was the cleverest of all, and from him all the others learned their magic arts; and he knew them first, and knew many more than other people. But now, to tell why he is held in such high respect, we must mention various causes that contributed to it. When sitting among his friends his countenance was so beautiful and friendly that the spirits of all were exhilarated by it; but when he was in war he appeared fierce and dreadful. This arose from his being able to change his colour and form in any way he liked. Another cause was that he conversed so cleverly and smoothly that all who heard were persuaded. He spoke everything in rhyme, such as now composed, and which we call scald-craft. He and his temple gods were called song-smiths, for from them came that art of song into the northern countries. Odin could make his enemies in battle blind, or deaf, or terror-struck, and their weapons so blunt that they could no more cut than a willow twig; on the other hand, his men rushed forwards without armour, were as mad as dogs or wolves, bit their shields, and were strong as bears or wild bulls, and killed people at a blow, and neither fire nor iron told upon them. These were called bersærkers.¹

Odin could transform his shape: his body would lie as if dead, or asleep; but then he would be in shape of a fish, or worm, or bird, or beast, and be off in a twinkling to distant lands upon his own or other people's business. With words alone he could quench fire, still the ocean in tempest, and turn the wind to any quarter he pleased. Odin had a ship which was called *Skidbladner*, in which he sailed over wide seas, and which he could roll up like a cloth.² Odin carried with him Mimir's head, which told him all the news of other countries. Sometimes even he called the dead out of the earth, or set himself beside the burial-mounds; whence he was called the ghost-sovereign, and lord of the mounds. He had two ravens, to whom he had taught the speech of man; and they flew far and wide through the land, and brought him the news. In all such things he was pre-eminently wise. He taught all these arts in runes, and songs which are called incantations, and therefore the Asaland people are called incantation-smiths.

Odin understood also the art in which the greatest power is lodged, and which he himself practised; namely, what is called magic. By means of this he could know beforehand the predestined fate³ of men, or their not yet completed lot; and also bring on the death, ill luck, or bad health of people, and take the strength or wit from one person and give it to another. But after such witchcraft followed such weakness and anxiety that it was not thought respectable for men to practise it; and therefore the priestesses were brought up in this art. Odin knew finely where all missing cattle were concealed under the earth, and understood the songs by which the earth, the hills, the stones, and mounds were opened to him; and he bound those who dwell in them by the power of his word, and went in and took what he pleased. From these arts he became very celebrated. His enemies dreaded him; his friends put their trust in him, and relied on his power and on himself. He taught the most of his arts to his priests of the sacrifices, and they came nearest

¹ Bersærker — so called from *ber*, bare, and *serker*, shirt, that is, bare of any shirt of mail, as they fought without armour. The bersærkers appear to have gone into battle intoxicated with opium, or some exciting drug; as the reaction after their bersærker gang was over, and their lassitude and exhaustion, prove the use of some stimulant previously to a great excess.

² This possibly refers to boats covered with skin or leather—the coracle of the Welsh and Irish.

³ Orlog — the original law, the primæval law fixed from the beginning. It is curious that this idea of a predestination existed in the religion of Odin.

to himself in all wisdom and witch-knowledge. Many others, however, occupied themselves much with it; and from that time witchcraft spread far and wide, and continued long. People sacrificed to Odin, and the twelve chiefs from Asaland — called them their gods, and believed in them long after. From Odin's name came the name Audun, which people gave to his sons; and from Thor's name comes Thorer, also Thorarinn; and also it is sometimes augmented by other additions, as Steenthor, or Hafthor, and many kinds of alterations.

Odin established the same law in his land that had been in force in Asaland. Thus he established by law that all dead men should be burned, and their property laid with them upon the pile, and the ashes be cast into the sea or buried in the earth. Thus, said he, everyone will come to Valhalla with the riches he had with him upon the pile; and he would also enjoy whatever he himself had buried in the earth. For men of consequence a mound should be raised to their memory, and for all other warriors who had been distinguished for manhood a standing stone; which custom remained long after Odin's time. Towards winter there should be blood-sacrifice for a good year, and in the middle of winter for a good crop; and the third sacrifice should be in summer, for victory in battle. Over all Sweden the people paid Odin a *scatt* or tax — so much on each head; but he had to defend the country from enemy or disturbance, and pay the expense of the sacrifice feasts towards winter for a good year.

Njord took a wife called Skadi; but she would not live with him, but married afterwards Odin, and had many sons by him, of whom one was called Sæming; and of this Eyvind Skaldaspiller sings thus:

To Asa's son Queen Skadi bore
Sæming, who dyed his shield in gore,—
The grant-queen of rock and snow,
Who loves to dwell on earth below,
The iron pine-tree's daughter, she
Sprung from the rocks that rib the sea,
To Odin bore full many a son,
Heroes of many a battle won.

To Sæming Earl Hakon the Great reckoned up his pedigree. This Sweden they called Mannheim, but the Great Sweden they called Godheim; and of Godheim great wonders and novelties were related.

Odin died in his bed in Sweden; and when he was near his death he made himself be marked with the point of a spear, and said he was going to Godheim, and would give a welcome there to all his friends, and all brave warriors should be dedicated to him; and the Swedes believed that he was gone to the ancient Asgard, and would live there eternally. Then began the belief in Odin, and the calling upon him. The Swedes believed that he often showed himself to them before any great battle. To some he gave victory; others he invited to himself; and they reckoned both of these to be well off in their fate. Odin was burned, and at his pile there was great splendour. It was their faith that the higher the smoke arose in the air, the higher he would be raised whose pile it was; and the richer he would be, the more the property that was consumed with him.

HISTORY PARTIALLY RECONCILED TO TRADITION

The qualities of this extraordinary man are the favourite theme of the Swedish and Norwegian chroniclers. Whether Odin ever existed — whether himself and his alleged Asiatics are not mere creatures of the imagination —

THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIA

whether they are not purely mythologic, and referrible to an Asiatic source, at a period lost in the depths of antiquity, have long exercised the ingenuity of writers. In matters of pure history it is certainly better to err on the side of scepticism than of credulity; but in the present instance we cannot discover sufficient grounds for the former opinion. That he existed, and at no distant period antecedent to the invasion of England by the Saxons, is affirmed, alike by written testimony and tradition. According to that venerable and most inestimable relic of antiquity, the *Saxon Chronicle*,¹ all the princes of the nation derived their origin from the deified hero; and the number of generations between him and the reigning king are minutely recorded. Thus, from Odin to Cerdic, 495 A.D., are ten generations; from Odin to Ida, 547 A.D., the same number; from Odin to Ælla, 560 A.D., twelve; from Odin to Ceolwulf, 597 A.D., thirteen; from Odin to Penda, 626 A.D., twelve; from Odin to Offa, 755 A.D., sixteen; from Odin to Æthelwulf, 854 A.D., twenty-three generations. In all these lists the intervening chain, from the wizard king to his Saxon descendant, are carefully specified.

¹ In the same manner the series of northern kings, from the sons of Odin, who were placed by him over the thrones of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, is progressively detailed. Thus, in Denmark, the generations from Skiold, the son of Odin, to Ragnar Lodbrok, 794 A.D., are twenty-five. In Sweden, from Njord (the adopted son, perhaps, of Odin) to Olaf, 630 A.D., are twenty-three generations. In Norway, the succession of kings from the same Njord, to Harold Harfagr, the first "monarch" of that country, 934 A.D., are twenty-eight. We think that these genealogical series, so carefully, so minutely particularised, afford a presumption, at least, that the pontiff king of the north both lived and reigned at a period not very far distant from the birth of Christ. Not that the subject is without its difficulties. The events ascribed to Odin's times have, by many writers, been deemed inapplicable to any century within the known history of the world. Hence, some have removed him to the age immediately following the flood; some, to the seventh century after that event; some, to the age of Darius Hystaspes; others, to that of Philip, king of Macedon; others, to less than two centuries before Christ; while another party contends that he was more recent still, and that Ariovistus, whom Cæsar conquered, was one of his sons. Where so much contradiction, so much absurdity abound, our only guide, in the absence of positive evidence, is reason; and this confirms the generally received opinion that this personage is of far less antiquity than was formerly supposed. Not that many of his rites, many of his notions, many, perhaps, of his alleged actions, are not more ancient. There is, indeed, some reason to infer that they were known in Asiatic Scythia, a thousand years before his time. But this fate is not peculiar to Odin; it has been that of all celebrated men. Whoever has entered profoundly into the history of tradition must be aware that legends which were formerly applicable to the most ancient characters were applied to comparatively modern ones, when the latter had been dead long enough to permit the imagination to invest them with new attributes. Thus many which have been related of Charlemagne's heroes — of Charlemagne himself — of the crusaders, especially of Cœur de Lion's age, were once the glory of pagans, and were derived from a northern or an oriental source, before Normans, Franks, or Angles were known.

So much for direct and positive evidence, which is strongly confirmed by inference. The Goths, like all the Scythians, were accustomed to deify their deceased heroes. This is expressly affirmed by several writers, especially by Adam of Bremen;^m and heroes are mentioned, who, we find, were deified.

Thus, Arminius, or Hermann, the courageous supporter of Germanic independence against the Romans, was worshipped as a god; and his famous idol, which was called, after his name, Irminsul, drew multitudes of pagans to the Isle of Rugen: it was, indeed, regarded as the palladium of Germanic liberty. The facility with which kings and heroes were deified is still more strikingly illustrated in the life of St. Anskar, the apostle of the Scandinavians. Alarmed at the success which attended the preaching of that admirable missionary (this was about the middle of the ninth century), the priests of the Odinian worship had recourse to a bold imposture. By their contrivance a man suddenly appeared in the Swedish capital, who affirmed that he had just attended a general meeting of the gods, and that he was bearer of a communication from them to King Olaf and his people. The substance of it was that the ancient deities had always been most indulgent to the Swedes; that, hitherto, they had found no reason to complain of an ungrateful return from their worshippers; that now, however, there was a sad decline in the sacrifices and other proofs of devotion; and that their wrath was especially excited by the introduction of a new deity, of one peculiarly hostile to the gods of the kingdom. "If," added they, "you Swedes really wish to increase the number of gods, we will readily admit your departed king, Eric, to the honours of deification."

That the proposal was accepted, that a temple was immediately erected to Eric, that his altars perpetually smoked with sacrifices — are among the most indubitable facts of history. Hence, there is nothing unreasonable in the deification of Odin; indeed, he could not have avoided the honour. One so celebrated as he was — a great warrior, a great legislator, the founder of a new empire and of a new religion — assuredly could not fail to be invested with the same honours as an Arminius or an Eric. Indeed, as it was the obvious policy of the Asiatic followers of Odin to represent the authority of their pontiff king and his successors as founded on divine, not on human sanction, as that authority was avowedly theocratic — he must, of necessity, have been regarded as a god, if not in his lifetime, immediately after his decease. The temporal no less than the spiritual government of Odin, and the social superiority of his immediate followers over the inhabitants he found in Sweden, drew our attention in former pages. Our opinions on this subject are strongly confirmed by Münterⁿ as follows:

Odin founded the empire of the Svear, which was originally confined to a small territory around the Malar Lake, in the present Swedish province of Upland, called the lesser Svíthjóð, in contrast to the greater Svíthjóð, or Scythia, whence they migrated, and Mannaheim, or the Home of Man, in contrast to the celestial abode of Asgard. By degrees the Svear, as the leading tribe governed by the pontiff kings, the immediate descendants of Odin, and having the custody of the great temple at Sigtun, the principal seat of the new superstition, acquired an ascendancy over the Goths, who possessed the more southern tract of country called Gautland, Gotland, or Góto-rike. This precedence of the Svear over the Goths is established by the express terms of the ancient fundamental law of their joint empire, according to which the "king was elected by the national assembly of all the Swedes (*á Tíng allra Svía*), at the Mora-Stone, in the plain near Upsala, and the assembly of all the Goths (*Tíng allra Gota*) shall re-elect or confirm him." This distinction between the two tribes is constantly preserved in the traditions and annals of the Middle Ages, and the division between the Svea and Gota-rike is strongly marked by a chain of mountains running between Södermanland and Östergötland,

One of the ancient documents which throws the most light upon the history of the heroic age in the north is the Eddaic poem, called *Rígs-mál*. The prince of that name is said to have been the son of Skíold, and, according to the chronology of Suhm, reigned in Skåne about the end of the second century of the Christian era. This poem contains a minute classification of the different orders of society, personified as the children of King Ríg, who is supposed to have divided them into distinct castes, assigning to each its respective rank in the social scale. As a literary composition, it resembles the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, and all other genuine traditionary poems or romances of uncivilised nations, in its unpretending and Homeric simplicity of style and incidents. In this respect it has been justly called one of the most curious and interesting "manners-painting strains" that have been preserved and handed down to posterity. The effects of the original Gothic migration and conquest in Scandinavia are here distinctly marked in the features of the slave caste, descended from the aboriginal Finns, and distinguished from their conquerors by black hair and complexion, as well as the squalid poverty and misery in which they were compelled to live. The caste of freemen and freeholders — lords of the soil which they cultivated, and descended from the Gothic conquerors, with their reddish hair, fair complexion, and all the traits which peculiarly mark that famous race — is in like manner personified in a vivid description of a single family. Then comes the caste of the illustrious Jarls and the Herser, earls and barons, who are distinguished from the others by their still fairer hair and skin, by their noble employments and manners, from whom descend the kingly race, skilled in runic science, in manly exercises, and the military art.

We have, here, the early history of the Scandinavians traced in a few lines; but these are strongly marked, and confirmed by all the traditions of the ancient north, respecting the different races of men by which the country was successively occupied. The first Gothic emigrants subdued the Celto-Finnish tribes, who were the primitive inhabitants of the country, and reduced them to servitude, or drove them, first to the mountains, and then to the desert wilds and fastnesses of Norrland, Lapland, and Finland. Here the Jotuners or Jötnar, as they were called by their Gothic invaders, continued to adhere to the grovelling superstition of their fathers, which was that form of polytheism which has been called fetichism, or the adoration of beasts and birds, of stocks and stones, all the animate and inanimate works of creation. The antipathy between these two races, so continually alluded to in the songs and sagas of the mythic and heroic age, is significantly expressed in the legend of Njörd, who dwelt by the sea-side, and Skadi, a mountain-nymph of the rival race of the Jotuner, whom he had espoused. She very naturally prefers her native abode on the Alpine heights, whilst he insists on dwelling where he can hear the roar of the ocean billows. At last, they compromise this matrimonial dissension by agreeing to pass nine nights alternately among the mountains, and three on the sea-shore. But Njörd soon tires of this compact, and vents his dissatisfaction in a lay to this effect: "How do I hate the mountain wilds! I have only passed nine nights there; but how long and tedious did they seem! There one hears nothing but the howling of wolves, instead of the sweet notes of the swan." To which Skadi extemporises this response: "How can I rest on the sandy sea-shore, where my slumbers are every morning broken by the hideous screaming of the seagulls?" The result is that she deserts her husband and returns to the mountains, where her father dwells: there, snatching up her bow, and fastening on her snow-skates, she bounds over the hills in pursuit of the wild beasts.

The Svear, who migrated with the historic Odin, achieved no forcible conquest over their national brethren of the Gothic tribe, by whom they had been preceded. The ascendancy of Odin and his followers over their predecessors was acquired and maintained by superstition, and their supposed superiority in magic and the other arts which win the confidence or influence the fears of a barbarous nation. The older worship of the primitive inhabitants, and of their conquerors, was modified by this new prophet, who, taking advantage of the pre-existing belief in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and the incarnation of divine spirits, so widely diffused among the ancient people of the earth, pretended to be the former Odin, who had again descended among his faithful Goths.¹ His worship thus soon supplanted that of the more ancient Odin, and the attributes and actions of both were gradually confounded together in the apprehension of the Scandinavians. But it did not supplant that of Thor, whom the primitive people of the north regarded as the elder and most beneficent of the deities. In him they worshipped the goodly elements of nature — the light, the heat, and especially the thunder, shaking and purifying the atmosphere. This deity was principally revered in Norway; and, after its discovery and settlement, in Iceland: but he maintained his recognised equality with the other superior gods even in the great temple of Upsala, the principal seat of the northern superstition. His votaries formed a distinct sect, who were often engaged in deadly strife with the peculiar worshippers of Odin.

The next deity in the Scandinavian hierarchy was Frey, who represented the prolific powers of Nature, and, with his sister Freya, the Venus of this mythology, was principally revered in Sweden, Norway, and Iceland; whilst Odin and his son, Baldur, were adored both at Upsala and Leidre as the peculiar national deities of the Gothic Danes and Svear. The religion of the north, as it was at last modified by this new dispensation, in the conjoint adoration of Thor, Odin, and Frey, bore a strong family likeness to the three principles of Shamanism, or the faith professed by the votaries of the Dalai Lama in central Asia. This correspondence points most significantly to its origin; and the filiation of religious creeds and forms of worship thus combines with that of language to trace the present people of the north to the remotest regions of the East.²

The temporal government established by Odin was perpetuated through his sons. Thus Heimdall was placed over Skåne, the original seat of the Danes. Sæming had Norway. From another son sprung the Ynglingar, who reigned for many centuries in Sweden and Norway. Skiold, a fourth son, led a colony into Zealand, which became the seat of a different kingdom; hence the Skioldungs, or the regal family of Denmark. And as to Baldur, he was the king of the Angles, if any faith is to be placed in the *Saxon Chronicle*.¹ Thus, according to tradition, as embodied in the Icelandic and Norwegian sagas, and in other monuments of antiquity, Odin was the progenitor of all the great dynasties of the north. But in regard to some parts of Norway we must not forget the family of Nor — the mythologic, or rather mythic Nor, whose fame was so widely spread, and from whom the whole country derived its name. Doubtless the native chiefs, those who descended from ancestors long antecedent to Odin's arrival, were proud enough of their descent, and too much attached to their ancient religion — more ancient than Odin's — to care for either the Asiatic conqueror or his attendant Drotner. But the kings of the Æsir, or

¹ To this opinion, says Dunham, ² we do not subscribe. We have no proof of the existence of two Odins

divine race, whose chief deity was this very Odin, boasted of a spiritual pre-eminence, superior, by far, to their temporal.

THE LEGEND OF BALDUR

But, reverting to the narrative of Saxo, and the alleged succession of the Danish kings, Hodur, whom (as we have before observed) Gewar, a king in Norway, had educated, won the heart of Nanna, the daughter of his benefactor. She had, however, the misfortune to influence a divine lover, Baldur, the son of Odin, who, like David, had seen her in the bath. As he knew of her attachment to Hodur, he resolved to remove that person by violence; but the latter had friends powerful as those of his enemy. One day, while hunting in the mountains, Hodur entered a cloud, and suddenly beheld a number of virgins, who, though bearing some resemblance to the maids of Norway, were in reality the fatal sisters. They accosted him by name, told him that his beloved Nanna had smitten the heart of Baldur, but warned him not to attempt the life of the demi-god. They informed him that they were present, unseen, in all battles — that they were the arbiters of good and evil — and that they often assisted their mortal friends when assistance was most required. Saying this, they disappeared so quickly that his eye could not follow them.

On his return, he related to Gewar what he had seen, and besought the hand of Nanna. The old king had no objection to the match; but he dreaded the wrath of Baldur, on whose charmed body mortal weapon could have no effect. He added, however — for he was a great magician — that there was a sword kept by Mimring, a satyr of the woods, with virtue enough to slay the demi-god. The same being had bracelets, of efficacy so wonderful as greatly to increase the bodily strength of the possessor. But how obtain these miraculous gifts? The abode of the satyr was amidst rocks and snows, and almost inaccessible to man. Hodur was, however, to take his sledge and reindeer; to reach the alpine solitudes; to pitch his tent, so that the shadow of the satyr's grove might fall upon it; and to watch day and night, with untiring patience, for the appearance of the mysterious occupant. The prince did as he was commanded; he fasted and watched, until one night, feigning to be asleep, he perceived the satyr attentively observing his tent. In a moment, he struck the monster, bound it with fetters, and threatened to kill it if it did not surrender the sword and bracelets. His life was dearer than those treasures. Hodur gained his object, and returned in triumph to the court of Gewar. The value of the treasure, indeed, was too great not to raise up rivals for its possession; and one king (Gelder, who has left his name to a well-known Dutch province), sailed with a powerful armament against him; but if it excited envy, it also aided its owner, and Hodur was victorious.

In the mean time, Baldur, terrible in arms, entered the dominions to obtain the fair Nanna by force, should entreaties be ineffectual. But she was deaf to the most honied flattery. Without betraying her attachment for Hodur, which would only place him in greater jeopardy, she represented in strong colours the inequality of the proposed marriage. "The chain which bound a god to a mortal," she observed, "could not be a lasting chain. When the fervour of passion had subsided, the superior being, despising his ill-assorted choice, would at once dissolve it." Baldur had recourse to arms; and he was joined by the army of the gods, at the head of which were Odin and Thor. Here were fearful odds; but Hodur was not discouraged. His magic brace-

lets rendered him impenetrable to steel; and though the hammer of Thor crushed everything on which it fell, he had the courage to meet the Scandinavian thunderer. With his wonderful sword he cut off the handle of the all-destructive weapon, so as to render it useless; and the gods, deprived of their great support, took refuge in flight.

The victory was complete; the allies of the gods were destroyed; their bodies cast by the waves on the shores; and the victor performed the last rites to their manes. "Strange," concludes Saxo, "that gods could be thus routed by mortals!" But he accounts for the circumstance by gravely observing that they were deities in human estimation only, and not in reality. He evidently regards them merely as magicians and priests; wise, indeed, far beyond human wisdom, but still mortal. His religion, his profession, compelled him thus to regard them; and often, when he employs the term god, he adds the saving clause which we have just noticed. As the reward of his victory, Hódur obtained the hand of Nanna, with the throne of one part of Sweden; but he was shortly afterwards vanquished by Baldur, and he lost the crown of Denmark. He and Baldur were dreadful rivals. Through his love for Nanna, the latter wasted gradually away. To procure a greater share of the divine favour, he offered human sacrifices to Fro, and the fatal precedent was but too well imitated by succeeding ages. In the next battle, he was again the victor, and his rival was compelled to seek an asylum in an obscure village of Jutland. Here, unattended and discouraged, Hódur felt the more deeply the contrast of situations. From Jutland, he passed into Sweden, privately assembled his staunch adherents, and represented to them the hopelessness of his prospects — that he was alike weary of empire and life. Compelled, indeed, to consult his safety by wandering from forest to forest, from one cavern to another, he exhibited a remarkable example of the instability of fortune, in a region where such vicissitudes were more frequent than in any other part of the world.

In this emergency, while sojourning amidst woods never trod by man, he one day entered a cave, in which he found the weird sisters. Being asked what had brought him to their solitudes, he replied, "Misfortune in war." He bewailed his hard fate, and asserted that their predictions had not been verified, but had been contradicted by the event. They contended, however, that if he had been twice put to flight, he had inflicted as great an injury on the enemy as the enemy had inflicted on him. But Baldur was on the throne of Denmark; what consolation, therefore, could he receive? He was, indeed, told that if he could only discover and appropriate to himself a certain species of food, which was every day served to his rival, and which increased that rival's strength in a prodigious manner, he should become the victor. How discover it? But, whatever his fate, it could not be more disastrous than the present; and he again sought Baldur in arms.

The first day's fight was indecisive. At night, he lay in his tent; but sleep refusing to visit him, he arose and went towards the enemy's camp. There he saw three virgins (the purveyors of Baldur's table) leave that prince's tent. He accosted them; and being asked who he was, replied, "A harper" — a character always sacred in the north. As he was really expert in the use of the instrument, he was really believed, and he was allowed to see what the mysterious substance was which had such miraculous effect on the body of his rival: it was the venom of three snakes which the virgins daily or nightly extracted from the mouths of the reptiles, and which they mixed with the more solid food of Baldur. One of the maidens wished to give some of the food to Hódur, but the eldest forbade her. All, however, were so pleased

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with his minstrelsy that they presented him with a belt, which would ensure him the victory over all his enemies. The prophecy was soon fulfilled. Possessed of this belt, in addition to his other magical treasures, he met his enemy and gave him a mortal wound. Like a true northern hero, Baldur, being resolved to die on the field of battle, was carried in a litter into the heart of Hödur's army; but he soon breathed his last sigh. Over his body a huge mound was erected by his troops. That treasures of inestimable value were buried with him was the unanimous opinion of posterity. In the time of Saxo some youths one night hastened to the spot, and endeavoured to open it; but their ears being assailed by terrific noises, they desisted, and fled. All this, says the historian, was unreal; it was merely the illusion of magic.

Respecting the death and interment of Baldur, we have in the latter Edda many details wholly omitted by Saxo, and more which are entirely dissimilar from his. One night, this Balaur had a dream, which was thought to be portentous of his fate. With the consent of the gods his mother, Freya or Frigg, called on fire, water, earth, stones, iron, and other metals, trees, animals, birds, reptiles, poison, and all diseases, to renounce all power over him; and they took an oath to that effect. To try the efficacy of the engagement, some of the gods threw darts and stones at him, while some assailed him with other weapons: in vain; no one could injure him. Seeing this, Loki, the genius of evil, assumed the disguise of an old woman, went to the palace of Frigg, and informed her what the gods were doing. "Let them try as long as they please," was the reply; "all living things have promised to respect my son." "What!" rejoined Loki, whose purpose is evident enough, "have all substances, without exception, thus promised?" "All," was the reply, except one insignificant plant, called mistletoe, which grows on the western side of Valhalla, and from which, such is its feebleness, I exacted no oath."

This was enough for Loki: he went to the place where the mistletoe grew, plucked it up by the roots, and returned to the assembly of the gods, who were still occupied in the same diversion. According to this account, Hödur was present; but he was not a deity, he was merely a blind old man. "Why dost thou not join in the exercise?" demanded Loki. "Because I am blind." "Take this trifling reed, and throw it; I will guide thine hand; meet it is for us all to honour Baldur!" The missile flew, and the hero fell to rise no more. The gods were in sad consternation at this event; the more so as the evil was irreparable. All that the afflicted father could now do was to pay due honours to his remains. His body was borne to the sea coast; it was placed in the famous ship of the deceased, which was one of the largest in the world; but neither Odin nor all the gods assembled could move the vessel into the waters. In this emergency, they had recourse to a famous sorceress of the giant race, and she obeyed the call. She arrived on the back of a wild beast, having serpents for reins. So dreadful was this animal, that it required four giants to hold it after she had dismounted. At one push, Gyges sent the ship into the sea; and so great was its velocity that the earth trembled. The funeral pile was then erected by command of Odin, and the body of Baldur's wife, whom grief brought to the grave, laid on it, close by his.

Who was she? The Edda expressly calls her Nanna, but assigns her another father than Gewar. There can, however, be no doubt that the beautiful confusion so prevalent in everything connected with Scandinavian characters and events, is doubly apparent in this case — that the wife of Hödur and Baldur is one and the same Nanna, however the tradition in regard to her may have been distorted. Yet, there is no greater confusion respecting this lady than there is respecting Hödur himself in the different

relations of Saxo and Snorre, the compiler of the prose Edda. In the one case, as we have seen, he was a vigorous young prince; in the other, a blind, feeble, and apparently old one. This diversity of narrative arises from the diversity of sources consulted by the two historians — the one confining himself to the national songs of Denmark, the other consulting the old Norwegian, or rather Icelandic traditions, which the Skalds had transmitted to posterity. During the Middle Ages, especially anterior to the fourteenth century, there was a vast body of legendary lore respecting Odin, his family, and his sacerdotal companions — lore from which different Skalds took what they judged most interesting to their hearers. But, reverting to the funeral of Baldur, Thor furnished the consecrated fire: the horse of the deceased hero was placed on the pyre; and Odin added his golden ring, which had the miraculous virtue of producing eight other rings every ninth night. Thus, in the presence of all the gods, satyrs, nymphs, and cyclops, was the conflagration effected.

According to the same venerable authority, namely, the Edda of Snorre, an attempt was made to recover the soul of Baldur from the empire of Hel, or death. Who would undertake the perilous mission? It was Hermod, another son of Odin, that, at the entreaty of his mother, saddled Sleipnir, the famous black steed, mounted him, and plunged into the subterraneous paths which led to the abodes of the dead. This Sleipnir has a reputation never before enjoyed by a quadruped. During the frequent contests between the gods and the giants — that is, between the Goths and the Jotuns — the former were not always victorious; nor were they always sure of impunity within their fortress, well guarded as it was. One day an architect appeared before them and proposed to build them such a city that all the power of Jötunheim should fail against it. For this service, however, he must have his reward; and a splendid one it was — the goddess Freya to wife, with the sun and moon as her dowry. They agreed to his terms, provided he did what no doubt they believed impossible, *viz.* execute the work himself, within the space of a single winter; and they were liberal enough to allow him the use of his horse. In a short time the gods had reason to be alarmed; for the horse not only drew stones of vast magnitude, but did more of the architectural work than the master.

Within three days of the completion of winter nothing remained but the hanging of the gates. In great consternation the gods assembled to consult by what means the ruin impending might be averted. As the covenant between them and the architect had been advised by Loki, they menaced him with death unless he discovered some expedient to save them. Loki, who has sometimes been called the Scandinavian devil, was fond of mischief, but he was fonder still of his life: and that very night he caused a mare to issue from a forest and neigh amorously. Sleipnir, hearing the sound, left the work to pursue the mare, while the architect followed to recover his horse. Thus the whole night was lost. The architect now perceived that he must trust to himself. He assumed his natural size, and there he stood, a veritable giant — the everlasting enemy of the gods! They did not allow him to finish the work; but, regardless of their oaths, which in their opinion were not binding when made to a giant, they called on Thor to dash out his brains with the awful mallet. In the meantime the mysterious horse remained with the mare, and the issue of the connection was Sleipnir with eight feet — the most excellent of all the animals ever possessed by gods or men.

Such was the animal on which Hermod descended to the regions of Hel. The description of his journey is highly poetical. During nine days and as

many nights, he travelled down the precipitous way — often abrupt — along the sides of yawning gulfs — through rugged valleys; and everything was involved in so great a darkness that he was obliged to grope, or trust to the instinct of his wondrous beast. At length he reached a river, the bridge of which was kept by a virgin called Modguder. She inquired his name, his race, his family; and expressed her surprise at his weight. "But yesterday," she observed, "and three legions of dead rode over this bridge; yet all together did not shake it as much as thou alone. But thou hast not the look of one dead. What brings thee here?" He replied, "I am in search of my brother Baldur; hast thou seen him pass?" "I have: he rode over the bridge: the path to Hecate's dark abode is still downwards, towards the north!"

On he rode until he came to the gates of hell, which were closed to all but the dead. But he was not discouraged; plunging his spurs into his wondrous horse, he cleared the gate, and proceeded into a hall of vast extent. Here he perceived his brother, who filled the most honourable place. But far less honourable was it than the meanest in Valhalla, which Baldur could not enter because it had not been his good fortune to die in battle. It is, however, some consolation for us, poor mortals, to perceive that hospitality is not forgotten in the gloomy regions below. Hermod remained the whole night; and the next morning he acquainted Hel with the anxiety of the gods, of men, of all nature, for the return of Baldur, and besought her to permit it. She seemed to doubt whether the mourning for the hero was so universal as he had represented; but, to place the matter beyond dispute, she replied that if all objects, inanimate no less than animate, would weep for him, the request of the gods should be granted. Hermod accordingly rose to depart. By Nanna he was intrusted with several presents for Frigg, his mother: from Baldur he was the bearer of a ring (no doubt the one which had been placed in the funeral pile!) to their father Odin. He was then escorted to the outer gate as if he had been a favoured guest just leaving the palace of an earthly sovereign. On reaching Asgard, where Odin then was, he acquainted the gods with the message of Hel. By their advice agents were sent through all creation, praying everything to weep for Baldur. By everything was the mandate obeyed, except by one old sorceress, who refused to weep, and said that Hel must keep her prey.

But in the elder or poetical Edda — that erroneously attributed to Sæmund the Wise, which in compilation is antecedent a full century to Snorre's — the journey to the shades is attributed to Odin himself. When it was undertaken, Baldur was yet alive, but dreams and portents afflicted him; and, after consulting the fates, Odin mounted his steed, Sleipnir, and descended in darkness towards the abode of Hel, where a celebrated prophetess had been long interred. He met the terrible dog which the Greeks preserved in their mythology, and which, with bloody jaws, barked loudly as he passed along. Downwards he went, the earth trembling beneath his steed, until he reached the lofty hall of Hel. From the eastern gate he proceeded to the spot where he knew the tomb of the prophetess was to be found. Turning himself towards the north, he then commenced the fatal incantation, and placed in order the mystic rhymes. Many were the words of might which he uttered, until he forced the unwilling prophetess to raise her head, and to speak in the language of men.

"What unknown mortal is he who has thus disturbed my repose? Bleached by the snow, beaten by the winds, drenched by the rains, have I long remained — long here I have been in the arms of death." "Vegtam is my name, the

son of Valtam.¹ Tell me the secrets of hell, and I will tell thee what passes on earth. For whom are these costly benches, for whom these golden couches prepared?" "This tempered mead, this liquid nectar awaits the arrival of Baldur. Sorrowful are the sons of heaven. Unwillingly have I spoken; now my lips shall be closed." "Listen, prophetess, for I must know the whole. Whose hand shall deprive Odin's son of life?" "That of Hödur: he the bruiser shall be of Odin's son, the spoiler of Baldur's life! Unwillingly have I spoken; now my lips shall be closed."

"Listen, prophetess, for I must know the whole. Who shall revenge on Hodur the death of the hero — who shall bear the smiter of Baldur to the funeral pyre?" "Rinda, a virgin of the west, shall bear a son by Odin; he, when only one night old, shall slay the murderer. His hands he shall not wash, nor his head shall he comb, until he bears to the funeral pyre the enemy of Baldur. Unwillingly have I spoken; now my lips shall be closed." "Listen, prophetess, for I must know the whole. Who are these damsels that weep at pleasure and raise their covered heads on high?"² Say this only, and thou mayest sleep." "Ah! no wandering spoiler art thou, as I have hitherto believed: well do I know thee for Odin, the preserver of nations!" "And thou art not Vala; no prophetess art thou; but the mother of the three infernal furies!" "Odin, ride back to thine house, and there command! Never again will I be consulted by the living until Loki shall break loose from his fetters, and the dreaded twilight of the gods arrive!" Such is the dark poetical legend which the genius of the poet Gray has immortalised. It is among the most imaginative efforts of the Scandinavian muse.

THE RULE AND WORSHIP OF ODIN

According to Saxo,³ it was not the mystic Vala, but Rostiof, king of the Finns, who foretold that Odin's son, by Rinda, should avenge the death of Baldur. That Odin, who was esteemed chief of the gods, should be less prescient than a Finnish king, may appear strange; but this term god frequently means no more than Goth, and the chief of the gods means only the head of the pontifical college established, first in Asia, and next in Sweden. And we must remember that the Finns were expressly declared to be unrivalled in magic, at least in that dark magic which sought the injury of mankind. Yet Odin was equally malignant. He could not rest until he had discovered the maiden whose offspring was thus predestined to accomplish his purpose. This Rinda was a princess, and, consequently, demanded more attention than one of humbler birth. The disguises which he successively assumed at her father's court; his frequent repulses by her; his numerous stratagems, and his ultimate triumph under the character of a physician are gravely related by the venerable historian of Denmark. His conduct on these occasions was so unworthy of a god that his colleagues at Byzantium (or we should rather suppose Asgard) removed him for a time from their society, deprived him of his supernatural powers, degraded him to the level of mortals, and sentenced

¹ The names are mythologic, or rather abstract. Vegtam, the Spoiler; Valtam, Slaughter.

² *Hveriar ro mægyjar
Ær at muni grata
Ok a hugin Verpa
Halsa Skautum?*

The passage is a dark one. It probably alludes to the custom of the northern women, who uncovered their heads to mourn. These damsels did not uncover, they could weep at pleasure, that is, they were not afflicted. Were they the fatal sisters, who cannot be expected to feel sympathy for mortals? And was Vala their mother?

THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIA

him to exile — a doom which he, therefore, suffered a second time, though on the former occasion it had been self-imposed.

All this, in plain English, means that he was expelled from the college of priests. This natural explanation is confirmed by the statement that, in ten years, the gods, pitying his sufferings, or perhaps bribed by flattery and costly gifts, restored him to all his former privileges. Lest the public worship should sustain any injury, his place had been supplied by one Oller, a priest so expert in magic that he could cross the seas on a bone; but this usurper was slain by the Swedes, just as Mitothin had been slain. In the mean time Bo, the issue of Odin's connection with Rinda, grew up, and was entrusted by the father with the sacred task of revenge. Accordingly he advanced against the Danish king. Hödur foresaw his doom; and, in an assembly of chiefs, he prevailed on them to elect his son, Runi, for his successor. In the battle which followed destiny was fulfilled: he fell by the hand of Bo; but the victor also received a mortal wound and died the following day.

All that we have further to say respecting Odin, in this place, may be despatched in a few words. Perceiving his end approach, he marked his body with a sword, probably to denote the advantage of dying by that weapon; and declared that he was going to Godheim or paradise, where he should joyfully receive his people. The Swedes were persuaded that he was returned to Asgard to enjoy eternal life; and in this belief his worship was renewed and enlarged. In time of war, and before great battles, he often appeared to them, promising victory to some, inviting others to his hall — in both respects the harbinger of good. After death he was placed on the funeral pyre, and burned with exceeding pomp. His followers believed the higher the smoke ascended the higher would be his place among the gods; and that the more abundant the riches consumed with him the richer he would be in the other world.

From the concurrent testimony of Snorre, Saxo Grammaticus, and the two Eddas, little doubt can be entertained in regard to the true character of Odin. He was evidently a conqueror, a king, a priest, a lawgiver, and an adept in the superstitious practices of his age. Endued with commanding talents and an unmeasured ambition, he was enabled to take advantage of circumstances in a degree seldom attained by mortals. Perceiving the success which attended his views, and the veneration in which his wisdom was held, he did not hesitate to ascribe both to the peculiar favour of the gods, from whom, like most of the Scythian princes, he boasted of his descent. As he was of divine race, why should he not participate in the privileges of divinity? Short, indeed, is the transition from veneration to actual worship; and there can be little doubt that, even in his lifetime, this artful pontiff king had altars smoking in his honour. But it is worthy of remark that he was often regarded as a mortal, not merely in his own age but in subsequent ages; that the words giants and gods are to be understood of the original possessors of the soil, the invading Goths, the dominant caste which arrogated to itself the sacerdotal and regal functions, and thus preserved its empire over the barbarous, enslaved population.

It was some time after his death before his worship was general in the north; and never would it have been general had he not been esteemed the god of war, the deity above all others dear to the ferocious Northmen. Even as it is, he did not hold the highest rank in the worship of all the Scandinavian nations. The Norwegians held him inferior to Thor. Still he is by far the most remarkable person that ever took advantage of human credulity. Over a considerable portion of Europe his worship was extended; and it was

not a transitory worship: for it prevailed, in Germany, far into the ninth century; in Denmark and Sweden, a century later; and in some parts of Norway it was not extinct in the twelfth. Of the religion which, however, he founded, or which he incorporated with the superstition already subsisting on his arrival in the north, we shall speak in a future chapter.

THE HAMLET OF HISTORY: DIFFICULTIES OF CHRONOLOGY

On the death of Hodur, the sceptre of Denmark, or rather of a portion of Denmark, passed into the hands of his son Rørik. The name of this prince is interesting from the fact that the alleged events on which the tragedy of *Hamlet* is founded happened in his reign. According to Saxo, Hamlet [or Amleth] was not the son of a Danish king. His father was Horvendill, governor of Jutland, a famous pirate and vassal of Rørik; but the authority was not undivided: it was shared by Fengo, brother of Horvendill. Fengo did nothing to merit the favour of Rørik; but Horvendill was so valiant and able that he was honoured with the hand of Gerutha, or Gertrude, daughter of the Danish king. From this marriage sprung Amleth, whose history is so famous in the traditions of Denmark. Fengo could not, without envy, behold the good fortune of his brother: envy led to hatred, and hatred to fratricide. After this deed he married the widowed Gerutha, and succeeded to the whole government of Jutland.

Amleth was no inattentive observer of these events. As a pagan, his first duty was to revenge his father's death: a duty to the force of which his uncle was fully alive, and watchful to frustrate it. Spies being set on all his actions, he feigned madness; he painted his face, put on a strange garb, and uttered the most ridiculous things. Frequently was he to be seen on the hearth, seated among the ashes and making wooden hooks, which he hardened by the heat. His madness, however, had method in it; and some of his replies, ridiculous as they seemed, made the experienced doubt whether he should be classed among the wisest or the most foolish of mankind. "For what purpose are these hooks?" was one day demanded of him. "For the revenge of my father!" was the answer. As nobody could see how they could effect that purpose, he was ridiculed by all but the discerning, who supposed that beneath this ostentatious display of insanity a profound object was concealed. Among these was Jarl Fengo, who, wishing to prove whether the suspicions were well or ill-founded, had recourse to an expedient. The disposition of the prince was exceedingly amatory; and it was thought that, if a young handsome female were sent to him, he would betray himself. The meeting was to be effected in a wood, and spies were to be placed near him.

On the day appointed, he was commanded to ride into a forest. As usual, he mounted with his face to the tail, which he held in lieu of a bridle. There he found the woman; and would have immediately betrayed himself, had not his foster-brother obscurely hinted that he should beware. The way in which this intimation was communicated, like many other parts of Saxo's narrative, is too gross for translation. Enough to know that Amleth was made to understand the danger of his situation. Among his virtues, chastity was not to be reckoned; and though the instances of its violation cannot be recorded in these times, we may observe that, even on the occasion before us, he indulged his propensity, and was cunning enough to conceal it. Fengo, therefore, was disappointed; but by the advice of a friend he had recourse to another expedient. Under the pretext of a long absence on affairs of moment, he left the palace, and provided that Amleth should be brought into the

mother's presence, while a spy, unknown to both, should be near them, to hear every word that he should utter. If he had any reason left, it was not doubted he would be communicative with one whom he loved, and who he knew would never betray him. At the time appointed, the courtier hastened to the apartment, where mother and son were to meet, and hid himself under a heap of straw that accidentally lay there — a curious illustration of domestic economy in that age. Immediately afterwards, Amleth and Gerutha arrived; but the former was too much aware of the dangers which involved him to indulge in rational conversation with his mother, until he had examined the locality. Imitating the crowing of a cock — an imitation in which he was singularly successful — and waving his arms as if they were wings, he leaped on the straw, and was immediately sensible that something lay beneath. With his sword he despatched the intruder. After this act, while his mother was bewailing his supposed insanity, he fiercely upbraided her for her incestuous marriage with the murderer of her first husband. This double crime he did not assail exactly in the manner represented in the drama, but in one more conformable with the barbarism of the age, that is, in one of exceeding coarseness.

His remonstrances are said to have kindled the sparks of virtue in her heart; but the sequel ill corresponded with this moral intention, or with the refined character which the dramatist has given him. The man whom he had killed he cut in pieces, boiled the members, and threw them into the sewer to be eaten by the swine. When Fengo returned, great was his surprise to find that his courtier had disappeared — that not the slightest trace of him could be discovered. One day Amleth, who was regarded as no more than a motley fool, and to whom questions were put for amusement only, being asked what had become of his uncle's friend, replied, "He fell into the common sewer, and being unable to extricate himself, was found, and eaten by the swine!" His reply furnished some amusement to the hearers, who regarded it as a good motley invention. They did not know that on all occasions, whether grave or trivial, Amleth spoke the truth.

But if the multitude were thus deluded, Fengo was not. For his own safety he felt that the youth must be removed; but to effect this some management was required. He would not exasperate his wife, still less the sovereign of Denmark, by openly executing the prince. The deed must be secret, and done by other than native hands — namely, by those of the English king, who, we are gravely assured, was a tributary of Denmark. Before Amleth's departure, he privately desired his mother, in one year from that time, to celebrate his funeral obsequies; assuring her, however, that he would in one year return. Two creatures of Fengo were his companions. One night, while they were buried in sleep, he examined their baggage, and found, carved on wood, the mandate to the English king. With his usual cunning, he erased a portion of the characters; and so altered the rest, that the foreign king was to put his two companions to death, but to show every possible kindness towards himself, and even to give him the hand of an English princess. On their arrival in England, they presented their wooden mandate, which they were unable to read; and were invited, with much parade of hospitality, to the royal table. But while the two messengers were thus deluded, Amleth was received with much respect. The more curious reader may consult the venerable authority before us for an account of what passed at the English court — an account as minute as it is romantic.

To be brief: the two messengers were executed; and Amleth, whose wisdom was so much admired, obtained the hand of the monarch's daughter.

He pretended, however, to be much affected by the death of his companions; and, to pacify him, the king gave him a considerable quantity of gold, which he melted and inclosed in the hollow of two walking sticks. At the expiration of the year, he obtained leave to revisit his native country; but, of all his riches, he took only the staves which contained the gold. On reaching Jutland, he assumed his own motley garb, and reached the house of his uncle at the very time his funeral rites were performed. At first, his sudden appearance terrified the domestics and guests; but terror yielded to mirth when they saw him resume his motley character. "Where are your two companions?" demanded they. "Here they are!" was his reply, as he produced his two sticks. Soon he joined the cup-bearers; and as his long flowing garments interfered with his activity, he girt his sword round him, but it had no scabbard; and to impress all the guests with a stronger notion of his insanity, he frequently grasped the blade until the blood flowed from his fingers. Little did they suspect his object in thus descending to the meanest occupation: it was to make all of them drunk, and then to exact his revenge. So well did he succeed in the first intention, that most of them, being unable to stagger from the apartment, were compelled to remain all night in the hall of entertainment.

At length, all being buried in sleep, he cut off the cords which supported a huge curtain that occupied the whole room: as it fell on the drunken sleepers, by his wooden hooks he fastened it in many places to the ground; and drawing the cords over the curtain, so bound them by knots and hooks as to bid defiance to the efforts of drunken men. Startled by the weight no less than by the sudden difficulty of breathing, they strove to raise the curtain, but in vain; it was too well secured to be moved. In this state they were soon enveloped in flames, which consumed them and the palace. Fengo retired to his bedroom, and fell asleep: he was awakened by Amleth, who, after upbraiding him for his various crimes, put him to death. He then flew to a safe retreat to watch the progress of events. Great was the surprise of the Jutes at this disaster; but, as Fengo was a tyrant, the majority were not displeased. Amleth, therefore, reappeared; surrounded himself with those whom he knew to be attached to the interests of his family; sought the public assembly; and, by his eloquence, so wrought on the people, that they unanimously declared him the successor of Fengo.

In the remaining adventures of Amleth — all equally wonderful with the preceding — we cannot enter. Whoever may wish to read his subsequent visit to Britain; his marriage with a second wife, the queen of Scotland; his quarrel with the British king, the father of his first wife; his domestic life with both in his hereditary government of Jutland; his war with Vikletus, king of Denmark, the successor of his grandfather, Rorik; his death in battle; and the facility with which the idol of his heart, his second wife, passed into the arms of the victor, must consult the venerable Saxo.

We have no wish to pursue farther the list of Danish kings, who, according to Saxo, reigned prior to the birth of Christ. Some of them, probably, never reigned at all. Others, certainly, reigned after that event. Others, again, ruled at the same time, over different provinces of the kingdom. The reigns of many whom Saxo places before the Christian era are identical with those which the best Danish writers regard as posterior; and the actions attributed to both are substantially the same. All writers admit that Denmark had no monarch before Skiold, the son of Odin; indeed, it had none for some generations afterwards: for there is room to believe that even his authority was more of a sacerdotal than of a temporal character. In virtue of this

character he might, and probably did, claim a twofold sovereignty over the peninsula and islands; but that sovereignty was never virtually exercised — it was one merely nominal.

Several of the islands had their separate governors, whom Saxo calls kings; and Jutland, as we have seen in the sketch of Amleth's life, had them also. The men whom personal qualities elevated above the rest became chiefs; and when one chief had others subject to him, he assumed the regal title. There were kings of various kinds. We read of petty kings (*sma-konungur*, or *fylke-konungur*); of sea kings, island kings, and cape kings. The name of the last may require an explanation. They were neither more nor less than the pirate chiefs, who lived in caverns or in huts near the promontories, ready, at any moment, to sally forth and seize the unsuspecting mariner. Thus there were kings enough scattered over the seas, the forests, the mountains, the maritime coasts of the north. Probably all those in the Danish islands might yield a nominal homage, at least, to the one that reigned in Skåne in Zealand. But no dependence whatever can be placed on the list of Danish kings prior to what we now call the historic times — that is, to about the eighth century of our era.

But later writers have made sad work with this list. They contend that some of the names are altogether fabulous; that Skiold reigned only forty years before Christ; Frode I, thirty-five years after Christ; Wermund, one hundred and fifty; Roe and Helge, in the fifth century of our era. The truth, however, is that, while no dependence is to be placed on the genealogical series of the former, very little is due to the latter. The whole, prior to the eighth century, is one mass of confusion. If the names of many princes are to be found, not merely in the earliest writers of the north, but on runic inscriptions, no power of criticism can fix the period in which they reigned. All is pure conjecture; and one system is preferable to another only so far as it is more reconcilable to common sense. Yet, while we thus reject some of the ancient sovereigns whom Saxo and the elder chroniclers have handed down to us, we are not so sceptical as to reject the majority. If, prior to Odin's arrival, the north had no monarchs, it had kings or, if the reader pleases, chiefs, whose office was sometimes hereditary, sometimes elective. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to say that, while they succeeded by hereditary right to the domains of their predecessors, as generals and judges, they were elected by the free-born warriors. Of these some were, beyond all doubt, elevated into monarchs by tradition; from tradition they passed into the songs of the skalds; and from these songs their memory was perpetuated by the old chroniclers.^h





CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF THE VIKINGS

[To 1050 A.D.]

THE ANCIENT KINGS OF SWEDEN

AFTER briefly relating the legend of Odin, the *Ynglinga Saga*^b proceeds to deduce the history of the dynasty of that name in Sweden, during the first seven centuries of the Christian era. Of the sovereigns descended from Magog who are alleged to have reigned before that epoch, no record worthy of credit has been preserved, nor of the events that took place prior to the death of Gylfe, when the crown was transferred to the sacred line of the Ynglings. We shall therefore entirely discard those lists of primeval monarchs, who could only be local chiefs, or petty rulers, alternately the conquerors and the vassals of each other, and adopt the theory of commencing from the arrival of Odin, as accredited by the most judicious and enlightened of the old Northern annalists—our only guides through a long period of darkness and fable.¹ The following table represents the names and number of the kings, in the order of their succession, who reigned at Upsala until the beginning of the tenth century:

¹ Our authorities, besides the *Ynglinga Saga*, for the order and chronology of these ancient kings, are Torfæus, Suhm, Geijer, and the *Langfedgatal* in the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi*, etc., a Jacobo Langebek, 8 tom. *Hafniæ*, 1772, et seq. In this valuable collection of Scandinavian antiquities, above twenty different catalogues of ancient kings are given, whose genealogies are traced back "*fra Noa till varra konunga*," a *Noacho ad reges nostros*.

TRADITIONAL LIST OF THE ANCIENT KINGS OF SWEDEN—THE YNGLINGS

Odin arrived in the North	B. C.	70	Brant-Onund	died A. D.	565
Njörd	died "	20	Ingiald Illrada		628
Frey-Yngve	A. D.	10	Olaf Trætela	exiled about	630
Fiolner		14			
Svegdur		34	<i>Accession of the Skioldungs</i>		
Vanland or Valland		48	Ivar Vidfadme	died A. D.	647
Visbur		98	Harold Hildetand		735
Domald		130	Sigurd Ring		750
Domar		162	Ragnar Lodbrok		794
Dyggve		190	Björn Ironside		804
Dag-Spaka, the Wise		220	Eric Bjornson		808
Agne		260	Eric Ræfillson		820
Alrek and Eric		280	Emund and Björn		859
Yngve and Alf		300	Eric Emundson		873
Hugleik		302	Björn Erickson		923
Forunder and Eric		312	Eric the Victorious		998
Aun hinn Gamle (the Old)		448	Eric Arsæll		1001
Egill Tunnaðolgi		456	Olaf the Lap-King		1026
Ottar Vendilkraka		460	Anund Kolbrenner		1051
Adils		505	Edmund Slemme		1056
Eystein		531	Stenkil	raised to the throne	1056
Yngvar		545			

The annals of these pontiff-kings possess little historical interest. From the reverence in which the immediate descendants of Odin were held, as vested with the sacerdotal character, and from the superstitious belief that ascribed to them those blessings of peace and abundance which made their reign the golden age of the North, the first princes of this sacred line were raised to divine honours; and their names hold a distinguished place in the Scandinavian Pantheon. Frey removed his capital from Sigtuna to Upsala, where he is said to have built a palace and a magnificent temple, which he surrounded with a chain of gold, and endowed with considerable wealth in lands and other revenues. He adopted the surname of Yngve, and hence the sacred race of Ynglings derived their historical appellation. Dyggve is alleged to have been the first that assumed the regal title, his predecessors being merely called *drottar* or lord, and their queens *drottingar*.

At the death of Agne, the kingdom, which had hitherto remained entire, was shared between his two sons, Alrek and Eric—an unwise policy, which had the effect of dividing the prerogatives as well as the dominions of the crown among a multitude of provincial chiefs, who assumed an independent authority. From this circumstance, and from the occasional conquests of the neighbouring kings in Denmark and Norway, whose usurpations often extended beyond their own territory, has arisen much of the confusion that perplexes the order and chronology of the several dynasties which fill up this era of Scandinavian history;¹ one royal chronicle differing from another, and sometimes representing the same monarch as ruling in each of the three countries. The Swedes, however, still adhered to the sacred race, and expelled every foreign intruder. Adils was involved in a protracted quarrel with the Norwegians, which was at length terminated in his favour by a pitched battle on Lake Venern, the two armies being drawn up on its frozen

¹ According to the *Ynglinga Saga*,^b Hugleik was driven from his throne by Hakon, a Norwegian pirate. Aun was twice expelled; once by Halfdan I of Denmark, who reigned at Upsala twenty-five years, and again by Ali hinn Frækni, or Ole the Active, son of Fridhef III. Egill derived his surname from slaying a rebel, called Tunni, who had defeated him in eight battles. Ottar fell in a naval action with Frode IV, in the Lufjord, after ravaging the district of Vendila, or Vendsyssel. Eystein was burned in his own palace by Solvi, a king of Jutland, who usurped the crown for several years.

surface. The hereditary occupant of the throne at Upsala continued to enjoy a pre-eminence in dignity and power until the fatal reign of Ingiald Illrada, when the hallowed sceptre was transferred from the line of the Ynglings to that of the Skioldungs, in the earlier part of the seventh century.

That prince, when young, is said to have been of a gentle disposition, but being vanquished in some juvenile contest, such as the sons of the nobility were then accustomed to display at their annual festivals, the Saga relates that in order to alter his temper he was fed with wolves' hearts. Judging from his future actions, this regimen appears to have had the desired effect. His reign, from its commencement to its close, was a series of cruel and lawless atrocities. It was the ancient custom at the royal inauguration, which always took place at the funeral of the deceased prince, for the next heir to seat himself on the lowest step of the vacant throne, in the midst of the grandees, until presented with a huge ox-horn filled with wine; after taking the usual oaths, he drank off the liquor, mounted the chair of state, and was proclaimed amidst the shouts of the people. This initiatory rite Ingiald accompanied with the additional ceremony of swearing, before draining the mystic cup, that he would either double the extent of his kingdom, or perish in the attempt. The fulfilment of his vow led to those acts of treachery and murder which procured him the name of Illrada (the deceitful), and ultimately occasioned his own destruction.

Fire and sword were employed to exterminate the chiefs and nobles, many of whom were consumed in the flames of the palace where they had been hospitably entertained by their perfidious sovereign. Twelve petty princes in Sweden fell victims to the rapacity of the tyrant, who seized their possessions and added them to the dominions of the crown. But a just retribution awaited the perpetration of his crimes. His daughter Asa had been given in marriage to Gudrod, the Gothic king of Skåne; at her instigation he assassinated his brother, Halfdan III of Denmark, and was afterwards himself cut off in a plot, by the artifices of his own wife. Having sacrificed her husband, she fled to the court of Upsala, where she became an accomplice in the death of her father. Ivar Vidfadme, son of Halfdan, had invaded Sweden with a powerful host, to avenge the murder of his kindred. His ravages filled the guilty Ingiald with terror and despair. As the victorious foe approached, he was entertaining his courtiers at a grand banquet; when, finding it impossible to resist or make his escape, he resolved, with the aid and advice of his daughter, to terminate his life by setting fire to the hall. Olaf, his son, unable to repel the invaders, was driven into exile; passing to the westward of the Venern Lake, he settled, with the few companions that still adhered to his standard, in the province of Vermland; there he hewed down the immense forests (hence his name of Trætelia, the tree-cutter), and laid the basis of a new kingdom, where, in a short time, the star of the Ynglings rose again with more than its ancient splendour, in the person of Harold Harfagr (or Fairhair), founder of the Norwegian monarchy.

The habits and actions of this venerated race appear to have been often singularly inconsistent with their pretensions to a celestial descent. Some of them died of excessive intoxication; others from the intrigues of their wives or courtiers. Fjolner was drowned in a large vat of mead, into which he had stumbled while under the dominion of liquor; his three immediate successors perished by violent means; the fourth, Domald, was slain by the advice of his councillors, under the superstitious idea that a severe famine which afflicted the country could only be removed by sprinkling the altars of the offended deities at Upsala with the blood of their king. War was the

[847-1056 A.D.]

principal occupation of their reign, and numerous bloody battles were fought in repressing the incessant piracies of the neighbouring nations. Yet several of them were distinguished for their encouragement of civilisation and social improvement. Onund received the name of Braut (the road-maker), from his exertions in draining marshes, extending cultivation, and opening up channels of intercourse to every province in the kingdom.

The name of Ivar Vidfadme has been omitted by some historians in the list of Swedish kings; while others more worthy of credit not only assign him that honour, but rank him among the most distinguished warriors of antiquity. The Saga, in adverting to his military exploits, says that "he conquered all Sweden (allt Sviaveldi), and united it with all Denmark (allt Danaveldi); and a great part of Saxland, the whole of Estland (Esthonia), and a fifth part of England.¹ From him, henceforth, descend the supreme kings of the Danes and the Swedes." The throne and extensive dominions of Ivar were inherited by his grandson, Harold Hildetand; from him they descended to Sigurd Ring and Ragnar Lodbrok—all of whom swayed the Danish sceptre in the eighth century.

The latter prince bestowed the Swedish crown, as a distinct possession, on one of his sons, Björn Jarnsida (Ironsides), in whose grandson's reign (Björn II) it is generally admitted that the light of the Gospel first dawned in the North; although it did not become the established religion until the accession of Olaf the Lap-King (Skotkonung), who was baptized with his whole family in the year 1001, and exerted himself with great enthusiasm to propagate the true faith. His father Eric is said to have carried his zeal for Christianity so far as to cause the magnificent heathen temple at Upsala, with its idols and images, to be destroyed, and the ancient sacrifices to be interdicted, under the severest corporal inflictions; but this imprudent mandate cost him his life, as he was murdered in a tumult of the people, enraged at the demolition of their pagan worship.

The conversions under Olaf would have been more expeditious, had not his zeal been restrained by the diet, who decided for full liberty of conscience; hence the strange mixture both in doctrine and rites, which long prevailed, and the incoherent association of the sacred characters in Scripture with the gods and goddesses of the Scandinavian mythology. This prince was more successful as a warrior than a reformer. He made a temporary conquest of Norway, and having annexed Gothland inalienably to his own dominions, he assumed the title of king of Sweden; his predecessors being merely styled sovereigns of Upsala. His son, Anund Jacob, contributed so much to the progress of divine truth among his subjects as to obtain the designation of "most christian majesty."² A severe law, which procured him the name of Kolbrenner (the coal-burner), enacted that, if any man injured his neighbor, his effects, to the same value, should be consumed with fire.

His successor became involved in a dispute with the Danes, about adjusting the frontiers of the two kingdoms, and fell at the head of an army which he had levied for recovering the ceded province of Skåne. Indignant at the surrender of that valuable district, the Swedes raised Stenkil to the throne,

¹ The part of England subdued by Ivar Vidfadme is more explicitly marked in the *Hervarar Saga* as Northumbria, which is said to have descended to Ivar's grandson, Harold Hildetand. The Anglo-Saxon annals make no mention of these earlier conquests of the Scandinavians; but as they are generally silent respecting the transactions in the north of England at this period, no inference is to be drawn against the credibility of the Icelandic accounts from this circumstance.

² Olaf was baptised by Sigefroy, an English monk, whom King Æthelred had sent to Sweden.

[40 B.C.—270 A.D.]

who founded a new dynasty, to the exclusion of the race of Lodbrok. The Goths, who likewise claimed the right of election, chose Hakon the Red as their king; but the rival monarchs came to an amicable arrangement, by stipulating that the latter should enjoy the regal dignity for life, on condition that, at his demise, Gothland should revert inseparably to Sweden.

THE STATES OF DENMARK

The small states forming the kingdom of Denmark, which next claim our attention, continued three or four centuries under the sway of various petty princes, the chief of whom were the Skioldungs, that branch of the family of Odin which established the seat of their authority at Leidre, in Zealand. Skiold, the founder of this dynasty, reigned, according to Suhm's chronology, about forty years before the Christian era. The series of kings who derived from him their name and pedigree is given in the following order:

TRADITIONAL LIST OF THE ANCIENT KINGS OF DENMARK — THE SKIOLDUNGS

Odin arrived in the North	B.C.	70	Frode VI	died A.D.	510
Skiold	died	40	Rolf Krake		522
Fridhef I		23	Frode VII		548
Frode I	A.D.	35	Halfdan III		580
Fridhef II		47	Rórik Slyngebaud		588
Havar		59	Ivar Vidfadme		647
Frode II		87	Harold Hildetand		785
Vermund the Sage		140	Sigurd Ring		750
Olaf the Mild		190	Ragnar Lodbrok		794
Dan Mykillati		270	Sigurd Snogoje		808
Frode III the Pacific		310	Harde-Knud		850
Halfdan I		324	Eric I		854
Fridhef III		348	Eric II		888
Frode IV		407	Gorm the Old		941
Ingild		456	Harold Blaataud		991
Halfdan II		447	Sweyn Splithbeard		1014
Frode V		460	Canute the Great		1085
Helge and Roe		494	Harthacanut		1044

Tradition has ascribed to Skiold the usual qualities of the heroic ages—great bodily strength, and the most indomitable courage. Among his other military exploits, he is said to have conquered the Saxons, and subjected them to the payment of an annual tribute. Of his immediate successors the native chroniclers have preserved few details worthy of being recorded. Frode I enjoyed the reputation of unrivalled prowess as a warrior, having carried his victorious arms into Sweden, Germany, Hungary, England, and Ireland. So strict was the administration of justice in his own dominions, and so promptly were the laws against robbery and pillage enforced, that, if we may credit the northern legends, bags of gold might have been safely exposed on the highways. It is alleged, perhaps with more truth, that he compiled a civil and military code, which Saxo states to have been extant in his times.

The first that united the Danish provinces (except Jutland, which formed a separate monarchy) under one government was Dan Mykillati, the Magnanimous, king of Skåne, a descendant of Heimdall, and married to a daughter of Olaf, sovereign of Zealand, and sixth in descent from Skiold. He reduced the whole country, with the smaller islands, to subjection; and is alleged to have given his name to the new kingdom of which he was the founder, although at a subsequent period it was again dismembered, and broken down

into several independent principalities. The union of his sister with Dyggve of Sweden is reckoned the earliest matrimonial alliance that was formed between the two crowns. Wars and other events of no importance fill up the history of his successors for ten or twelve generations. Halfdan I subdued Sweden; he defeated Aun in many battles, and having driven him from the throne he fixed his residence in Upsala, where he died, after possessing the government twenty-five years.

The dominions of Halfdan II were inherited by his sons Roe and Helge, who agreed to divide the sovereignty between them; the former is said to have built the city of Roeskilde, but he exchanged his patrimony in the North for the Danish possessions in Northumberland, where he fixed his residence, and conquered several provinces from the Anglo-Saxons. His brother invaded the Swedish territory, defeated Adils, plundered the palace at Upsala, and carried off the queen, a Saxon princess named Yrsa. The lady, from being his prisoner, became his wife, and the mother of the celebrated hero Rolf Krake, one of the brightest ornaments of the throne. His stature was gigantic and his strength extraordinary; but we must leave the historians of the times to relate his numerous feats, and the princely virtues by which he won the universal esteem of his subjects. Having perished childless, by the treachery of a nobleman on whom he had bestowed his daughter in marriage, the crown became the prize of contending factions, until the kingdom was again united under one sceptre by Ivar Vidfadme, who, as already stated, transmitted it to his grandson, Harold Hildetand.¹

This latter monarch appears to have raised Denmark to an unprecedented height of power. Not content with chastising the neighbouring states, he made frequent incursions into Germany, took the Vandals under his protection, reduced several nations on the Rhine, invaded the coasts of France, and overran part of Britain, which, according to Saxo, had withdrawn its allegiance from the Danish kings since the death of Frode III. Whatever truth there may be in these achievements, the naval resources of Harold were certainly great. His fleets are described as covering the Sound, and, like those of Xerxes, bridging over the northern Hellespont from shore to shore; but his life and reign terminated at the fatal battle of Bravalla, fought on the coast of Skåne, against his nephew, Sigurd Ring, in consequence of his attempt to expel him from the throne.

At this famous engagement all the petty kings and maritime forces of the North, including most of the nations around the Baltic, were assembled. Chieftains and pirates rushed to this scene of carnage with their champions. The ships of Sigurd were reckoned at two thousand five hundred; the hosts of Sweden, Gothland, and Norway, headed by their most renowned warriors, composed his army. The party of his antagonist was joined by the Livonians, Saxons, Frisians, Vandals, and other German tribes. Besides common soldiers, whose numbers are not stated, it comprehended about thirty thousand nobility, three celebrated Amazons, and all the court poets. The leaders, amongst the bravest of whom were Ubbo, a famous viking, and Starkadder the Scandinavian Hercules, fought hand to hand in single combat. The heroic Harold, old, blind, and infirm, was seated in his battle-car; but after a long and sanguinary contest, he perished on the field, with fifteen other royal chieftains in his train. The body was discovered amidst heaps of slain, and burned by order of Sigurd on a magnificent funeral-pile, with

¹ Harold was the son of Rörik Slyngeband and Audur, daughter of Ivar Vidfadme. His surname of Hildetand or Golden Teeth is thus accounted for: *Hildetanni cognomen obtinuit ab Hilde, quæ, Dea belli perhibetur, seu septentrionis Bellona, et dentibus aureis.*

[750-808 A.D.]

his armour, chariot, and war-horse. The fortune of the day was decided by the Norwegian archers from Tellemark; and the skalds, who have sung this truly Homeric combat, not satisfied with the martial energies by which the victory was obtained, have introduced Odin himself as taking part against the Danes, and perfidiously despatching their aged monarch with his resistless war-club. The lays of the poets have commemorated the exploits and immortalised the names of the principal warriors engaged in the fray. In this "great and terrible fight," according to the northern muse, "the sun was darkened with the immense multitude of darts and stones, and the smoke of human gore."

The Danish throne fell to the possession of Sigurd, who, like other kings of his time, embarked in sea-roving expeditions, to keep alive the military enthusiasm of his people. He recovered the English province of Northumberland, conquered by Ivar Vidfadme, which had asserted its independence; and at his death he left the crown to his son, the famous Ragnar Lodbrok.

RAGNAR LODBROK AND HIS HEIRS

The remarkable history of this Scandinavian adventurer has been so obscured by conflicting traditions and poetical embellishments as to create considerable difficulty in reconciling the chronology and other circumstances of his life with the accounts given in the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon annals. The anachronism is generally explained by supposing two piratical chiefs of the same name, although this seems hardly consistent with the Sagas and other ancient Icelandic writings. All the northern chronicles agree in the main particulars related of the prince who reigned in Denmark and Sweden in the latter part of the eighth century, and who could not, therefore, be the formidable invader that infested France and England about the middle of the ninth. It is not improbable, however, that the chieftain whose exploits have been confounded with those of the more ancient Ragnar, was a prince of Jutland, whose real name was Ragenfrid, or Regnier, who became a sea-king on being expelled from his dominions in the time of Harold Klak (827 A.D.), and subsequently invaded France under the reign of Louis le Débonnaire.

Without venturing to narrate the wars and piracies of this redoubted monarch, or the extraordinary feats of courage ascribed to him by Saxo we may record what tradition states as to the cause and singular manner of his death. While ruling his dominions in peace, his jealousy was excited by rumours of the daring achievements of his sons in various regions of Europe; and he determined to undertake an expedition that should rival their fame. Two vessels were built of immense size, such as had never before been seen in the North. "The arrow," the signal of war, was sent through all his kingdoms, to summon his champions to arms. With this apparently inadequate force he set sail, contrary to the advice of his queen, Aslauga, who presented him with a magical garment to ward off danger.

After suffering from storms and shipwreck, he landed on the coast of Northumberland, which had been so often ravaged by his predecessors, Ælla, the Saxon king of that country, collected his forces to repel the invader. A battle ensued, wherein the valiant Dane, clothed in his enchanted robe, and wielding the huge spear with which he had slain the guardian serpent of the princess Thora, four times pierced the enemy's ranks, dealing death on every side, whilst his own person was invulnerable. But the contest was

unequal; his warriors fell one by one around him, until he was at last taken prisoner, stripped of his miraculous vest, and thrown alive (as the Saga relates), by order of Ælla, into a dungeon full of serpents, in the midst of which he expired with a laugh of defiance, chanting the famous death-song called the *Lodbrokar-quida*, or *Biarka-mal*, which he is alleged to have composed in that horrible prison.

This ancient lay mentions his ravaging the coast of Scotland, and his battle with three kings of Erin at Lindis Eiri. The English chronicles also allude to the same invasion, when they relate that the monastery of St. Cuthbert, in the isle of Lindisfarne (Holy Island), was plundered in 793 by a band of pagan rovers from Denmark and Norway; and that their leader was taken the following year, and put to death in a cruel manner by the natives. The life of this hero is represented as an uninterrupted course of wise measures, noble actions, and glorious victories; for not only did the British Isles quail at the terror of his name — the prowess of his arms was also felt by the Saxons, Russians, and Greeks on the distant Hellespont.

At the time when the father perished, the sons were engaged in foreign piracies; and the first news of his tragical fate they received after their return, while feasting in their hall, from the messengers sent by Ælla to propitiate their anger. The Saga-men have carefully preserved their names, and the pastimes in which they were engaged. Sigurd Snogoje (Snake-eye) played at chess with Huitserk the Brave, whilst Bjorn Ironside polished the handle of his spear. Ivar diligently inquired what kind of death Ragnar had suffered; and when the deputies narrated the dreadful story, and mentioned the words of the expiring king, "how the young cubs would rage when they learned their sire's fate," the youths ceased their amusements, and vowed instant revenge. An expedition, led by eight crowned heads and twenty jarls, and composed of the various Scandinavian tribes, was again directed against England. In a battle which took place at York, the Anglo-Saxons were entirely routed; Ælla, being made prisoner, was subjected to the most barbarous treatment. According to a strange and savage custom of the vikings, the sons of Lodbrok ordered the figure of an eagle to be cut in the fleshy part of his back, the ribs to be severed from the spine, and the lungs extracted through the aperture. After this victory Northumbria appears no more as a Saxon kingdom; Ivar took possession of the sovereignty, while the rest of the Northmen wasted and conquered the country as far as the mouth of the Thames.

Sigurd Snake-eye inherited the Danish crown, but was slain in a battle with the Franks (803 A.D.), after extending his sway over all Jutland, Skåne, Halland, and part of Norway. Bjorn was placed on the throne of Sweden; and a third brother Gottrik (Gudrod or Godefrid), became king of Jutland, which again asserted its independence. The latter prince, by attempting to expel a troublesome colony of the Abodriti, planted on the Elbe by Charlemagne, involved himself in a quarrel with that powerful emperor, who was then carrying on a bloody war of extermination against the pagan Saxons, for refusing to be converted to Christianity. Gottrik for some time harassed his imperial adversary; and appearing with a fleet of two hundred barks on the coast of Friesland, he landed at three different points, dispersed the natives, slew their duke, Rurik, and levied an assessment of 100 pounds weight of silver, which the Frisians brought to his treasury and threw into a copper basin in his presence. Judging from the sound that the tribute-money was debased with alloy, he ordered every coin to be confiscated that did not ring to his satisfaction.

[810-826 A.D.]

This daring marauder even attempted to take the emperor by surprise, in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle; but he was himself cut off in the midst of his designs (810 A.D.) by the hand of an assassin. Charlemagne entered into a treaty with Hemming, the nephew and successor of Göttrik (813 A.D.), which stipulated that the Eider should form the boundary between Denmark and the Frankish Empire — the Danes thus abandoning all their conquests southward of that limit.

Harde-Knud, the heir of Sigurd, being young at the time of his father's death, was left to the guardianship of his uncle Gottrik, regent of the kingdom. During the prince's minority, grievous commotions had arisen. Jutland threw off its allegiance, and the sovereignty was fiercely contested between the sons of Gottrik and Harold Klak, a petty king of Schleswig, and father of Rurik, who had taken violent possession of Friesland. He was repeatedly driven from his dominions, and his flight became remarkable as the means of shedding the first rays of Christianity over the pagan darkness of the North. In the peace which Charlemagne had concluded with Hemming, that politic conqueror did not attempt to impose his religion upon the Danes, which would have been rejected by them as a badge of slavery. However anxious to reclaim them from their wild and barbarous habits, he was unwilling to excite a spirit of hostility that might have spread to the bordering nations, by interfering with their obstinate attachment to idolatry.

The achievement of this desirable object was reserved for his son and successor, Louis le Débonnaire, whose court at Ingelheim, on the Rhine, was visited (826 A.D.), by the exiled prince of Jutland, accompanied with his queen, his sons, and a numerous retinue, in a fleet of a hundred galleys. Here the solicitations of the emperor and his prelates induced Harold to renounce the errors of paganism. His wife and children, and many of his followers, were baptised, having solemnly abjured, according to a rude formula still extant, "the works and words of the devil, of Thor, and Woden, and Saxon Odin, with all the evil spirits, their confederates." After the ceremony, the royal convert proceeded in his white garments to the imperial palace, where he received rich baptismal presents of mantles, jewels, armour, and other gifts. The day was ended with a magnificent festival, in which every effort was made to impress the Danes with a lively idea of the pomp and splendour of the Romish religion, as well as the wealth and power of the Franks.^d

HOLGER DANSKE AND MISSIONS IN THE NORTH

There are other instances of the conversion of Danes and Norwegians at this period. Amongst them is included the famous Holger Danske, the favourite hero of Danish legend and renowned in mediæval romance as Ogier le Danois. His story probably owed its origin to those of two real personages. One of these was a Northman who, in 851 appeared with a fleet of two hundred vessels on the coast of Friesland. Some years before he had pillaged Rouen, and now his followers advancing far inland carried fire and sword to Ghent, Aix-la-Chapelle, Treves, and Cologne. The leader of this terrible invasion has been confounded with a certain Othgar or Ottokar who fought with the Lombards against Charlemagne in 773, and being defeated by the Frankish emperor became his vassal and one of his generals. Thus in the romances Ogier le Danois figures as a paladin of Charlemagne.

A legend similar to that told in Germany of Frederick Barbarossa is

related by the Danes of Holger Danske. In a cavern under the castle of Kronborg at Elsinore the hero and his followers are sleeping, seated round a stone table. Once a condemned criminal, having been promised his life if he would explore the underground passages beneath the castle, penetrated to the vault; as he entered Holger rose, but he had sat there so long that his beard had grown into the table, and as he wrenched it out the table itself burst asunder. Holger commanded the intruder to give him his hand, when the man prudently held out an iron bar, and Holger, whose sight appears to have become somewhat impaired during his long sleep, grasped the metal. So hard was his grip that the iron retained the impression of his fingers; the hero, doubtless amazed to meet with no shrinking, observed as he let go that he was glad to find there were still men in Denmark.^a

In order to carry forward the good work so auspiciously begun, Louis determined to send Anskar as a missionary to the North. This intrepid monk, with a brother from the same convent of Corvei, readily undertook the holy enterprise, and on their arrival in South Jutland, in 827, they commenced their labours under the patronage and protection of Harold. They purchased some heathen children (probably captives taken in war), and founded a school for their instruction in the elementary principles of the new faith; but their progress was interrupted by the civil strife which still raged with unabated fury between the factions competing for the throne. In a great battle near Flensburg, Harold, whose change of religion had inflamed the popular indignation against him, was finally defeated (828 A.D.), and compelled to take refuge in Oldenburg, one of the possessions which Louis had assigned him by way of indemnity. The missionaries followed his retreat, and abandoned their proselytes to the vengeance of the heathen.

Meantime an opportunity occurred for advancing the standard of truth further into the benighted regions of Scandinavia. Ambassadors from Björn II of Sweden had visited the imperial court, imploring that missionaries might be sent into that country. Anskar offered to accompany them on their return, and joined a caravan of merchants travelling to the annual fair at Sigtuna. On their passage across the Baltic they were attacked by pirates, and plundered of nearly all their effects, including forty volumes of sacred literature. At Upsala, the zealous preacher was received in the most friendly manner by the king; and during his short residence he converted and baptised many of the Svear, among whom were some of the highest rank.

The success of this mission induced Louis to establish an archbishopric at Hamburg, from which as a common centre the Catholic emissaries might superintend the spiritual concerns of the North. Anskar was raised to the newly elected see, and received the confirmation of Pope Gregory IV, in a bull declaring him the papal legate in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. This border-post served him as a convenient station for watching the glimmerings of the light which he had borne, at the hazard of his life, to the centre of Scandinavia. He founded schools for the education of young missionaries, built cloisters and hospitals, and laboured with unremitting efforts to kindle in others the same fervid enthusiasm with which his own breast was inspired. He made a second journey to Sweden, where he availed himself of the toleration granted by the diet to propagate the Christian doctrines.

The lawless habits of the Danes, and their invincible attachment to the ancient idolatry, presented formidable obstacles to their conversion. In a popular commotion some of the clergy were murdered, and others were compelled to flee from persecution. A fleet of sea-rovers, commanded by Eric I,

[845-841 A.D.]

called the Usurper, who had seized the crowns of Jutland and Funen, sailed up the Elbe (845 A.D.), and laid Hamburg in ashes. Anskar saw his church burned, his library destroyed, and himself obliged to seek safety in flight. After that prince had become, by the death of Harde-Knud (850 A.D.), king of all Denmark, he extended his favour to the missionaries; but it was revoked by his successor, Eric I, under whom the nobility, jealous lest their power should be overthrown, stirred up the people against the Christians, by representing them as the cause of all the calamities that had fallen upon the land. Anskar contrived, however, to ingratiate himself once more with the court; and he was again earnestly invited to visit Jutland, where he continued to the close of his life (865 A.D.), engaged in the sacred task of converting the heathen, and acquiring a stock of personal sanctity by those acts of self-mortification which in that age were considered so meritorious. He was canonized by the papal authority; festivals were instituted in honour of his memory and churches built to perpetuate his name. He continued to be worshipped as the tutelar saint of the North until the period of the Reformation, and still merits the gratitude of the Scandinavian nations, not merely as their deliverer from a barbarous superstition, but as a benefactor who opened to them the career of civilisation.

It was at this epoch that a revolution occurred in Denmark, similar to those which happened about the same time in the two neighbouring kingdoms. Gorm, the son of Harde-Knud, surnamed the Old, from the length of his reign, had distinguished himself in early youth by his piratical excursions. Profiting by the absence of many of the jarls and chiefs in distant predatory expeditions, he subdued Jutland, and put an end to the ascendancy of those petty kings who had grown formidable only through the negligence of the sons or grandsons of Ragnar Lodbrok, who took greater delight in attacking the dominions of others than in ruling peacefully over their own. Other conquests followed, until he succeeded in uniting into one state the territories which now constitute the Danish monarchy, including the Swedish provinces of Skåne and Halland. He had espoused the beautiful Thyra Dannebod (Ornament of Denmark), daughter of Harold Klak, who had been baptised when a child in France. A deep cloud of obscurity hangs over this long and important reign, which the diligence of the native historians has not entirely removed.^d

GORM THE OLD, HAROLD BLUETOOTH, AND SWEYN

Gorm the Old is chiefly to be remembered for collecting all the small provinces into one body. At that time the Danish kingdom comprised Zealand (Sjælland), with the adjacent islands, Jutland and South Jutland (now Schleswig), where the Eider river was the limit towards the south, and Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge, in southern Sweden. But, though these parts were now thus united, they preserved for a long space of time their popular peculiarities, each part having its own laws, and the king receiving his homage separately in each province. We are not able to detail many facts of the reign of Gorm the Old, but we know, however, that he was a bitter enemy to the Christians, whom he persecuted in every quarter, demolishing their churches and banishing their clergy. Amongst other sacred buildings, he totally destroyed the famous cathedral in Schleswig, and ordered the pagan idols to be erected wherever they had formerly stood.

While his two sons, Knud and Harold — twins by birth, and rivals in glory — were gathering laurels abroad, Gorm took arms against the Saxons,

[941-974 A.D.]

with a view to oblige them to renounce Christianity, but the emperor, Henry the Fowler, soon came to the relief of the Saxons, defeated Gorm, and forced him to permit Christianity to be preached in Denmark. Gorm's queen has rendered herself distinguished by founding Dannevirke (a great wall of earth and stones across Schleswig, strongly fortified by moats and tower bastions), to protect the country against inroads of the Germans. Already Gottrik had erected a like fortification, called Kurvirke, but the irruption of Henry the Fowler had proved that the country needed a stronger bulwark, wherefore the queen founded that famous Dannevirke, remnants of which are yet to be seen. Gorm, loving his son Knud, generally called Danaast (the Splendor of the Danes), more than Harold, declared, dreading the death of his dearly beloved son, of whom he for a great while had received no intelligence, that whosoever might tell him of his son's death should lose his life. Finally, notice was given of his death on a Viking expedition in England. The queen, not risking to tell it to the king, made the courtiers observe an unusual silence at the table, and had the apartment covered with black cloth. Guessing the reason, Gorm cried out: "Surely Knud, my dear son, is dead, for all Denmark is mourning!" "Thou sayest so, not I," answered the queen; upon which the king sickened with grief, and died in a good old age (941).

Harold Bluetooth (Blaatand), his son, was immediately elected king, but he refused to accept the crown until he had first performed his father's obsequies with all the magnificence becoming his high rank. One of the earliest acts of Harold's reign was, as we shall see, the conquest of Norway which became a province of Denmark. After Harold Bluetooth had settled this affair, he sailed against the Wends, who committed horrible depredations on all the coasts of the Baltic, but he attacked them with such vigour that he reduced and plundered all their strongholds, and, among the rest, the rich and important city of Wollin, built on an island of the same name, which is formed by two branches of the river Oder. But he had scarce rid his hands of this war when his aid and protection were solicited by Styrbear, king of Sweden, who was driven out of his own dominions by Eric the Victory-blest. To enforce his request Styrbear had brought along with him Gyntha, his sister, a lady of admirable beauty. The stratagem had the intended effect; Harold Bluetooth became enamored of her, married her, and promised the brother all the assistance in his power. Nevertheless Styrbear was defeated by Eric, the Victory-blest, at Fyrisval, near Upsala.

The progress of Christianity, which Gorm the Old had resisted and disregarded, began now to attract the notice of the ruling power, and was, during the whole reign of Harold Bluetooth, vigorously promoted by Adeldag, who now was invested with the archiepiscopal see of Hamburg. In the days of Anskar two churches had been erected in Schleswig and Ribe, and a third was now built in Aarhvs, situated on the eastern coast of Jutland, and bishoprics were established in those cities. But, although in favour of the new doctrine, the king would not comply with the exorbitant and undue claims which the German emperor, Otto I [936-973] arrogated to himself. The German kings claimed, by virtue of their dignity as Roman emperors, to be acknowledged as secular heads of the whole Christian world, as the popes were of the ecclesiastical; this claim Otto I realised by giving to the bishoprics above mentioned immunity and property in Denmark.

His successor, Otto II, claiming the same, excited the resentment of Harold Bluetooth, who collected all his forces (974), and pitched his camp on the narrow neck of land at Schleswig, to intercept Otto, but was defeated, the

[974-994 A.D.]

mighty emperor demolishing the famous fortification, Dannevirke, and making his way through the country right up to the Limfjord. A treaty of peace was made, and the king received baptism from Bishop Poppo — Otto, the emperor, being sponsor — and the same ceremony was performed for his son, Sweyn. Bishoprics were now also established in Odense and in Roeskilde, where Harold Bluetooth erected a splendid church. Odinkar Hvide, a native Dane, now began to preach Christianity and to annihilate the pagan worship; all of which excited the resentment of the heathen party, in front of which went the king's own son, Sweyn, and his master-in-arms, Palnatoke, a mighty chief from the Danish island, Fünen, who in his heart inclined to heathenism, and besides that believed himself to have several personal offences to be avenged upon the king. Harold Bluetooth, however, raised an army and gave battle to his son, who aspired to his father's crown (991). But the king was defeated, and shot by the hand of Palnatoke, while he was walking in a grove near his camp. Before leaving Harold Bluetooth, it ought to be noticed that he removed the royal residence from Leidre to Roeskilde, where the Danish kings resided for about five centuries, till, during the reign of Christopher of Bavaria, Copenhagen was made the capital.

Harold Bluetooth was succeeded by his son Sweyn, or Sveand (991-1014), generally called Sweyn Splitbeard, from some peculiarity observed about his beard. He is also sometimes called Sweyn Otto, after his godfather, the emperor. Nearly all his time was spent in making expeditions to Norway, Germany, and England. Notwithstanding Sweyn Splitbeard and the mighty chief, Palnatoke, above mentioned, had been on a very intimate footing, their good understanding soon ceased; for the murder committed by Palnatoke on Sweyn's father, Harold Bluetooth, required vengeance of blood. Palnatoke resorted to Jomsburg, a fortress on the island of Wollin, on the coast of Pomerania, founded by Harold Bluetooth to maintain the Danish dominion in these regions. Here Palnatoke established a band of northern vikings, who, by severe laws, preserved the ancient warfaring life and manners, and under the name of Jomsvikings, for a long time struck the whole North with fear.

Palnatoke's institutions tended to instil into his vikings the contempt of life. "A man," says the chronicle of Iceland, "in order to acquire glory for bravery, should attack a single enemy, defend himself against two, and not yield to three, but might, without disgrace, fly from four," and it was, on the whole, glorious to seek every opportunity of encountering death. Some instances of their savage heroism are recorded which almost exceed belief. In an irruption made by the Jomsburgers into Norway, the invaders were defeated and a few were taken prisoners. They were sentenced to be beheaded, and this intelligence they received with every demonstration of joy. One said: "I suffer death with the greatest pleasure; I only request that you will cut off my head as quickly as possible. We have often disputed," said he, "at Jomsburg, whether life remained for any time after the head was cut off: now I shall decide the question. But remember, if so, I shall aim a blow at you with this knife which I hold in my hand. Despatch," said he, "but do not abuse my long hair, for it is very beautiful." Not till the eleventh century was this piratical stronghold destroyed by Magnus the Good. The following chief of Jomsburg, the designing Sigvald, by stratagem made Sweyn Splitbeard, who had taken up arms against him, a prisoner, and compelled him to acknowledge the independence of Jomsburg and all the provinces along the Baltic; and Sweyn was only set at liberty on promising to pay a ransom of twice his own weight, when full armed, in pure gold. The ransom

[994-1014 A.D.]

was settled at three payments, but the king's person was confined till the last payment was made, which was raised by the generosity of the Danish ladies, who sold their jewels for this purpose. Upon his return he, therefore, ordained that the women should inherit the half of all estates, real and personal.

Sweyn Splitbeard, thirsting for vengeance, induced Sigvald, at a wassail-bout, to undertake a very hazardous expedition against the mighty Hakon Jarl, in Norway, who had shown the same unwillingness to pay tribute to Denmark as his predecessor, Harold Graafeld, Sweyn himself making a vow to wage war against England, which some years before had thrown off her subjection to the throne of Denmark. The elsewhere almost indomitable Jomsvikings were totally defeated at Hjórningebay (994); Sigvald himself had to make his escape, and Norway was not subdued. Sweyn Splitbeard was more successful in his expedition against England. The impotent Anglo-Saxon king, Æthelred II, also called Æthelred the Unready, held at this time the supreme authority in that kingdom. Putting all to the fire and sword, wherever he went, and treating England with the utmost severity, Sweyn obliged the English king to acknowledge his superiority, and to get rid of the Danes by paying a large sum of money, called Danegeld.

But an important event took place now in the North. The Norwegian prince, Olaf Tryggvason, who had been allied with Sweyn in England, left him treacherously for Norway, the throne of which he ascended, after the death of Hakon Jarl, without taking any oath of allegiance to Sweyn; and the misunderstanding increased when Olaf, without Sweyn's consent, married the latter's sister, Thyra, who had fled from her husband, Burislief, of Wendland (Pomerania).

Sweyn Splitbeard, Olaf the Lap King of Sweden, and Eric Jarl, a Norwegian prince, who lived at the Danish court, attacked Olaf Tryggvason, who, with his fleet had gone through the sound to Wendland in order to claim his wife's property. A sea battle took place near Swalder, September 9th, 1000, on the Pomeranian coast. Seldom has a more memorable naval engagement been fought. Olaf Tryggvason was defeated after a most heroic resistance, and his fleet totally dispersed. Escaping out of the battle with a few ships, he was so closely pursued that, to avoid the disgrace of being taken prisoner, he precipitated himself into the sea and was drowned. The most renowned heroes of Norway shared in this battle, and the heroic songs of Einar Tambaraskelver, the great archer, Ulf the Red, and Thorgeir, who all fought as madmen, resound yet among the rocks of old Norway, which was now divided between the three victors, and had to submit to the conditions which they dictated. But while Sweyn was occupied with the affairs of Norway, Æthelred II had taken advantage of Sweyn's absence to perform a dreadful carnage among the Danes in England (1002). Informed of it, Sweyn immediately appeared in England with a powerful army of the most valiant soldiers, was everywhere victorious, expelled Æthelred, who had to flee to Normandy; and Sweyn Splitbeard was at his death undisputed sovereign of the whole of England (1014). In the beginning of his reign, he persecuted Christianity; but, before he expired, he began to perceive the folly he had committed in opposing the faith in which he had been baptised and instructed. Afterwards, in prevailing upon the people to receive the light of the Gospel, he was aided by Poppo, a German bishop of great piety and eloquence, who, by dint of example and persuasion, brought about what the king's authority could not effect. Several miracles are related of this prelate; and, indeed, he was possessed of the happy talent of impressing the people with whatever notions he thought fit; in which alone, of course, consisted his supernatural powers. A see was

[1014-1018 A.D.]

given to Poppo, with power to preside over the Danish clergy; while at the same time he was suffragan of Adeldag, archbishop of Hamburg.

CANUTE, AND THE DAWN OF DISCOVERY

Sweyn Splitbeard had two sons, Harold and Canute or Knud; and the Danish historian, Meursius, says that "Harold, by right of primogeniture, succeeded his father on the throne of Denmark, while Canute, who at Sweyn's death was living in England, was elected king of the Danes there." But the English taking advantage of Canute's youth, threw off the subjection they had promised his father, Sweyn Splitbeard, and called the fugitive Æthelred II back from Normandy, and a general insurrection broke out. After having ordered the tongues and ears of the English hostages to be cut off, and, on the whole, shown an inflexible severity, Canute repaired to Denmark, where he brought together a numerous host of brave soldiers, and a well-manned fleet, with which he went back to England, accompanied by Eric Jarl, from Norway, Thorkel the High, and Ulf Jarl, who afterwards married Canute's sister, Estrith. He met with the English fleet, commanded by King Æthelred in person, whom he defeated after a sharp engagement. The valiant Eadmund Ironside, who succeeded his father Æthelred on the throne of England [in April, 1016], was forced to yield the half of England to Canute. But a month after, Eadmund Ironside was treacherously killed by his brother-in-law, Eadric Streon, whereupon Canute was acknowledged king of the whole of England.

The first measure of Canute was now to seize Eadmund's two sons, whom he sent to his ally, the king of Sweden, Anund Jacob, with the request that they might be put to death. Humanity, however, induced the Swedish monarch to spare their lives and send them into Hungary. Canute, now ruler of England, tried to make himself both beloved and esteemed there; he reigned with great judiciousness, paid respect to the privileges of the people of the country, and raised them to the highest offices; advanced commerce and literature, and courted, in a particular manner, the favour of the church by munificent donations and by presenting monasteries with rich gifts; and he has, indeed, much better title to sainthood than many of those who adorn the Roman calendar. To make himself yet more popular, he married the virtuous Emma of Normandy, the queen-dowager of Æthelred, whom the English people loved dearly. But while he thus tried to make himself popular, and provide for the welfare of the state, his despotism and cruelty were often insupportable, and those whose influence seemed pernicious to him he was not unscrupulous in putting out of the way. Thus he caused Eadric Streon and Thorkel the High to be killed; the first of whom had been invested with Mercia, the latter with East Anglia, as absolute fiefs. To confirm his power, and perform the conquests he had in view, he established a standing army, called the Thingmannalid, consisting of the most famous warriors; and, on account of the sumptuous armour they had to wear, containing only the richest and most prominent. To this army he gave a peculiar law, called the Vithirlagslaw, which for a long time enjoyed great credit in Europe.

His brother Harold, king of Denmark, died after a reign of four years (1018). Weak from his infancy, he was little able to rule, and his profligacy and entire contempt of decency and morality rendered him odious to his subjects. Nothing need be said of him but that he reigned four years; whereupon Canute, generally called Canute the Great, was unanimously chosen to

[850-1026 A.D.]

succeed him on the Danish throne. Thus, after an interval of only four years, Denmark was reunited with England; which, superior to Denmark in refinement, arts, trade, and agriculture, long exercised a beneficial influence upon the Danish kingdom. It is to Canute the Great that Denmark has to ascribe the complete introduction of Christianity; for under him the last vestiges of the pagan worship were destroyed, its idols overthrown, its altars demolished, and its temples closed. Many English clergy migrated in this period to Denmark. The Danish bishoprics were generally bestowed on Englishmen; and, on the whole, Canute considered England the principal realm, and resided there. But he deserved well, also, of Denmark, by bringing a great portion of the Wendland under subjection, and subduing the formidable Wendish pirates. About the same time Christianity was introduced into Sweden, under Olaf the Lap King, who was baptised by an English monk, Sigefroy; and into Norway, under St. Olaf.

Before relating Canute's last expedition to Norway, his exploits there, and his end, it may be noticed that he, like most royal persons in the period under consideration, made a pilgrimage to Rome, to pay, in that sacred city, his devotion to the relics of some deceased saint, and obtain from the pope remission of his sins (1026). While in Rome he established, by assent of the pope, a caravansary for Scandinavian pilgrims; procuring his subjects, also, on the same occasion, several commercial privileges. Upon his journey to Rome he chanced to meet with the German emperor, Conrad II, whom he induced to renounce his claims to the Danish mark (Schleswig), founded by Henry the Fowler, and a marriage was agreed on between Canute's daughter, Gunhilda, and Conrad's son, Henry.

About this time, or a little before, the Scandinavians began to make discoveries in the north and west. The Faroe Islands had been discovered at the latter end of the ninth century, by some Scandinavian pirates, and soon after this Iceland was colonized by the Norwegians. [From Iceland, towards the close of the tenth century, Jarl Eric the Red, who had been banished from the island, led the first colony to Greenland, which had been discovered about a hundred years before.] The settlement made in Greenland, though comprising only a small population, seems to have been very prosperous in mercantile affairs. It had bishops and priests from Europe, and paid the pope, as an annual tribute, 2,600 pounds of walrus teeth as tithe and Peter's pence. But the art of navigation must have been at a very low pitch, for the voyage from Greenland to Iceland and Norway, and back again, consumed five years; and upon one occasion the government of Norway did not hear of the death of the bishop of Greenland until six years after it had occurred.^e

This colony in Greenland continued in a flourishing condition down to the fourteenth century when it suffered severely from two terrible scourges, the Black Death and the attacks of the natives. In the fifteenth century all intercourse between the Scandinavian colony in Greenland and the civilised world entirely ceased. Modern investigation has resulted in the discovery of the ruins of buildings and of the graves of the old colonists, but their descendants, if not entirely wiped out, appear to have been absorbed by the Esquimaux population.

For Lief, son of Eric the Red, is claimed a far greater achievement than his father's. The account of a country far to the southwest which had been sighted by an Icelander in the year 1001, prompted Lief to undertake a voyage in search of it and to plant, in a country which he called Vinland, a colony that subsisted for many years. The details of this expedition as given in the old sagas have furnished data for a theory which places Vinland on a portion of the

[1026-1028 A.D.]

United States in the vicinity of Rhode Island, and thus gives to Lief Ericsson the glory of being the first discoverer of America.^a

To return to Canute the Great : While he tarried in Rome St. Olaf of Norway and Anund Jacob of Sweden availed themselves of Canute's absence to fall upon Denmark, both of them fearing his increasing power, and being angry because Norwegian mutineers had found an asylum at the Danish court. The united kings making great progress, Ulf Jarl, who was married as we have seen to Estrith, a sister to Canute, and who had been appointed lieutenant-governor under the king's absence, deemed it necessary for the country to have a head, and prevailed upon the people to elect the crown prince, Harthacnut [Hardi Canute] king. Canute, informed of this, hastened home, but though highly incensed against Ulf, he delayed his vengeance till the enemies were driven away. A battle was fought near Helgebrook in Skåne, where Canute himself would have perished, had it not been for Ulf's aid (1027).

But even this could not appease the exasperated king, who, under pretence of friendship, invited him to a drinking-bout in Roeskilde. They played at chess together. The king, making a wrong move, wished to correct it, but Ulf Jarl upset the chess-board, and left in anger. "Dost thou now fly, thou cowardly Ulf?" cried the king. "Thou didst not call me cowardly," answered Ulf, "when the Danes, at Helgebrook, took to their heels like dogs, and I saved thy life." The king, yet more irritated at this reply, caused Ulf to be killed in the cathedral of Roeskilde, to which he afterwards gave a whole canton as a propitiatory sacrifice for his crime.^e

The ambition of Canute was not satisfied with the possession of two crowns; he pretended to have some claims upon Norway through his father Sweyn, who had formerly ruled over a portion of that country. Its reduction, which was accomplished (1028) without much difficulty, and its temporary annexation to his other dominions make it necessary that we now revert to that portion of Scandinavian history.

EARLY NORWEGIAN KINGS

The early Norwegian annals, geographical and political, have been critically analyzed and minutely detailed by Torfæus. Tradition, as already mentioned, placed Sæming, a son of Odin, on the throne of that country, and from him descended a race of pontiff-kings of whom nothing but their names is recorded. The first mortal alleged by the native legends to have worn the crown was a chief called Nor, sprung from the ancient Finnish family of the Fornjoter, who established himself at Trondhjem, and subdued the neighboring territories about the beginning of the fourth century. It is evident, however, that the old chronicle (*Fundinn Noregr*, or *Norway Discovered*) containing this account is entitled to no credit whatever. Nor is altogether a mythic personage; his supposed ancestor Fornjoter, with his three sons, the rulers of the air, earth, and sea, are considered to be merely the Scandinavian antitypes of Noah, and the patriarchs Shem, Ham, and Japhet. Among other progenitors that adorn his genealogy, we find Frostius, Snær, and Drifa (frost, snow, and drift), which are obviously symbols of the climate, rather than names of chiefs or petty kings. This part of the national records must therefore be viewed as an allegory, merely intended to give lustre to the pedigree of the Norwegian monarchs.

The several branches of Nor's posterity were dignified with the regal title, and are said to have reigned over the districts of Thrandia, Naumdal, Raumsdal, Guldbrandsdal, Rogaland, Hordaland, Ringarike, Raumarike, and other

[640-875 A.D.]

provinces, which are supposed to derive from them their modern appellations. It belongs to mythology rather than history to narrate their wars, and exhibit their feats of incredible strength and their wonderful skill in sorcery and incantation. The princes or chiefs of a less fabulous origin, who held sway over these sterile mountains, it would be superfluous to enumerate, as there is no reason to believe that any considerable portion of Norway was ever united under a single monarch prior to the era of Harold Harfagr, who first combined the various tribes among whom it was divided into one nation, by reducing their kings or jarls to a state of vassalage in the latter part of the ninth century.

This famous conqueror was a scion of the ancient Ynglings. The last of that sacred dynasty, Olaf Trætela, when driven from the Swedish throne, as already stated, laid the foundation of a new government in Vermland, which gradually extended across the frontier, until it embraced wholly or partially the adjacent districts of Vestjold, Vingulmarken, Raumarike, Hordaland, and Hedemarken. The crown descended to five princes in succession, the last of whom, Halfdan Svart (the Black), was father to Harold. In the following table, the names and reigns of the Norwegian sovereigns are given in order, down to the important epoch when Christianity was established under Olaf the Saint.

TRADITIONAL LIST OF ANCIENT KINGS OF NORWAY

Olaf Trætela	died A.D. 640	Eric Blodæxe	died A.D. 940
Halfdan Huitben	700	Hakon the Good	968
Eystein	730	Harold Graafeld	977
Halfdan Milde	784	Hakon Jarl	995
Gudrod Mikillati	824	Olaf Tryggvason	1000
Olaf Geirstada	840	Olaf the Saint	1030
Halfdan Svart	868	Svend Knudson	1035
Harold Harfagr	934	Magnus the Good	1047

Every circumstance connected with the genealogy and youth of Harold has been carefully preserved by his countrymen. His mother was Ragnhilda, daughter of Harold Golden-Beard, who ruled over the district of Sogne, near Bergen. Dreams and prodigies augured his future greatness; the giant Dofre taught him the military art, and at the age of ten, when he lost his father (863), he had the reputation of surpassing all his contemporaries in beauty, courage, wisdom and warlike accomplishments. During his minority, the regency of his paternal dominions was committed to his uncle Guttorm, whose prompt interference kept in awe the rebellious vassals. At the age of twelve, the young prince is said to have formed the resolution of subduing all Norway. His first achievement was the conquest of Thrandia (Trondhjem), whose eight kings or chiefs he defeated in as many battles. These victories were followed by the subjugation of the whole western coast, from Finmarken to the Naze. Hordaland, Telemarken, and Vermland were also reduced to subjection; whilst the famous naval engagement in the bay of Hafurs Fjord, now called Stavanger Fjord, fought (875) with the confederated princes of Rogaland and other southern districts, made him master of the entire kingdom in the short space of ten years. Most of the jarls and hereditary nobles being either slain or dispersed, Harold, ere he had reached the prime of manhood, thus saw himself in possession of a monarchy more extensive than had yet been enjoyed by any other northern potentate.

Triumphant at home, his arms were no less successful in the expeditions which he undertook to exterminate the pirates and refractory chieftains, who had escaped his vengeance at Hafurs Fjord by seeking refuge in the Scottish

[875-934 A.D.]

isles. The Scandinavian historians claim for him the reduction of Shetland, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the whole country north of the Grampians. They even allege that the Isle of Man, where a Norman dynasty had long been established, and part of Ireland, including Dublin, were added to his dominions. The government of these foreign possessions he entrusted to chiefs or relations of his own, under the title of earls, with a feudal dependence on his crown; but their authority was little respected by the turbulent and lawless inhabitants.

Threatened with civil broils and dissensions in his own family, he adopted the unwise policy of dividing the kingdom among his numerous sons, to each of whom he assigned the administration of a province, with the title and prerogatives of royalty. This expedient having increased rather than diminished the evil, his next resource was to abdicate in favour of Eric, which was done with the consent of the remaining brothers, eight of whom had then perished in battle. Harold survived this event only three years, and died in 934; leaving by his five wives a numerous progeny, male and female, from whom genealogists have computed the descent of most of the royal families in Europe. He had the reputation of being a brave and generous prince, of a handsome form, robust constitution, and majestic stature. Iceland and the Faroe Isles of whose discovery we have spoken, were colonised during his reign, and Normandy was conquered by daring adventurers under the celebrated Rolf Ganger (afterwards Duke Rollo), who had fled to avoid death or servitude under his rigorous administration.

Though a barbarian, Harold possessed the lofty spirit of that heroic age, and even aspired to civilise and legislate. His own interest, combined with motives of policy, induced him to adopt measures for the entire suppression of private feuds, of marauding expeditions by land and piracy on the seas. The *strandhug*, or impressment of provisions, which the depredators were in the practice of exercising, by seizing the cattle of the unprotected peasantry, he prohibited under the severest penalties. These he found to be the greatest obstacles to social order and improvement, and at the same time the principal means of keeping alive the embers of insubordination and resistance to his authority.

It has been supposed that his conduct in these beneficial arrangements was in some degree influenced by the example of the English king Æthelstan, who had visited Norway in his youth. An intercourse of friendship and courtesy is said to have commenced between them at that early period, in virtue of which Harold sent his son Hakon to be educated at the Anglo-Saxon court, with a present of a magnificent ship, the sails of which were purple and the beak gold, the whole deck being surrounded with shields, gilt in the inside, and curiously ornamented. Æthelstan gave his pupil in return a sword with a golden hilt and a blade of wonderful temper, which he kept till the day of his death. Besides studying the manners of the nation, the young prince was converted to the Christian faith, and received the ordinance of baptism — an event which afterwards gave occasion to the first planting of the seeds of the Gospel in his native land.¹

Eric, after spending his youth as a sea-rover, had been elevated to the throne before his father's death; but the rest of his brothers, who claimed an equal title to the sovereignty, refused to acknowledge his supremacy, or pay

¹ Snorre's narrative of Harold's intercourse with Æthelstan differs from that given above (*Saga ens Harfagra*, c. 41, 43), but the account given by the old Norwegian chronicler Thiodrek seems most credible, *viz.* that Hakon was sent to England to be taught the manners of the nation.

[984-920 A.D.]

their annual tribute to the crown. The seeds of internal dissension thus planted soon ripened into acts of cruelty and bloodshed. In the domestic strife that ensued, several of the refractory princes were put to death by him, and hence the name of *Blodæxe*, or *Bloody-axe*, was entailed on the relentless fratricide. Weary of the oppressions under which they had groaned for several years, the people at length shook off the yoke of the sanguinary tyrant, and unanimously called Hakon to the throne, who, though educated in a foreign land, and in a religion unknown to their country, was received with joy as their king and deliverer. The principal jarls, and especially Sigurd, his uncle on the mother's side, who had been his godfather when he was sprinkled with water after the heathen fashion in his infancy, espoused his cause.

Eric, unable to cope with the superior fortunes of his younger brother, fled with his adherents to the Orkney Isles, where he became a sea-king, and exercised his depredations on the British shores. Æthelstan soon after conferred upon him the kingdom of Northumbria, then peopled with Danes, upon condition that he and his followers should abstain from molesting Norway, embrace Christianity, and protect the English coasts against the piratical incursions of the Northmen. But the habits of this barbarian were inveterate; and resuming his old practices, with a band of his former associates, he invaded Northumbria, from which he had been expelled by the Anglo-Saxons. Edred, son of Eadward the Elder, marched an army to oppose him, and the contest was finally decided in a great battle, wherein Eric, with five other sea-kings, was slain. Notwithstanding the alleged conversion of this prince, he is represented in one of the last strains of the heathen skalds as invited to take his seat among the kings and heroes deemed worthy to inherit the joys of Valhalla.

Relieved from the apprehension of foreign invasion, the first care of Hakon was to suppress the robbers and pirates that infested his kingdom. The Danes he also chastised for certain depredations they had committed; and to retaliate their injuries he made an incursion into Zealand, where, without meeting opposition, he collected immense spoil, and obliged many of the inhabitants to ransom their lives by paying heavy pecuniary fines. Seeing peace re-established within his dominions, his subjects happy, and his revenue flourishing, he next turned his attention to the framing of salutary laws, and the substitution of the faith in which he had been educated for the superstitious rites of paganism. On his return from the court of Æthelstan, he had brought with him some Christian priests, and openly announced his resolution to protect and encourage them in their missionary labours. A national assembly of the people was convened at Trondhjem, in which he stood up and declared his will and desire that all present, "rich as well as poor, noble, peasant, and serf, young and old, man and woman, should be baptised, and believe in one true God, the Son of Mary (laying aside the vain worship of the heathen deities), fast every Friday, and rest every seventh day." To this proposition none were inclined to listen; murmurs arose against it from all parties, when Asbiorn, a rich and popular landholder, addressed the sovereign in a strain of firm remonstrance, expressing surprise and regret that he who had been the restorer of their lost freedom should endeavour to fasten upon them a new and more intolerable yoke of slavery. "As to what thou now wouldst require of us, and insist upon with such obstinate zeal, as if thou wouldst constrain us by violence, know, O king! that we are all resolved to abandon thee and choose another sovereign, who will suffer us peacefully to enjoy our liberties, and that religion which is dear to our hearts."

The sentiments of the people found utterance in the voice of the speaker,

[940-950 A.D.]

and they manifested their approbation with tumultuous applause. When silence was restored, Sigurd Jarl stood forth and explained to the multitude that it was not the wish or intention of the king to compel them to change their religion, or to dissolve the bonds that united them in friendship and affection. To ascertain the sincerity of this declaration, the assembly expressed their unanimous desire that Hakon should offer for them the usual solemn sacrifices, or Yule-feasts, for peace and for fruitful seasons, as had been the custom of his forefathers. Perceiving the danger of urging the matter further, Sigurd advised the king to forego his purpose in the meantime, and the convention quietly dispersed. But, on the approach of Christmas, agitation recommenced with greater violence, and the people renewed their demand that the king should either preside at the yearly festival, after the ancient manner, or abdica'e the throne.

The wary jarl endeavoured to assuage their angry passions, and promised that the feast, which always took place after the sacrifice, should be honoured with the royal presence. This pledge was faithfully kept, when Sigurd, in virtue of his pontifical office, the duties of which he performed in the palace, took the drinking-horn, and having consecrated it to Odin, offered it to the king. This seemed the critical moment when Hakon must openly proclaim his choice between the Pagan and the Christian religion. He attempted to evade the difficulty by consecrating the horn anew with the sign of the cross, before applying it to his lips; but this movement was observed by the people, who gave vent to their feelings in terms of strong indignation, until their wrath was again pacified by the assurance of Sigurd that they had entirely mistaken the nature of the offensive emblem, which was not the sign of the cross but of the mallet; so that the sacred liquor had in reality been dedicated to Thor, according to the ceremonies of the national faith. With this ingenious explanation the multitude was satisfied, and the jarl obtained the reputation of being "the wisest man in Norway."

Notwithstanding this prudence and moderation in avoiding a collision between two hostile factions, a secret conspiracy was soon afterwards formed among eight of the most distinguished pontiff-chiefs against the king and his religious innovations. The destruction of the Christian edifices, which he had built in the northern provinces, was their first object; their next was to compel him to renounce entirely and forever the form of worship he was so anxious to introduce. Four of the confederates repaired to the district of Mære, which had a famous temple dedicated to Thor; and having burned the churches to the ground, they slew the Anglo-Saxon priests whom Hakon had brought from England. The king himself, having arrived in the same place to attend the great festival that was about to be celebrated, was menaced with personal violence by the congregated crowd, at the instigation of the conspirators, who had determined that he should sacrifice, without evasion or reserve, to the ancient deities of the nation.

Resistance was impossible, his train of courtiers being too small to offer opposition. Yielding to the entreaties and advice of his friendly counsellor Sigurd, he at length consented to humour the idolatrous prejudices of his subjects by eating the liver of a horse which had been sacrificed, and afterwards emptying three drinking-horns successively, consecrated to Odin, Thor, and Bragi; without violating the heathen rites as he had formerly done, by substituting the Christian symbol.¹ But instead of abandoning his favourite

¹ The eating of horse flesh was customary amongst the old Scandinavians at their religious festivals, and hence considered a proof of paganism. The practice was afterwards punished by St. Olaf with death or mutilation, and the insurrection which drove him from the throne was partly

project, this constrained apostasy only inflamed his resentment against his superstitious countrymen, and set him on devising means to punish what he deemed an insolent act of rebellion against his authority.

The threatening storm of civil and religious war was now suspended over the kingdom; but, fortunately for Hakon, the gathering clouds were dissipated by the news of the arrival of the sons of Eric by his queen Gunhilda on the coast, with a powerful armament which Harold king of Denmark had equipped to aid them in recovering the crown of Norway. Intestine feuds were forgotten in the common danger, and all parties, even the confederated chiefs, united in defence of their native land and their national liberties. The Norwegian fleet obtained a signal victory over that of the exiled princes, who escaped to their former refuge at the Danish court.

After repelling this invasion, he revived, with new sanctions, the ancient law by which the whole territory of the state was divided into a certain number of maritime districts, called *skip-reidor*, which extended into the country as far up the rivers as the salmon ascended. Each of these was bound to furnish a certain number of vessels and men for the common defence; and, to give effect to this ordinance, stations were appointed on the principal mountains and heights along the coast, so that, on the approach of an enemy, the alarm could speedily be conveyed from the northern point of Helgeland (now included in Norrland) to the Naze.

Notwithstanding these wise precautions, and the devoted attachment of his countrymen, Hakon at last fell a victim to the insatiable ambition of Gunhilda and her sons, who made a second attempt on the crown, with the assistance of a fleet from Denmark. The king, who happened to be in a remote part of the country, was taken by surprise before he could collect his forces, and mortal y wounded in the first assault of the enemy. Before his death he sent messengers to his brother's sons, declaring them his successors in the kingdom, as he had no children except one daughter named Thora, and entreating them to spare his relations. He expressed his desire, in the event of surviving, to leave his dominions, and retire to a Christian land, where he might expiate his sins and confirm his faith. When his friends inquired if he would not be sent to England for interment according to the rites of that Church, he replied, "As a heathen have I lived, as a heathen, and not as a Christian, must I be buried." His untimely fate was deeply and universally lamented; and the epithet of the Good, by which his contemporaries designated him, has been confirmed by the judgment of a milder and more enlightened age. His memory was celebrated in the songs of the skalds, and especially in a lay called the *Hakonar-mal*, composed by the celebrated poet Eyvind Skaldaspiller, where the two nymphs of war, Skogul and Gondul, conduct the pious king in triumph into the heaven of Odin, there "to quaff ale with the gods in the happy society of heroes."

The sceptre of Norway now fell into the hands of Harold II, called Graafeld or Gray Mantle, the eldest son of Eric and Gunhilda. This prince bore the name of his fair-haired grandfather, who had himself sprinkled him with water at his birth (930) after the heathen manner. He was educated at the Danish court, and having become a sea-rover at an early age he signalized his prowess in the Baltic by various piratical exploits, which were recorded by the skald Glum Geirison in an ode dedicated to his praise. His sovereignty

occasioned by his cruelties towards those who were accused or suspected of using this food, and consequently of having relapsed into heathenism. The Icelanders refused to adopt Christianity, unless St. Olaf allowed them to use horse flesh as formerly — *LAIING'S Residence in Norway.*

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as a king was merely nominal; for such was the loosely compacted structure of society in that barbarous age and country that not only was the regal authority shared with him by his brothers, but two other chieftains ruled with irresponsible power over their respective local districts. Tryggve and Gudrod, grandsons of Harold Harfagr, held separate governments; the former the prefecture of Vika or Vigen, the latter that of Vestfjold.

From elements so discordant it was hardly to be expected that union or harmony could be produced; accordingly, as a first step towards securing the entire monarchy of Norway in her own family, the ambitious Gunhilda instigated her sons to murder the aged Sigurd Jarl, who still retained an independent jurisdiction over the province of Trondhjem. Tryggve and Gudrod were the next victims to the intriguing widow of Eric; they were both assassinated, and their families compelled to seek refuge in Sweden. The attachment of the inhabitants of Trondhjem to their late governor, and their election of his son Hakon Jarl to succeed him, involved the distracted kingdom in a civil war; and after many bloody conflicts between the rival princes, a perpetual truce was at last concluded, by the terms of which Hakon was to rule over the territories possessed by his father, whilst the remaining dominions were to continue under the sovereignty of the brother kings.

This treaty of partition was soon broken, and the competitors for power once more appealed to the sword. Harold Graafeld perished in a plot contrived by Hakon, who, in his turn, sought the aid of Harold Bluetooth; but the Danish monarch, instead of an auxiliary, was hailed as a deliverer by the Norwegians, weary of internal dissension and domestic tyranny. Gunhilda fled with her two surviving sons, Gudrod and Regnford, to the Orkney Islands, where she ended her days by a violent death; leaving behind her the character of a haughty, cruel, and insidious woman, and the proud title of "mother of kings." Harold invested the jarl with the viceroyalty of seven provinces, upon condition that as his vassal he should pay a yearly tribute of sixty falcons and fifty marks of gold. The rest of the kingdom he divided between his own son Sweyn, and Harold Gränske son of Gudrod, reserving to himself the paramount sovereignty of all Norway.

The ambitious Hakon soon manifested a disposition to assert his independence. He exacted a tribute from the colonies in the Scottish isles, and endeavoured by every art of popularity to extend his influence at home. But he was not yet prepared to throw off his allegiance; and to cover his designs he did not hesitate to obey the call of his liege lord, when summoned to his assistance against the invasion with which Denmark was threatened by the emperor Otto III. After an obstinate battle with the imperial army at the Dannevirke, peace was concluded with Harold, in terms of which Hakon with his followers was constrained to submit to the ceremony of baptism, and to receive on board his fleet a company of priests as missionaries for the conversion of his countrymen. But the crafty jarl, taking advantage of a favourable wind to escape through the Sound, set the monks on shore, and steered to the coast of Gotland, where he landed, and offered sacrifice to the gods as a propitiation for his apostasy. The flight of two ravens, the birds of Odin, which passed at the moment, was interpreted by him as a favourable omen. Accordingly, having burned his ships, and pursuing his way through Sweden, which he laid waste with fire and sword, he reached Norway in the hope of surprising the Danish squadron, which had been despatched with an additional supply of missionaries; but, on advancing to the port, he discovered that the fleet had departed in safety.

The two princes now became implacable enemies. Hakon refused to pay

the stipulated tribute, and declared himself independent, but without assuming the regal title. A rebellion of the Danes, in which their king was slain, might have relieved him from a formidable antagonist, had not Sweyn, who succeeded to the throne, inherited his father's resentment against the Norwegians, whom he attacked with a numerous squadron. The invaders, however, were entirely routed in the bay of Bergen, those who escaped the sword having perished in the waves.¹ The victorious jarl was soon afterwards delivered, by the death of Harold Granske, from the only remaining competitor for the sovereignty.

The reign of this prince was distinguished by the restoration and triumph of the heathen superstitions; he was himself a zealous votary of the national deities, and by his command the pagan temples were rebuilt, and the accustomed sacrifices renewed. The country had been afflicted with a desolating famine, but peace and plenty returned under his administration, which the grateful people did not fail to attribute to the favour of the gods, appeased by the revival of their ancient worship. They even conferred upon their king the title of the Good — an appellation which he forfeited by his subsequent conduct. His court displayed a style of rude and barbaric grandeur; but he excited the general indignation of his countrymen by the unrestrained gratification of his licentious passions, which he did not scruple to indulge at the expense of the honour of their wives and daughters. This last indignity, to which even a people born to servitude will not submit with patience, at length roused the Norwegians to take arms against the tyrant, who was compelled to seek in flight a refuge from their vengeance.

The final catastrophe of his eventful life is closely linked with the romantic story of Olaf Tryggvason, his next successor on the throne. Tryggve, the father of this prince, having been cut off, as already mentioned, by the artifices of Gunhilda, Astrid his widow, then pregnant, fled to a small sequestered island in a lake on the western coast of Norway, where Olaf was born and received the name of his grandfather, one of the sons of Harold Harfagr. After wandering some time in poverty and disguise, Astrid found an asylum in the hall of the aged Hakon, a Swedish jarl; but the vengeance of Gunhilda, who pursued her in every retreat, induced her to seek a more distant concealment in Russia, where her brother Sigurd had risen to great distinction. The fugitives were captured by the Esthonian pirates, amongst whom Olaf had lived six years as a slave, until he was discovered and ransomed by his uncle, whilst collecting the tribute due to the Russian crown, and carried to the court of Vladimir at Novgorod, where he resided nine years. Here he distinguished himself by his proficiency in all manly exercises, as they were practised in that age and country; and being remarkable for beauty as well as strength and courage, he won the affections of the queen, and incurred the hatred of the courtiers, who beheld with jealousy the rising power of a foreign adventurer.

Having procured a small fleet of Russian pirates, he quitted the service of Vladimir, and at the age of nineteen became a sea-rover in the Baltic. In one of his excursions, being driven into a port in Wendland, (Pomerania), he espoused Geira, daughter of Burisleif, prince of that country, and with him joined the final expedition of the emperor Otto against Denmark; after which, returning with his father-in-law, he resided under his roof until the

¹ The Danish expedition was commanded by Sigvald Jarl, chief of the Jomsvikings; and their defeat is ascribed to Hakon's having sacrificed his son to the family goddess, Thorgerda Horgabrud, whom he consulted during one of the pauses in the battle, and who would promise victory on no other terms.

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death of his wife, when he resumed the habits of a freebooter. For a considerable time he cruised on the coasts of Scotland, England, Ireland, and France; the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Wales all suffered from his depredations. He entered the Thames, and although repelled in his attack upon London, his forbearance was purchased with a heavy tribute and rich presents; in return for which he solemnly promised never more to invade the country. On arriving at the Scilly Islands, he was converted to Christianity by a solitary monk or hermit, who had won his esteem in the character of a prophet; but it is probable he had before acquired some notion of that religion, as it was understood and practised in those barbarous times in Russia; and both the English and Norman chronicles assure us that he was solemnly baptised in London, while residing at the court of Æthelred, and afterwards at Rouen. Perhaps, like most of the northern adventurers in those days, he might not be unwilling to give repeated proofs in different countries, and at separate times, of his determination to renounce the errors of paganism, and adopt a faith which had then established itself in almost every kingdom of Europe. During his stay in England, he married Gyda, the widow of a powerful nobleman, and sister to a Scandinavian prince who reigned in Dublin.¹

The fame of Olaf's distant exploits reached the ear of Hakon in Norway, at the time when his indignant subjects were preparing to release their country from the yoke of the tyrant. Hearing with dismay that there was a youthful hero of the race of Harfagr still surviving, who might challenge his claim to the sceptre, he despatched one of his subtlest agents, Thorér Klack, to Dublin, to discover and circumvent his rival by some plausible stratagem. This artful emissary, who had visited Ireland both as a merchant and a sea-rover, represented himself to Olaf as one of the victims of Hakon's cruelty, and described his countrymen as ready to receive the descendant of the renowned Harold with open arms, as their deliverer from a tyranny which had become insupportable. Encouraged by these solicitations, the confiding prince set sail for Norway, accompanied by his pretended friend, and on their arrival they discovered that the greater part of the chiefs and the people were in arms against their king.

Thorér was confounded on perceiving that his deceitful message had actually been realised during his absence. His first anxiety was to communicate with Hakon, but this was rendered impossible, as the tyrant had fled before the rising storm to a distant part of the kingdom, and sought refuge with a woman of illustrious birth named Thora, who had been one of his concubines, and who provided him with a secret grotto, where he remained concealed from his enemies. Returning to the fleet, the disappointed miscreant resolved on a second act of treachery to accomplish his object, by advising Olaf to land and take advantage of the popular excitement. His intention, however, was to betray the young prince, and thus consummate his villany by adding to it the crime of murder; but the design was revealed, and frustrated by the death of the traitor.

Meantime the insurrection had become general. Hakon, who had con-

¹ Very little sincerity appears to have accompanied the conversions of some of these Scandinavian pirates. On one occasion, as we learn from a monkish chronicler of the times, so many Northmen presented themselves to be baptised that there was not time enough to prepare a sufficient number of white robes, such as were worn by the neophytes; they were consequently obliged to use such coarse garments as could be found in the emergency. A chieftain who presented himself to receive the holy rite exclaimed, as they offered him such a dress, "This is the twentieth time I have been baptised, and I have always received a fine white robe, such a sack is more fit for a base lund than for a warrior like me."

trived to elude the search of his enemies by lying concealed in a subterranean excavation, over which was spread a dunghill, with a herd of swine feeding upon it, was at length assassinated by one of his domestics, named Kark, the only companion of his dreary abode. Tidings of this catastrophe were brought to Olaf, who commanded the faithless slave to be instantly put to death for having basely slain his master. The licentious conduct of this prince left a stigma on his memory, and obliterated the good opinion which his subjects formed of him at an earlier period of his reign; whilst the triumph of the adverse party, and the ascendancy of the new religion, confirmed the epithet of the Bad, which the indignant people finally associated with his detested name.

The Norwegians immediately elected Olaf Tryggvason to fill the vacant throne. The first measure undertaken by the youthful monarch was the establishment of Christianity in his new dominions.^d In the *Heimskringla*^b we are given many interesting details of his method and results in this direction, as well as in various others. Some of these are worth transcribing.^a

SNORRE STURLESON ON KING OLAF TRYGGVASON

When King Olaf Tryggvason had been two years king of Norway [Snorre^b tells us], there was a Saxon priest in his house who was called Thangbrand, a passionate, ungovernable man, and a great man-slayer; but he was a good scholar and a clever man. The king would not have him in his house upon account of his misdeeds; but gave him the errand to go to Iceland, and bring that land to the Christian faith. The king gave him a merchant vessel; and, as far as we know of this voyage of his, he landed first in Iceland at Ostfjörð, in the southern Alftafjörð, and passed the winter in the house of Hall of Sidu. Thangbrand proclaimed Christianity in Iceland, and on his persuasion Hall and all his house-people, and many other chiefs, allowed themselves to be baptised; but there were many more who spoke against it. Thorvald Veile and Væterlid the skald composed a satire about Thangbrand; but he killed them both outright. Thangbrand was two years in Iceland, and was the death of three men before he left it.

There was a man called Sigurd, and another called Hauk, both of Halogaland, who often made merchant voyages. One summer they had made a voyage westward to England; and when they came back to Norway they sailed northwards along the coast, and at North More they met King Olaf's people. When it was told the king that some Halogaland people were come who were heathen, he ordered the steersmen to be brought to him, and he asked them if they would consent to be baptised; to which they replied, No. The king spoke with them in many ways, but to no purpose. He then threatened them with death and torture; but they would not allow themselves to be moved. He then had them laid in irons, and kept them in chains in his house for some time, and often conversed with them, but in vain. At last one night they disappeared, without any man being able to conjecture how they got away. But about harvest they came north to Harek of Thiottó, who received them kindly, and with whom they stopped all winter, and were hospitably entertained.

It happened one good-weather day in spring that Harek was at home in his house with only few people, and time hung heavy on his hands. Sigurd asked him if he would row a little for amusement. Harek was willing; and they went to the shore, and drew down a six-oared skiff; and Sigurd took the

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mast and rigging belonging to the boat out of the boat-house, for they often used to sail when they went for amusement on the water. Harek went out into the boat to hang the rudder. The brothers Sigurd and Hauk, who were very strong men, were fully armed, as they were used to go about at home among the peasants. Before they went out to the boat they threw into her some butter-kits and a bread-chest, and carried between them a great keg of ale. When they had rowed a short way from the island the brothers hoisted the sail, while Harek was seated at the helm; and they sailed away from the island. Then the two brothers went aft to where Harek the bonder was sitting; and Sigurd said to him, "Now thou must choose one of these conditions: first, that we brothers direct this voyage; or, if not, that we bind thee fast and take the command; or, third, that we kill thee."

Harek saw how matters stood with him. As a single man, he was not better than one of those brothers, even if he had been as well armed; so it appeared to him wisest to let them determine the course to steer, and bound himself by oath to abide by this condition. On this Sigurd took the helm, and steered south along the land, the brothers taking particular care that they did not encounter people. The wind was very favourable; and they held on sailing along until they came south to Trondhjem and to Nidaros, where they found the king. Then the king called Harek to him, and in a conference desired him to be baptised. Harek made objections; and although the king and Harek talked over it many times, sometimes in the presence of other people, and sometimes alone, they could not agree upon it. At last the king said to Harek, "Now thou mayst return home, and I will do thee no injury; partly because we are related together, and partly that thou mayst not have it to say that I caught thee by a trick: but know for certain that I intend to come north next summer to visit you Halogalanders, and ye shall then see if I am not able to punish those who reject Christianity." Harek was well pleased to get away as fast as he could. King Olaf gave Harek a good boat of ten or twelve pair of oars, and let it be fitted out with the best of everything needful; and besides he gave Harek thirty men, all lads of mettle, and well appointed.

Harek of Thiotto went away from the town as fast as he could; but Hauk and Sigurd remained in the king's house, and both took baptism. Harek pursued his voyage until he came to Thiotto. He sent immediately a message to his friend Eyvind Kinnrif, with the word that he had been with King Olaf; but would not let himself be cowed down to accept Christianity. The message at the same time informed him that King Olaf intended coming to the north in summer against them, and they must be at their posts to defend themselves; it also begged Eyvind to come and visit him, the sooner the better. When this message was delivered to Eyvind, he saw how very necessary it was to devise some counsel to avoid falling into the king's hands. He set out, therefore, in a light vessel with a few hands as fast as he could. When he came to Thiotto he was received by Harek in the most friendly way, and they immediately entered into conversation with each other behind the house. When they had spoken together but a short time, King Olaf's men, who had secretly followed Harek to the north, came up, and took Eyvind prisoner, and carried him away to their ship.

They did not halt on their voyage until they came to Trondhjem, and presented themselves to King Olaf at Nidaros. Then Eyvind was brought up to a conference with the king, who asked him to allow himself to be baptised, like other people; but Eyvind decidedly answered he would not.

The king still, with persuasive words, urged him to accept Christianity, and both he and the bishop used many suitable arguments; but Eyvind would not allow himself to be moved. The king offered him gifts and great fiefs, but Eyvind refused all. Then the king threatened him with tortures and death, but Eyvind was steadfast. Then the king ordered a pan of glowing coals to be placed upon Eyvind's belly, which burst asunder. Eyvind cried, "Take away the pan, and I will say something before I die," which also was done. The king said, "Wilt thou now, Eyvind, believe in Christ?" "No," said Eyvind, "I can take no baptism; for I am an evil spirit put into a man's body by Lapland sorcery, because in no other way could my father and mother have a child." With that died Eyvind, who had been one of the greatest sorcerers.

The spring after, King Olaf fitted out and manned his ships, and commanded himself his ship the *Crane*. He had many and smart people with him; and when he was ready, he sailed northwards with his fleet past Byrd Isle, and to Halogaland. Wheresoever he came to the land, or to the islands, he held a Thing, and told the people to accept the right faith, and to be baptised. No man dared to say anything against it, and the whole country he passed through was made Christian. King Olaf was a guest in the house of Harek of Thiotto, who was baptised with all his people. At parting the king gave Harek good presents; and he entered into the king's service, and got fiefs, and the privileges of lendsman from the king.

There was a bonder, by name Raud the Strong, who dwelt in Godø Isle in Saltenfjord. Raud was a very rich man, who had many house servants; and likewise was a powerful man, who had many Laplanders in his service when he wanted them. Raud was a great idolater, and very skilful in witchcraft, and was a great friend of Thorer Hiort. Both were great chiefs. Now when they heard that King Olaf was coming with a great force from the south to Halogaland, they gathered together an army, ordered out ships, and they too had a great force on foot. Raud had a large ship, with a gilded head formed like a dragon, which ship had thirty rowing benches, and even for that kind of ship was very large. Thorer Hiort had also a large ship. These men sailed southwards with their ships against King Olaf, and as soon as they met gave battle. A great battle there was, and a great fall of men; but principally on the side of the Halogalanders, whose ships were cleared of men, so that a great terror came upon them. Raud rowed with his dragon out to sea, and set sail. Raud had always a fair wind wheresoever he wished to sail, which came from his arts of witchcraft; and, to make a short story, he came home to Godø Isle.

Thorer Hiort fled from the ships up to the land; but King Olaf landed people, followed those who fled, and killed them. Usually the king was the foremost in such skirmishes, and was so now. When the king saw where Thorer Hiort, who was quicker on foot than any man, was running to, he ran after him with his dog Vig. The king said, "Vig! Vig! catch Hiorten."¹ Vig ran straight in upon him; on which Thorer halted, and the king threw a spear at him. Thorer struck with his sword at the dog, and gave him a great wound; but at the same moment the king's spear flew under Thorer's arm, and went through and through him, and came out at his other side. There Thorer left his life; but Vig was carried wounded to the ships.

King Olaf gave life and freedom to all the men who asked it and agreed to become Christian. King Olaf sailed with his fleet northwards along the

¹ Hiorten signifies the deer or hart.

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coast, and baptised all the people among whom he came; and when he came north to Saltenfjord,¹ he intended to sail into it to look for Raud, but a dreadful tempest and storm was raging in the fjord. They lay there a whole week, in which the same weather was raging within the fjord; while without there was a fine brisk wind only, fair for proceeding north along the land. Then the king continued his voyage north to Omd, in Hind Island, where all the people submitted to Christianity. Then the king turned about and sailed to the south again; but when he came to the north side of Saltenfjord, the same tempest was blowing, and the sea ran high out from the fjord, and the same kind of storm prevailed for several days while the king was lying there. Then the king applied to Bishop Sigurd, and asked him if he knew any counsel about it; and the bishop said he would try if God would give him power to conquer these arts of the devil.

Bishop Sigurd took all his mass robes and went forward to the bow of the king's ship; ordered tapers lighted, and incense to be brought out. Then he set the crucifix upon the stem of the vessel, read the Evangelist and many prayers, besprinkled the whole ship with holy water, and then ordered the ship tent to be stowed away, and to row into the fjord. The king ordered all the other ships to follow him. Now when all was ready on board the *Crane* to row, she went into the fjord without the rowers finding any wind; and the sea was curled about their keel track like as in a calm, so quiet and still was the water; yet on each side of them the waves were lashing up so high that they hid the sight of the mountains. And so the one ship followed the other in the smooth sea track; and they proceeded this way the whole day and night, until they reached Godó Isle.

Now when they came to Raud's house his great ship, the *Dragon*, was afloat close to the land. King Olaf went up to the house immediately with his people; made an attack on the loft in which Raud was sleeping, and broke it open. The men rushed in: Raud was taken and bound, and of the people with him some were killed and some made prisoners. Then the king's men went to a lodging in which Raud's house servants slept, and killed some, bound others, and beat others. Then the king ordered Raud to be brought before him, and offered him baptism. "And," said the king, "I will not take thy property from thee, but rather be thy friend, if thou wilt make thyself worthy to be so." Raud exclaimed with all his might against the proposal, saying he would never believe in Christ, and making his scoff of God. Then the king was wroth, and said Raud should die the worst of deaths. And the king ordered him to be bound to a beam of wood, with his face uppermost, and a round pin of wood to be set between his teeth to force his mouth open. Then the king ordered an adder to be stuck into the mouth of him; but the serpent would not go into his mouth, but shrunk back when Raud breathed against it. Now the king ordered a hollow branch of an angelica root to be stuck into Raud's mouth; others say the king put his horn into his mouth, and forced the serpent to go in by holding a red-hot iron before the opening. So the serpent crept into the mouth of Raud and down his throat, and gnawed its way out of his side; and thus Raud perished.

¹ The Saltenfjord is more celebrated in the north of Norway, and more dreaded, than the famous Maelstrom. It is a large fjord within; but the throat through which the vast mass of water has to run in and out at flood and ebb is so narrow, that it makes a very heavy and dangerous race or roost for many miles out in the sea, especially in ebb, when the whole body of water is returning to the ocean. The stream can only be crossed during a few minutes at still water, when flood or ebb has not begun to run, unless at a great distance from the jaws of this singular gulf. ²

King Olaf took here much gold and silver, and other property of weapons, and many sorts of precious effects; and all the men who were with Raud he either had baptised, or if they refused had them killed or tortured. Then the king took the dragon-ship which Raud had owned, and steered it himself; for it was a much larger and handsomer vessel than the *Crane*. In front it had a dragon's head, and aft a crook, which turned up, and ended with the figure of the dragon's tail. The carved work on each side of the stem and stern was gilded. This ship the king called the *Serpent*. When the sails were hoisted they represented, as it were, the dragon's wings; and the ship was the handsomest in all Norway. The islands on which Raud dwelt were called Gilling and Hæring; but the whole islands together were called Godó Isles, and the current between the isles and the mainland the Godo Stream. King Olaf baptised all the people of the fjord, and then sailed southwards along the land; and on this voyage happened much and various things, which are set down in tales and sagas — namely, how witches and evil spirits tormented his men, and sometimes himself; but we will rather write about what occurred when King Olaf made Norway Christian, or in the other countries in which he advanced Christianity. The same autumn Olaf with his fleet returned to Trondhjem and landed at Nidaros, where he took up his winter abode. What I am now going to write about concerns the Icelanders.

Kiartan Olafsson, a son's son of Hoskuld, and a daughter's son of Egil Skalagrimson, came the same autumn from Iceland to Nidaros and he was considered to be the most agreeable and hopeful man of any born in Iceland. There was also Haldor a son of Gudmund of Modrovald; and Kolbein a son of Thord, Frey's godar and a brother's son of Brenno-Flose; together with Swerting a son of the godar Runolf. All these were heathens; and besides them there were many more — some men of power others common men of no property. There came also from Iceland a considerable people, who, by Thangbrand's help had been made Christians; namely, Gissur White, a son of Teit Retilbiornson, and his mother was Alofa, daughter of Herse Bodvar who was the viking Kare's son. Bodvar's brother was Sigurd, father of Eric Biodascalla, whose daughter Astrid was King Olaf's mother. Hjalte Skeggiason was the name of another Iceland man, who was married to Vilborg, Gissur White's daughter. Hjalte was also a Christian; and King Olaf was very friendly to his relations Gissur and Hjalte, who lived with him. But the Iceland men who directed the ships, and were heathens, tried to sail away as soon as the king came to the town of Nidaros, for they were told the king forced all men to become Christians; but the wind came stiff against them, and drove them back to Nidarholm. They who directed the ships were Thorarín Nefiulsson, the skald Halfred Ottarson, Brand the Generous, and Thorleik Brand's son.

It was told the king that there were Icelanders with ships there, and all were heathen, and wanted to fly from a meeting with the king. Then the king sent them a message forbidding them to sail, and ordering them to bring their ships up to the town, which they did, but without discharging the cargoes. They carried on their dealings and held a market at the king's pier. In spring they tried three times to slip away, but never succeeded; so they continued lying at the king's pier. It happened one fine day that many set out to swim for amusement, and among them was a man who distinguished himself above the others in all bodily exercises. Kiartan challenged Halfred Vandrædaskald to try himself in swimming against this man, but he declined it. "Then will I make a trial," said Kiartan, casting off his clothes, and springing into the water. Then he set after the man, seized

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hold of his foot, and dived with him under water. They came up again, and without speaking a word dived again, and were much longer under water than the first time. They came up again and without saying a word dived a third time, until Kiartan thought it was time to come up again, which, however, he could in no way accomplish, which showed sufficiently the difference in their strength. They were under water so long that Kiartan was almost drowned. They then came up, and swam to land. This Northman asked what the Icelanders' name was. Kiartan told his name.

He said, "Thou art a good swimmer; but art thou expert also in other exercises?" Kiartan replied that such expertness was of no great value.

The Northman asked, "Why dost thou not inquire of me such things as I have asked thee about?" Kiartan replied, "It is all one to me who thou art, or what thy name is."

"Then will I," says he, "tell thee: I am Olaf Tryggvason." He asked Kiartan much about Iceland, which he answered generally, and wanted to withdraw as hastily as he could; but the king said, "Here is a cloak which I will give thee, Kiartan." And Kiartan took the cloak with many thanks.

When Michaelmas came, the king had high mass sung with great splendour. The Icelanders went there, and listened to the fine singing and the sound of the bells; and when they came back to their ships every man told his opinion of the Christian man's worship. Kiartan expressed his pleasure at it, but most of the others scoffed at it; and it went according to the proverb, "The king has many ears," for this was told to the king. He sent immediately that very day a message to Kiartan to come to him. Kiartan went to the king with some men, and the king received him kindly. Kiartan was a very stout and handsome man, and of ready and agreeable speech. After the king and Kiartan had conversed a little, the king asked him to adopt Christianity. Kiartan replied that he would not say No to that, if he thereby obtained the king's friendship; and as the king promised him the fullest friendship, they were soon agreed. The next day Kiartan was baptised, together with his relation Bolle Thorleikson, and all their fellow travellers. Kiartan and Bolle were the king's guests as long as they were in their white baptismal clothes, and the king had much kindness for them. Wherever they came they were looked upon as people of distinction.

As King Olaf one day was walking in the street some men met him, and he who went the foremost saluted the king. The king asked the man his name, and he called himself Halfred. "Art thou the skald?" said the king. "I can compose poetry," replied he. "Wilt thou then adopt Christianity, and come into my service?" asked the king. "If I am baptised," replied he, "it must be on one condition — that thou thyself art my godfather; for no other will I have." The king replied, "That I will do." And Halfred was baptised, the king holding him during the baptism.

Afterwards the king said, "Wilt thou enter into my service?" Halfred replied, "I was formerly in Jarl Hakon's court, but now I will neither enter into thine nor into any other service, unless thou promise me it shall never be my lot to be driven away from thee."

"It has been reported to me," said the king, "that thou art neither so prudent nor so obedient as to fulfil my commands." "In that case," replied Halfred, "put me to death." "Thou art a skald who composes difficulties," said the king; "but into my service, Halfred, thou shalt be received."

Halfred said, "If I am to be named the composer of difficulties,¹ what dost

¹ Vandrædascauld — the despair of skalds, or the difficult skald. *

thou give me, king, on my name-day?" The king gave him a sword without a scabbard, and said, "Now compose me a song upon this sword, and let the word sword be in every line of the verses." Halfred sang thus:

This sword of swords is my reward
For him who knows to wield a sword,
And with his sword to serve his lord,
Yet wants a sword, his lot is hard.
I would I had my good lord's leave
For this good sword a sheath to choose:
I'm worth three swords where men swords use,
But for the sword-sheath now I grieve.

Then the king gave him the scabbard, observing that the word sword was wanting in one line of his strophe. "But there are three swords at least in two other lines," says Halfred. "So it is," replies the king.¹ Out of Halfred's lays we have taken the most of the true and faithful accounts that are here related about Olaf Tryggvason.

The same harvest Thangbrand the priest came back from Iceland to King Olaf, and told the ill success of his journey — namely, that the Icelanders had made lampoons about him; and that some even sought to kill him, and there was little hope of that country ever being made Christian. King Olaf was so enraged at this that he ordered all the Icelanders to be assembled by sound of horn, and was going to kill all who were in the town; but Kiartan, Gissur, and Hjalte, with the other Icelanders who had become Christians, went to him, and said, "King, thou must not fall from thy word — that however much any man may irritate thee, thou wilt forgive him if he turn from heathenism and become Christian. All the Icelanders here are willing to be baptised; and through them we may find means to bring Christianity into Iceland: for there are many amongst them, sons of considerable people in Iceland, whose friends can advance the cause; but the priest Thangbrand proceeded there as he did here in the court, with violence and manslaughter, and such conduct the people there would not submit to." The king hearkened to these remonstrances; and all the Iceland men who were there were baptised.

King Olaf was more expert in all exercises than any man in Norway whose memory is preserved to us in sagas; and he was stronger and more agile than most men, and many stories are written down about it. One is, that he ascended the Smalsor Horn² and fixed his shield upon the very peak. Another is that one of his followers had climbed up the peak after him, until he came to where he could neither get up nor down; but the king came to his help, climbed up to him, took him under his arm, and bore him to the flat ground. King Olaf could run across the oars outside of the vessel while his men were rowing the Serpent. He could play with three daggers, so that one was always in the air, and he took the one falling by the handle. He could walk all around upon the ship's rail's, could strike and cut equally well with both hands, and could cast two spears at once. King Olaf

¹ From this dialogue, which we may fairly take as a true representation of the tone of conversation, and very likely of the words, between a king and a man of literature or skald in the tenth century, it may be inferred that there was a considerable taste for the compositions of skalds, and for intellectual effort; but that this taste was gratified by the art of verse-making — by the reproduction of words, letters, metres, in difficult technical circumstances — much more than by the spirit of poetry. It is likely that in all ages, and even among individuals, the taste for the simple and natural in poetry is the last, not the first developed taste. It is the savage who loves frippery in dress, and in what addresses itself to taste.²

² Now called Hornelen — an inaccessible peak or needle on the summit of a mountain in Bremanger.²

[995-1000 A.D.]

was a very merry, frolicsome man; gay and social; had great taste in everything; was very generous; was very finical in his dress, but in battle he exceeded all in bravery. He was distinguished for cruelty when he was enraged, and tortured many of his enemies. Some he burned in fire; some he had torn in pieces by mad dogs; some he had mutilated, or cast down from high precipices. On this account his friends were attached to him warmly, and his enemies feared him greatly; and thus he made such a fortunate advance in his undertakings, for some obeyed his will out of the friendliest zeal, and others out of dread.

Leif, a son of Eric Rode, who first settled in Greenland, came this summer from Greenland to Norway; and as he met king Olaf he adopted Christianity, and passed the winter with the king. Gudrod, a son of Eric Blodæxe and Gunhilda the "mother of kings," had been ravaging in the western countries ever since he fled from Norway before the Jarl Hakoñ. But the summer before mentioned, when King Olaf Tryggvason had ruled four years over Norway, Gudrod came to the country, and had many ships of war with him. He had sailed from England; and when he thought himself near to the Norway coast, he steered south along the land, to the quarter where it was least likely King Olaf would be. Gudrod sailed in this way south to Viken; and as soon as he came to the land began to plunder, to subject the people to him, and to demand that they should accept of him as king.

Now as the country people saw that a great army was come upon them, they desired peace and terms. They offered King Gudrod to send a Thing-message over all the country, and to accept of him at the Thing as king, rather than suffer from his army; but they desired delay until a fixed day, while the token of the Thing's assembling was going round through the land. The king demanded maintenance during the time this delay lasted. The bonders preferred entertaining the king as a guest, by turns, as long as he required it; and the king accepted of the proposal to go about with some of his men as a guest from place to place in the land, while others of his men remained to guard the ships. When King Olaf's relations, Hyrning and Thorgeir, heard of this, they gathered men, fitted out ships, and went northwards to Viken. They came in the night with their men to a place at which King Gudrod was living as a guest, and attacked him with fire and weapons; and there King Gudrod fell, and most of his followers. Of those who were with his ships some were killed, some slipped away and fled to great distances; and now were all the sons of Eric and Gunhilda dead.

The winter after King Olaf came from Halogaland, he had a great vessel built at Ladehammar,¹ which was larger than any ship in the country, and of which the beam-knees are still to be seen. The length of keel that rested upon the grass was seventy-four ells. Thorberg Skafting was the man's name who was the master builder of the ship; but there were many others besides—some to fell wood, some to shape it, some to make nails, some to carry timber;² and all that was used was of the best. The ship was both long and broad and high-sided, and strongly timbered.

While they were planking the ship, it happened that Thorberg had to go

¹ Ladehammar—the knob or point of land below the house of Lade, still known by the same name. Lade is close to Trondhjem *

² This division of labour and trades, and this building of a vessel equal in length to a frigate of forty guns, give a curious peep at the civilisation of these pagans in the tenth century, and of the state of the useful arts among them. We need not be surprised that a people who had master-carpenters among them had skalds—the useful and the fine arts keep some kind of pace together. *

home to his farm upon some urgent business; and as he remained there a long time, the ship was planked up on both sides when he came back. In the evening the king went out, and Thorberg with him, to see how the vessel looked, and everybody said that never was seen so large and so beautiful a ship of war. Then the king returned to the town. Early next morning the king returned again to the ship, and Thorberg with him. The carpenters were there before them, but all were standing idle with their arms across. The king asked what was the matter. They said the ship was destroyed; for somebody had gone from stem to stern, and cut one deep notch after the other down the one side of the planking. When the king came nearer he saw it was so, and said, with an oath, "The man shall die who has thus destroyed the vessel out of envy, if he can be discovered, and I shall bestow a great reward on whoever finds him out."

"I can tell you, king," said Thorberg, "who has done this piece of work." "I don't think," replied the king, "that anyone is so likely to find it out as thou art." Thorberg said, "I will tell you, king, who did it. I did it myself." The king said, "Thou must restore it all to the same condition as before, or thy life shall pay for it."

Then Thorberg went and chipped the planks until the deep notches were all smoothed and made even with the rest; and the king and all present declared that the ship was much handsomer on the side of the hull which Thorberg had chipped, and bade him shape the other side in the same way, and gave him great thanks for the improvement. Afterwards Thorberg was the master builder of the ship until she was entirely finished. The ship was a dragon, built after the one the king had captured in Halogaland; but this ship was far larger, and more carefully put together in all her parts. The king called this ship *Serpent the Long*, and the other *Serpent the Short*. The long *Serpent* had thirty-four benches for rowers. The head and the arched tail were both gilt, and the bulwarks were as high as in sea-going ships. This ship was the best and most costly ship ever made in Norway.⁶

OLAF AT WAR WITH SWEYN

The fame of Olaf spread over all the countries of the North, and when he demanded the fair hand of Sigrid the Proud, a Swedish princess who had rejected with disdain many a suitor of princely birth, his overtures were favourably received. A treaty of marriage was on the eve of being concluded, when it was broken off on the point of religion; the king insisting upon a renunciation of the errors of idolatry, whilst the haughty bride scouted the proposal with contempt. The match was as scornfully declined on the part of the royal lover, who declared, in most uncourteous terms, that he would "never consent to live with an old heathen hag." To crown the insult, he struck his obstinate mistress with his glove, who, in her turn, predicted that this unmannerly outrage should cost him his throne and his life. Sigrid became the wife of Sweyn king of Denmark, and through her machinations the vindictive prophecy was soon fulfilled.

This monarch had a sister named Thyra, married to Burisleif, the same Wend prince whose daughter Olaf had formerly espoused. Being dissatisfied with her husband, and not daring to return to her native country, she sought a refuge in Norway, where she was immediately honoured with the hand of the sovereign, in violation of the most sacred precepts of that religion which he had laboured to inculcate on others with fire and sword.

[905-1000 A.D.]

This conduct furnished a brand to kindle the train already laid by jealousy and insulted pride. A pretext for open hostilities was opportunely afforded by the expedition which the Norwegian king had despatched to Pomerania, to recover the dowry and other property left by his queen in that country.

As the fleet was equipped, and had passed without asking the consent of Sweyn through the seas over which Denmark, even in that early age, claimed a sort of feudal jurisdiction, the enemies of Olaf were thus supplied with an ostensible cause of war, which his own imprudence seemed to justify. In the confederacy against him, Sigrid employed the agency of the piratical chief of Jomsburg, Sigvald Jarl, who contrived, by his intrigues and misrepresentations, to engage in the quarrel both the king of Sweden and the exiled Eric (son of Hakon Jarl), who sojourned at that court, and was easily persuaded to join an enterprise which encouraged the hope of regaining his patrimonial dominions.

Whilst the three allied princes were maturing their arrangements, and had actually put to sea, the suspicions of Olaf were lulled to sleep by the artful protestations of the treacherous Sigvald, who even carried his perfidy so far as to offer him the aid of his own valiant band, in case of sudden attack; and having undertaken to pilot the fleet back to Norway, through the passages between the small islands scattered along the southern coasts of the Baltic, he basely conducted the whole squadron into the midst of the enemy, who lay concealed near the present city of Stralsund. Perceiving their danger, the king's friends advised him to retreat, or to form a junction with the main division, which had already reached the open sea, and which composed the greater part of his effective force; but he indignantly rejected their counsel, declaring that he had never yet turned his back upon the foe, and should scorn to save his life by flight.

The royal ship, called the *Long Serpent*, led the van, from which the courageous monarch could observe and direct every movement of the battle.^d Let Snorre^b tell the issue of this notable conflict:

Snorre Sturleson on the Great Sea Fight

King Olaf stood on the *Serpent's* quarterdeck, high over the others. He had a gilt shield, and a helmet inlaid with gold; over his armour he had a short red coat, and was easy to be distinguished from other men. When King Olaf saw that the scattered forces of the enemy gathered themselves together under the banners of their ships, he asked, "Who is the chief of the force right opposite to us?" He was answered that it was King Sweyn with the Danish army.

The king replied, "We are not afraid of these soft Danes, for there is no bravery in them; but who are the troops on the right of the Danes?" He was answered that it was King Olaf with the Swedish forces.

"Better it were," says King Olaf, "for these Swedes to be sitting at home killing their sacrifices, than to be venturing under our weapons from the *Long Serpent*. But who owns the large ships on the larboard side of the Danes?" "That is Jarl Eric Hakonson," said they. The king replied, "He, methinks, has good reason for meeting us; and we may expect the sharpest conflict with these men, for they are Northmen like ourselves."

The kings now laid out their oars, and prepared to attack. King Sweyn laid his ship against the *Long Serpent*. Outside of him Olaf the Swede laid himself, and set his ship's stem against the outermost ship of King Olaf's line; and on the other side lay Jarl Eric. Then a hard combat began. Jarl Sig-

vald held back with the oars on his ships, and did not join the fray. So says Skule Thorsteinson, who at that time was with Jarl Eric:

I followed Sigvald in my youth,
And gallant Eric; and in truth,
Tho' now I am grown stiff and old,
In the spear-song I once was bold
Where arrows whistled on the shore
Of Swalder fjord my shield I bore,
And stood amidst the loudest clash
When swords on shields made fearful crash.

And Halfred also sings thus:

In truth, I think the gallant king,
Midst such a foemen's gathering,
Would be the better of some score
Of his tight Trondhjem lads, or more;
For many a chief has run away,
And left our brave king in the fray,
Two great king's power to withstand,
And one great jarl's, with his small band.
The king who dares such mighty deed
A hero for his skald would need.^k

This battle was one of the severest told of, and many were the people slain. The forecastle men of the *Long Serpent*, the *Little Serpent*, and the *Crane* threw grapplings and stem chains into King Sweyn's ship, and used their weapons well against the people standing below them, for they cleared the decks of all the ships they could lay fast hold of; and King Sweyn, and all the men who escaped, fled to other vessels, and laid themselves out of bow-shot. It went with this force just as King Olaf Tryggvason had foreseen. Then King Olaf the Swede laid himself in their place; but when he came near the great ships it went with him as with them, for he lost many men and some ships, and was obliged to get away. But Jarl Eric laid the *Iron Beard* side by side with the outermost of King Olaf's ships, thinned it of men, cut the cables, and let it drive. Then he laid alongside of the next, and fought until he had cleared it of men also. Now all the people who were in the smaller ships began to run into the larger, and the jarl cut them loose as fast as he cleared them of men. The Danes and Swedes laid themselves now out of shooting distance all around Olaf's ship; but Jarl Eric lay always close alongside of the ships, and used his swords and battle-axes, and as fast as people fell in his vessel others, Danes and Swedes, came in their place.

So says Haldor:

Sharp was the clang of shield and sword,
And shrill the song of spears on board,
And whistling arrows thickly flew
Against the *Serpent's* gallant crew.
And still fresh foemen it is said,
Jarl Eric to her long side led,
Whole armies of his Danes and Swedes,
Wielding on high their blue sword-blades.

Then the fight became most severe, and many people fell. But at last it came to this, that all King Olaf Tryggvason's ships were cleared of men except the *Long Serpent*, on board of which all who could still carry their

[1000 A.D.]

arms were gathered. Then *Iron Beard* lay side by side with the *Serpent*, and the fight went on with battle-axe and sword. So says Haldor:

Hard pressed on every side by foes,
The *Serpent* reels beneath the blows;
Crash go the shields around the bow!
Breast-plates and breasts pierced thro' and thro'!
In the sword-storm the *Holm* beside,
The *Iron Beard* lay alongside
The king's *Long Serpent* of the sea—
Fate gave the jarl the victory.

Jarl Eric was in the forehold of his ship, where a cover of shields¹ had been set up. In the fight, both hewing weapons, sword and axe, and the thrust of spears had been used; and all that could be used as weapon for casting was cast. Some used bows, some threw spears with the hand. So many weapons were cast into the *Serpent*, and so thick flew spears and arrows, that the shields could scarcely receive them; for on all sides the *Serpent* was surrounded by war ships. Then King Olaf's men became so mad with rage that they ran on board of the enemies' ships, to get at the people with stroke of sword and kill them; but many did not lay themselves so near the *Serpent*, in order to escape the close encounter with battle-axe or sword; and thus the most of Olaf's men went overboard and sank under their weapons, thinking they were fighting on plain ground. So says Halfred:

The daring lads shrink not from death,—
O'erboard they leap, and sink beneath
The *Serpent's* keel, all armed they leap,
And down they sink five fathoms deep.
The foe was daunted at their cheers;
The king, who still the *Serpent* steers,
In such a strait—beset with foes—
Wanted but some more lads like those.

Einar Tambarskelver, one of the sharpest of bowshooters, stood by the mast, and shot with his bow. Einar shot an arrow at Jarl Eric, which hit the tiller-end just above the jarl's head so hard that it entered the wood up to the arrow-shaft. The jarl looked that way, and asked if they knew who had shot; and at the same moment another arrow flew between his hand and his side, and into the stuffing of the chief's stool, so that the barb stood far out on the other side. Then said the jarl to a man called Fin — but some say he was of Finn (Laplander) race, and was a superior archer — "Shoot that tall man by the mast." Fin shot; and the arrow hit the middle of Einar's bow just at the moment that Einar was drawing it, and the bow was split in two parts.

"What is that," cried King Olaf, "that broke with such a noise?" "Norway, king, from thy hands," cried Einar. "No! not quite so much as that," said the king; "take my bow, and shoot," flinging the bow to him.

Einar took the bow, and drew it over the head of the arrow. "Too weak, too weak," said he, "for the bow of a mighty king!" and, throwing the bow aside, he took sword and shield, and fought valiantly.

The king stood on the gangways of the *Long Serpent*, and shot the greater part of the day; sometimes with the bow, sometimes with the spear, and always throwing two spears at once. He looked down over the ship's side,

¹ Both in land and sea fights the commanders appear to have been protected from missile weapons — stones, arrows, spears — by a shieldburg, that is, by a party of men bearing shields surrounding them in such a way that the shields were a parapet, covering those within the circle. The Romans had a similar military arrangement of shields in sieges — the testudo.

[1000 A.D.]

and saw that his men struck briskly with their swords, and yet wounded but seldom. Then he called aloud, "Why do ye strike so gently that ye seldom cut?" One among the people answered, "The swords are blunt and full of notches." Then the king went down into the forehold, opened the chest under the throne, and took out many sharp swords, which he handed to his men; but as he stretched down his right hand with them, some observed that blood was running down under his steel glove, but no one knew where he was wounded.

Desperate was the defence in the *Serpent*, and there was the heaviest destruction of men done by the forecastle crew, and those of the forehold, for in both places the men were chosen men, and the ship was highest; but in the middle of the ship the people were thinned. Now when the Jarl Eric saw there were but few people remaining beside the ship's mast, he determined to board; and he entered the *Serpent* with four others. Then came Hyrning, the king's brother-in-law, and some others against him, and there was the most severe combat; and at last the jarl was forced to leap back on board the *Iron Beard* again, and some who had accompanied him were killed, and others wounded. Thord Kolbeinsson alludes to this:

On Odin's deck, all wet with blood,
The helm-adorned hero stood,
And gallant Hyrning honour gained,
Clearing all round with sword deep stained.
The high Fielde peaks shall fall,
Ere men forget this to recall.

Now the fight became hot indeed, and many men fell on board the *Serpent*; and the men on board of her began to be thinned off, and the defence to be weaker. The jarl resolved to board the *Serpent* again, and again he met with a warm reception. When the forecastle men of the *Serpent* saw what he was doing, they went aft and made a desperate fight; but so many men of the *Serpent* had fallen that the ship's sides were in many places quite bare of defenders; and the jarl's men poured in all around into the vessel, and all the men who were still able to defend the ship crowded aft to the king, and arrayed themselves for his defence. So says Haldor the Unchristian:

Eric cheers on his men,—
'On to the charge again!'
The gallant few
Of Olaf's crew
Must refuge take
On the quarterdeck.
Around the king
They stand in ring;
Their shields enclose
The king from foes,
And the few who still remain
Fight madly, but in vain.
Eric cheers on his men—
On to the charge again!

Kolbiorn the marshal, who had on clothes and arms like the king's, and was a remarkably stout and handsome man, went up to the king on the quarterdeck. The battle was still going on fiercely even in the forehold.¹

¹ From the occasional descriptions of vessels in this and other battles, it may be inferred that even the *Long Serpent*, described in chapter XCV as of 150 feet of keel, was only decked fore and aft; the thirty-four benches for rowers occupying the open area in the middle, and probably gangways running along the sides for communicating from the quarterdeck to the forecastle.

[1000 A.D.]

But as many of the jarl's men had now got into the *Serpent* as could find room, and his ships lay all round her, and few were the people left in the *Serpent* for defence against so great a force; and in a short time most of the *Serpent's* men fell, brave and stout though they were. King Olaf and Kolbiorn the marshal both sprang overboard, each on his own side of the ship; but the jarl's men had laid out boats around the *Serpent*, and killed those who leaped overboard. Now when the king had sprung overboard, they tried to seize him with their hands, and bring him to Jarl Eric; but King Olaf threw his shield over his head, and sank beneath the waters. Kolbiorn held his shield behind him to protect himself from the spears cast at him from the ships which lay round the *Serpent*, and he fell so upon his shield that it came under him, so that he could not sink so quickly. He was thus taken and brought into a boat, and they supposed he was the king. He was brought before the jarl; and when the jarl saw it was Kolbiorn, and not the king, he gave him his life. At the same moment all of King Olaf's men who were in life sprang overboard from the *Serpent*; and Thorkel Nefia, the king's brother, was the last of all the men who sprang overboard. It is thus told concerning the king by Halfred:

The *Serpent* and the *Crane*
Lay wrecks upon the main.
On his sword he cast a glance, —
With it he saw no chance.
To his marshal, who of yore
Many a war-chance had come o'er,
He spoke a word — then drew in breath,
And sprang to his deep-sea death.

Jarl Sigvald, as before related, came from Wendland, in company with King Olaf, with ten ships; but the eleventh ship was manned with the men of Astrid, the king's daughter, the wife of Jarl Sigvald. Now when King Olaf sprang overboard, the whole army raised a shout of victory, and then Jarl Sigvald and his men put their oars in the water and rowed towards the battle. Haldor the Unchristian tells of it thus:

Then first the Wendland vessels came
Into the fight with little fame;
The fight still lingered on the wave,
Tho' hope was gone with Olaf brave.
War, like a full-fed ravenous beast,
Still oped her grim jaws for the feast.
The few who stood now quickly fled,
When the shout told — Olaf is dead!

But the Wendland cutter, in which Astrid's men were, rowed back to Wendland; and the report went immediately abroad, and was told by many that King Olaf had cast off his coat of mail under water, and had swum, diving under the long-ships, until he came to the Wendland cutter, and that Astrid's men had conveyed him to Wendland: and many tales have been made since about the adventures of Olaf the king. Halfred speaks thus about it:

Does Olaf live? or is he dead?
Has he the hungry ravens fed?
I scarcely know what I should say,
For many tell the tale each way.
This I can say, nor fear to lie,
That he was wounded grievously, —
So wounded in this bloody strife,
He scarce could come away with life,

But, however this may have been, King Olaf Tryggvason never came back again to his kingdom of Norway.^b

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF OLAF TRYGGVASON: OLAF OF NORWAY

The romantic incidents in the chequered life of this warlike prince have perhaps too much alloy in their composition to abide the scrupulous test of history. It was a tradition long cherished by his countrymen that, like the famous Dom Sebastian of Portugal, he disappeared in the midst of battle, and never returned to his own country. But according to the legend of his biographers, Gunnlaug and Oddur, he saved his life by swimming, proceeded in the disguise of a palmer to Rome, and afterwards to the Holy Land where he became an anchorite, and was said to be still living in the reign of Magnus, his fourth successor on the throne of Norway.¹ The northern chronicles represent him as the most distinguished hero of his times. In bodily strength and agility he surpassed all his contemporaries; he could climb the steepest rocks, and walk along the oar when the ship was impelled by the rowers; he used both hands with equal dexterity and would amuse himself with twirling three sharp swords in the air at once, catching each in its turn by the hilt. His taste for the liberal and useful arts had been improved by his widely-extended travels both in the East and the West. He was a munificent patron of the skalds, although it might be supposed that their connection with the ancient heathen faith would have excited his prejudice against them. He greatly encouraged the art of ship-building; and the advantages of commerce and civilisation, which he witnessed in his youth in foreign countries, induced him to become the founder of a city, at the mouth of the river Nid, called, from its position, Nidaros, and afterwards Trondhjem, from the name of the province of which it is still the capital, to serve as a dépôt or granary for that part of the kingdom so often exposed to the scourge of famine.

On the death or disappearance of Olaf, his dominions became the spoil of the confederated victors. The kings of Denmark and Sweden claimed such portions of territory as suited their convenience, leaving the rest to Eric and Svend, the sons of Hakon Jarl. The latter princes endeavoured to obliterate from the minds of their countrymen the recollection of the violent means which had raised them to power, by exercising it in the mildest and gentlest form; and although professing Christianity themselves, they wisely refused to persecute the adherents of the ancient national faith. The Danish monarch, Canute the Great, was for a time too much occupied in subduing England, and securing the dubious inheritance of a foreign crown, to turn his attention to Norway; but so soon as the reduction of the Anglo-Saxons to a state of tolerable order had allowed him an opportunity of revisiting his native land, he urged his pretensions to the sceptre of that kingdom in right of his father, who had been instrumental in wresting it from the hands of Tryggvason.

The Norwegians, however, had previously chosen and acknowledged as their sovereign a lineal descendant of Harfagr, named Olaf [called Dick, or the Thick], the son of Harold Granske. This youthful prince had been educated by Sigurd Syr, the chief of an upland district, who had espoused Olaf's

¹ Gunnlaug and Oddur, two Icelandic monks of the twelfth century, wrote each a separate Saga or Life of Olaf, which were used by Snorre Sturleson among other original materials in the compilation of this part of the *Heimskringla*. The different relations tending to corroborate the account of Olaf's escape by swimming, are carefully collected in Olaf's *Tryggvasonar Saga*, published by the Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen.

[1000 A.D.]

widowed mother. In his twelfth year he was entrusted with a piratical expedition to the British coasts, where he assisted the Anglo-Saxons in opposing the Danes; and at the age of sixteen he had been engaged in nine great battles.^d

The following is Snorre's^b account of this expedition so far as concerns England: When Æthelred, the king of the English, heard in Flanders that Sweyn was dead, he returned directly to England; and no sooner was he come back, than he sent an invitation to all the men who would enter into his pay, to join him in recovering the country. Then many people flocked to him; and among others, came King Olaf with a great troop of Northmen to his aid. They steered first to London, and sailed into the Thames with their fleet; but the Danes had a castle within. On the other side of the river is a great trading place, which is called Sudrviki (Southwark). There the Danes had raised a great work, dug large ditches, and within had built a bulwark of stone, timber, and turf, where they had stationed a strong army. King Æthelred ordered a great assault; but the Danes defended themselves bravely, and King Æthelred could make nothing of it. Between the castle¹ and Southwark there was a bridge, so broad that two wagons could pass each other upon it. On the bridge were raised barricades, both towers and wooden parapets, in the direction of the river, which were nearly breast high; and under the bridge were piles driven into the bottom of the river. Now when the attack was made the troops stood on the bridge everywhere, and defended themselves. King Æthelred was very anxious to get possession of the bridge, and he called together all the chiefs to consult how they should get the bridge broken down. Then said King Olaf he would attempt to lay his fleet alongside of it, if the other ships would do the same. It was then determined in this council that they should lay their war forces under the bridge; and each made himself ready with ships and men.

King Olaf ordered great platforms of floating wood to be tied together with hazel bands, and for this he took down old houses; and with these as a roof he covered over his ships so widely that it reached over the ships' sides. Under this screen he set pillars so high and stout that there was room for swinging their swords, and the roofs were strong enough to withstand the stones cast down upon them. Now, when the fleet and men were ready they rowed up along the river; but when they came near the bridge, there were cast down upon them so many stones and missile weapons, such as arrows and spears, that neither helmet nor shield could hold out against it; and the ships themselves were so greatly damaged that many retreated out of it. But King Olaf, and the Northmen's fleet with him, rowed quite up under the bridge, laid their cables around the piles which supported it, and then rowed off with all the ships as hard as they could down the stream. The piles were thus shaken in the bottom, and were loosened under the bridge.

Now, as the armed troops stood thick of men upon the bridge, and there were likewise many heaps of stones and other weapons upon it, and the piles under it being loosened and broken, the bridge gave way; and a great part of the men upon it fell into the river, and all the others fled, some into the castle, some into Southwark. Thereafter Southwark was stormed and taken. Now, when the people in the castle saw that the river Thames was mastered, and that they could not hinder the passage of ships up into the country, they became afraid, surrendered the tower, and took Æthelred to be their king.

¹ On the site, probably, of the Tower of London. #

So says Ottar Swarte:

London Bridge is broken down, —
Gold is worn, and bright renown
Shields resounding,
War-horns sounding.
Hildur shouting in the din!
Arrows singing,
Mail-coats ringing—
Odin makes our Olaf win!

And he also composed these:

King Æthelred has found a friend
Brave Olaf will his throne defend —
In bloody fight
Maintain his right,
Win back his land
With blood-red hand,
And Eadmund's son upon his throne replace—
Eadmund, the star of every royal race!

Sigvat also relates as follows:

At London Bridge stout Olaf gave
Odin's law to his war-men brave —
"To win or die!"
And their foemen fly.
Some by the dyke-side refuge gain —
Some in their tents on Southwark plain!
This sixth attack
Brought victory back.

King Olaf passed all the winter with King Æthelred, and had a great battle at Hringmara heath¹ in Ulfkel's land, the domain which Ulfkel Snelling at that time held; and here again the king was victorious. So says Sigvald the skald:

To Ulfkel's land came Olaf bold,
A seventh sword-thing he would hold.
The race of Ælla filled the plain—
Few of them slept at home again
Hringmara heath
Was a bed of death:
Harfagr's heir
Dealt slaughter there.

And Ottar sings of this battle thus:

From Hringmar field
The chime of war,
Sword striking shield,
Rings from afar.
The living fly;
The dead piled high
The moor enrich:
Red runs the ditch.

The country far around was then brought in subjection to King Æthelred; but the Thing-men² and the Danes held many castles, besides a great part of the country.

¹ This is an unknown place, Hringmaraheidi; but must be in East Angeln, as it is called Ulfkel Snelling's land, and he appears to have been chief of the part of England called East Angeln occupied by the Danes. Ashdown in Kent, and Assington in Essex, have each been taken by antiquaries for this battle-field *

² Thing-men were hired men-at-arms; called Thing-men probably from being men above the class of thralls or unfree men, and entitled to appear at Things, as being udal born to land

[1000-1016 A.D.]

King Olaf was commander of all the forces when they went against Canterbury; and they fought there until they took the town, killing many people and burning the castle. So says Ottar Swarte:

All in the grey of morn
 Broad Canterbury's forced.
 Black smoke from house-roofs borne
 Hides fire that does its worst;
 And many a man laid low
 By the battle-axe's blow,
 Waked by the Norsemen's cries,
 Scarce had time to rub his eyes.

Sigvald reckons this King Olaf's eighth battle. At this time King Olaf was intrusted with the whole land defence of England, and he sailed round the land with his ships of war. He laid his ships at land at Nyamode,¹ where the troops of the Thing-men were, and gave them battle and gained the victory. So says Sigvald the skald:

The youthful king stained red the hair
 Of Angeln men, and dyed his spear
 At Newport in their hearts' dark blood,
 And where the Danes the thickest stood—
 Where the shrill storm round Olaf's head
 Of spear and arrow thickest fled,
 There thickest lay the Thing-men dead!
 Nine battles now of Olaf bold,
 Battle by battle, I have told.

King Olaf then scoured all over the country, taking scatt of the people, and plundering where it was refused. So says Ottar:

The English race could not resist thee,
 With money thou madest them assist thee,
 Unsparingly thou madest them pay
 A scatt to thee in every way
 Money, if money could be got—
 Goods, cattle, household gear, if not.
 Thy gathered spoil, borne to the strand,
 Was the best wealth of English land.

Olaf remained here for three years. The third year King Æthelred died, and his sons Eadmund and Edward took the government.^b Then Olaf sailed southwards out to sea. During two years he infested the shores of France and Spain; and subsequently took advantage of the absence of Eric, son of Hakon Jarl, then fighting under the banner of Canute in England, to assert his claim to the throne of his ancestors. He was joyfully received by his countrymen, and especially by the Christian party, to whom he was attached from infancy, having been baptised in his third year. But his zeal, like that of his godfather Olaf Tryggvason, led him to persecute the refractory heathen with fire and sword. Not content with burning their temples, and erecting churches on their ruins, he marched through the country with armed bands, for the purpose of converting his subjects and rooting out the last vestige of pagan superstition.

at home. They appear to have hired themselves out as hird-men, that is, court-men, or the bodyguard of the kings. The Varangians at the court of Constantinople were of this description. The victories of King Sweyn and of Canute the Great have been ascribed to the superiority of these men, who formed bodies of standing troops, over levies of peasantry.^{*}

¹ Nyamode is supposed to be Newport in the Isle of Wight; more likely New Romney, the river-mouth of the Rother in Kent.^{*}

While thus occupied in forcibly establishing the new religion, Canute landed with a powerful armament at Trondhjem, and met with little opposition on the part of his rival, now abandoned by the principal chieftains, some of whom were disgusted with his severities, whilst others were seduced by the promises and rich presents of the invader. The majority of the people followed the example of their leaders, and submitted to the authority of the Danish king. Olaf fled, with his infant son Magnus, to the Russian court, where he was hospitably received by his brother-in-law Yaroslav, a prince of the house of Rurik. Here he sojourned during the regency of Hakon, son of Eric Jarl, whom Canute had appointed his lieutenant in Norway. On the death of the viceroy, he returned to Sweden, where obtaining suitable assistance he made a desperate effort to recover the crown; but he was defeated and slain in a battle fought (August 31st, 1030) at Stiklestad, near the city of Trondhjem. His body was discovered and secretly buried by one of his faithful adherents, but afterwards disinterred and conveyed to Trondhjem, where it was deposited in the magnificent cathedral which rose upon the ruins of the temple of Thor. The recollection of his cruelties was forgotten, and such was the reverence paid to him as a hero and a martyr that he might almost be said to have filled the place of the ancient idols in the affections of the nation. Churches and shrines were erected in honour of the royal saint, not only in Norway but in Denmark, Sweden, Russia, England, and even by his countrymen at Constantinople.^d

The Sainthood of King Olaf

Pilgrims journeyed in crowds to St. Olaf's shrine, and legends of cripples who had there recovered the use of their limbs, and of other miracles, soon became numberless. St. Olaf's shrine of silver, inlaid with gold and precious stones, was on solemn occasions, such as the saint's yearly festival or the election of a king, borne in procession by sixty men, and was an abundant source of revenue to the clergy and the cathedral.

When the Swedes in 1564 had taken possession of Trondhjem, they found nothing remaining of St. Olaf's treasures except his helmet, spurs, and the wooden chest that had contained his body. The helmet and spurs they took with them to Sweden, where they were preserved in the church of St. Nicholas at Stockholm; but the chest they left behind in a church, after having drawn out the silver nails, which had been left by the Danes. After the expulsion of the Swedes, St. Olaf's body and chest were, with great solemnity, carried back to the cathedral, where, a contemporary bears witness, the body was found entire in a grave of masonry in 1567, and "his blood is seen to this day in a barn, and can never be washed out by water or human hands." In the following year St. Olaf's body was by a royal ordinance covered with earth.

St. Olaf's sanctity is no more thought of, even his last resting-place is forgotten; but his name still lives, as is proved by the numerous traditions still fresh in the memory of the Norwegian people. Throughout the land are to be found traces of St. Olaf's deeds and miraculous power. Fountains sprang forth when he thirsted, and acquired salutary virtue when he drank; rocks were rent at his bidding, and sounds (*sunde*) were formed at his nod; churches were raised, and trolls found in St. Olaf a foe as formidable as they had formerly had in the mighty Thor, whose red beard even was inherited by St. Olaf. In many places trolls are still shown, who were turned into stone at St. Olaf's command.

[1035 A.D.]

What heathenism attributed to the gods of Valhalla and to the mighty Thor, the Catholic ecclesiastics, with their earliest converts, no doubt transferred to the powerful suppressor of the Asa faith, St. Olaf, whose axe supplanted Thor's Mjolnir, and whose steed, renowned in tradition, the goats of the Thunder-god. The numerous representations, which in the days of Catholicism were no doubt to be found in many of the churches dedicated to St. Olaf, are now for the most part destroyed; but from the notices which we have of them, the hero was generally represented with a battle-axe in his hand, and treading on a troll or a dragon.⁷

SVEND IS SUCCEEDED BY MAGNUS; THE DEATH OF CANUTE

The death of the viceroy Hakon had made way for the accession to the throne of Norway of Svend, son of Canute and his first wife Alfifa. But Svend rendered himself odious by his severe laws and his impolitic government, and was soon obliged to surrender the rule when a powerful party of malcontents sent for Magnus the Good, son of St. Olaf. Thus the great empire, whose elements had not been united by intimate ties but only by the strength and wisdom of Canute, began to disintegrate even during the lifetime of that prince. Soon after, in 1035, died, at the age of forty years, the most powerful king who had reigned in the north.

Gifted with a pleasing countenance, he had the appearance of good health, a clear complexion, beautiful long hair, and an aquiline nose. He had shunned no means, even the most unjust, which were potent to accomplish his purposes, and his memory is soiled by more than one murder, but we cannot refuse to recognise, in the sovereign who knew how to unite and maintain such great territories, either an eminent talent for rule or a rare ability for mastering events and turning them to his own advantage.⁸

THE PRESERVATION OF THE SAGAS

The fierce and barbarous elements in the character of the Northmen have been sufficiently displayed in the foregoing pages; it will therefore be some relief to turn to the other side of the picture and see how far these same wild peoples had already advanced in the useful arts of civilisation and even in literature.^a This body of literature, produced by the Scandinavians of the viking age, is remarkably distinguished from that of any other people of the same period by being composed entirely in the native national tongue, and intended to instruct or amuse an audience of the people; and not in a dead language, and intended merely for the perusal of an educated class in the monasteries.

It may be said that the influence of sagas or songs, of the literature, such as it may be, upon the spirit and character of a people, is overstated, and that it is but a fond exaggeration, at any rate, to dignify with the title of a national influential literature the rude traditionary tales and ballads of a barbarous pagan population. But a nation's literature is its breath of life, without which a nation has no existence, is but a congregation of individuals. However low the literature may be in its intellectual merit, it will nationalise the living materials of a population into a mass animated with common feeling. During the five centuries in which the Northmen were riding over the seas, and conquering wheresoever they landed, the literature of the people they overcame was locked up in a dead language, and within the

walls of monasteries. But the Northmen had a literature of their own, rude as it was; and the Anglo-Saxon race had none—none at least belonging to the people. In the five centuries between the days of the Venerable Bede and those of Matthew Paris, that is from the ninth to the end of the thirteenth century, the northern branch of the common race was not destitute of intellectuality, notwithstanding all their paganism and barbarism, and they had a literature adapted to their national spirit, and wonderfully extensive.

It does not appear that any saga manuscript now existing has been written before the fourteenth century, however old the saga itself may be. The Flato manuscript is of 1395. Those supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century are not ascertained to be so on better data than the appearance and handwriting. It is known that in the eleventh century Are Frode, Sæmund, and others began to take the sagas out of the traditionary state, and fix them in writing; but none of the original skins appear to have come down to our times, but only some of the numerous copies of them. Bishop Müller shows good reasons for supposing that before Are Frode's time, and in the eleventh century, sagas were committed to writing; but if we consider the scarcity of the material in that age—parchment of the classics, even in Italy, being often deleted, to be used by the monks for their writings—these must have been very few. No well-authenticated saga of ancient date in runic is extant, if such ever existed; although runic letters occur in Gothic, and even in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, mixed with the other characters.

The writings of Are, who lived about the year 1117 and first committed to writing the Icelandic compositions, and of Sæmund, who flourished about the year 1083 and had studied at universities in Germany and France, and of Oddo the Monk, who flourished in the twelfth century, are almost entirely lost. Kolskegg, a contemporary of Are, and, like him, distinguished by the surname of Frode—the wise, or the much-knowing—Brandus, who lived about the year 1163, Eric, the son of Oddo, and his contemporary Karl, abbot of the monastery of Thringó, in the north of Iceland, and several others, appear to have been collectors, transcribers, and partly continuators of preceding chronicles; and all these flourished between the time of Bede in the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century, when the devastations of these piratical vikings were at the worst, and the time of Snorre Sturleson in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the viking life was given up, invasions of Northmen even under their kings had ceased, and the influence of Christianity and its establishments was diffused.

This body of literature may surely be called a national literature; for, on looking over the subjects it treats of it will be found to consist almost entirely of historical events, or of the achievements of individuals, which, whether real or fabulous, were calculated to sustain a national spirit among the people for whom they were composed; and scarcely any of it consists of the legends of saints, of homilies, or theological treatises, which constitute the greater proportion of the literature of other countries during the same ages, and which were evidently composed only for the public of the cloisters. It is distinguished also from any contemporary literature, and indeed from any known body of literature, by the peculiar circumstance of its having been for many centuries, and until the beginning of the twelfth century, or within 120 years of Snorre Sturleson's own times, an oral not a written literature, and composed and transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth and by memory, not by pen, ink, and parchment.

[—1050 A.D.]

The early history of every people can only have been preserved by traditionary stories, songs, ballads, until the age when they were fixed by writing. Snorre Sturleson has done for the history of the Northmen what Livy did for the history of the Romans. Moreover, the sagas have been preserved among the Northmen, or at least have not perished so entirely but that the sources from which their historian Snorre drew his information may be examined. If we consider the scarcity of the material — parchment — in the Middle Ages, even in the oldest Christianised countries of Europe, and the still greater scarcity of scribes and men of learning and leisure, who would bestow their time and material on any subjects but monastic legends in the Latin language, we must wonder that so many of these historical tales had been committed to writing in Iceland; not that so many which once were extant in the traditionary state have not been preserved.

THE SKALDS

Who were the original authors of these compositions; and what was the condition of the class of men, the skalds, who composed them? What were the peculiar circumstances in the social condition of the Northmen in those ages, by which such a class as the skalds was kept in bread, and in constant employment and exertion among them, and even with great social consideration; while among the Anglo-Saxons, the equivalent class of the bards, troubadours, minstrels, minnesingers was either extinct, or of no more social influence than that of the court jesters or the *jongleurs*?

Before the introduction or general diffusion of writing it is evident that a class of men whose sole occupation it was to commit to memory and preserve the laws, usages, precedents, and details of all civil affairs and rights, and to whose fidelity in relating former transactions implicit confidence could be given, must of necessity have existed in society — must have been in every locality; and from the vast number and variety of details in every district, and the great interests of every community, must have been esteemed and recompensed in proportion to their importance in such a social state. This class was formed of the skalds — the men who were the living books, to be referred to in every case of law or property in which the past had to be applied to the present. Before the introduction of Christianity, and with Christianity the introduction of the use of written documents, and the diffusion, by the church establishment, of writing in every locality, the skald must have been among the pagan landowners what the parish priest and his written record were in the older Christianised countries of Europe. In these all civil affairs were in written record either of the priest or the lawyer; and the skalds, in these Christianised countries, were merely a class of wandering troubadours, poets, story-tellers, minnesingers, entertained, like the dwarfs, court-jesters, or jugglers, by the great barons at their castles, for the entertainment which their songs, music, stories, or practical jokes might afford. Here, in this pagan country, they were a necessary and most important element in the social structure.

They were the registrars of events affecting property, and filled the place and duty of the lawyer and scribe in a society in which law was very complicated; the succession to property, through affinity and family connection, very intricate, from the want of family surnames, and the equal rights of all children; and in which a priesthood acquainted more or less with letters, the art of writing, and law, was totally wanting. The skalds of the north

[—1050 A.D.]

disappeared at once when Christian priests were established through the country. They were superseded in their utility by men of education, who knew the art of writing; and the country had no feudal barons to maintain such a class for amusement only. We hear little of the skalds after the first half of the twelfth century; and they are not quoted at all in the portion of Magnus Erlingsson's reign given by Snorre Sturleson within the twelfth century.

Besides the payment of scatt, and the maintenance of the king's household in the royal progresses, the whole body of the landowners were bound to attend the king in arms and with ships, whenever they were called upon to serve him either at home or abroad. The king appears, in fact, not only not to have wanted any prerogative that feudal sovereigns of the same times possessed, but to have had much more power than the monarchs of other countries. The middle link in the feudal system—a nobility of great crown vassals, with their sub-vassals subservient to them as their immediate superiors, not to the crown—was wanting in the social structure of the Northmen. The kingly power working directly on the people was more efficient; and the kings, and all who had a satisfactory claim to the royal power, had no difficulty in calling out the people for war expeditions. These expeditions, often merely predatory in their object, consisted either of general levies, in which all able-bodied men, and all ships, great and small, had to follow the king; or of certain quota of men, ships, and provisions, furnished by certain districts according to fixed law. All the country along the coasts of Norway, and as far back into the land “as the salmon swims up the rivers,” was divided into ship-districts or ship-rathes; and each district had to furnish ships of a certain size, a certain number of men, and a certain equipment, according to its capability; and other inland districts had to furnish cattle and other provision in fixed numbers.

This arrangement was made by Harold Harfagr's successor, Hakon, who reigned between 933 and 961; and as Hakon was the foster-son of Æthelstan of England, and was bred up to manhood in his court, it is not improbable that this arrangement may have been borrowed from the similar arrangement made by King Alfred for the defence of the English coast against the Northmen; unless we take the still more probable conjecture that Alfred himself borrowed it from them, as they were certainly in all naval and military affairs superior to his own people in that age. It is to be observed that, for the Northmen, these levies for predatory expeditions were by no means unpopular or onerous. “To gather property” by plundering the coasts of cattle, meal, malt, wool, slaves, was a favourite summer occupation. When the crops were in the ground in spring, the whole population, which was seafaring as well as agricultural in its habits, was altogether idle until harvest; and the great success in amassing booty, as vikings, on the coasts, made the *leding*, as it was called, a favourite service during many reigns: and it appears that the service might be commuted sometimes into a war tax, when it was inconvenient to go on the levy. Every man, it is to be observed, who went upon these expeditions, was udal born to some portion of land at home; that is, had certain udal rights of succession, or of purchase, or of partition, connected with the little estate of the family of which he was a member.

All these complicated rights and interests connecting people settled in Northumberland, East Anglia, Normandy, or Iceland, with landed property situated in the valleys of Norway, required a body of men, like the skalds, whose sole occupation was to record in their stories trustworthy

[—1050 A.D.]

accounts, not only of the historical events, but of the deaths, intermarriages, pedigrees, and other family circumstances of every person of any note engaged in them. We find, accordingly, that the sagas are, as justly observed by Pinkerton, rather memoirs of individuals than history. They give the most careful heraldic tracing of every man's kin they speak of, because he was kin to landowners at home, or they were kin to him. In such a social state we may believe that the class of skalds were not, as we generally suppose, merely a class of story-tellers, poets, or harpers, going about with gossip, song, and music; but were interwoven with the social institutions of the country, and had a footing in the material interests of the people.

To take an interest in the long-past events of history is an acquired intellectual taste, and not at all the natural taste of the unlettered man. When we are told of the Norman baron in his castle-hall, or the Iceland peasant's family around their winter fireside in their turf-built huts, sitting down in the tenth or the eleventh century to listen to, get by heart, and transmit to the rising generation the accounts of historical events of the eighth or ninth century in Norway, England, or Denmark, we feel that, however pleasing this picture may be to the fancy, it is not true to nature—not consistent with the human mind in a rude illiterate social state. But when we consider the nature of the peculiar udal principle by which land or other property was transmitted through the social body of these Northmen, we see at once a sufficient foundation in the material interests, both of the baron and the peasant, for the support of a class of traditionary relators of past events. Every person in every expedition was udal born to something at home—to the kingdom, or to a little farm; and this class were the recorders of the vested rights of individuals, and of family alliances, feuds, or other interests, when written record was not known. For many generations after the first Northmen settled in England or Normandy, it must, from the uncertain issue of their hostilities with the indigenous inhabitants, have been matter of deep interest to every individual to know how it stood with the branch of the family in possession of the piece of udal land in the mother-country to which he also was udal born, that is, had certain eventual rights of succession; and whether to return and claim their share of any succession which may have opened up to them in Norway must have been a question with settlers in Northumberland, Normandy, or Iceland, which could only be solved by the information derived from such a class as the skalds.

Before the clergy by their superior learning extinguished the vocation of this class among the Northmen, the skalds appear to have been frequently employed also as confidential messengers or ambassadors; as, for instance, in the proposal of a marriage between Olaf king of Norway and the daughter of King Olaf of Sweden, and of a peace between the two countries to be established by this alliance. The skalds, by their profession, could go from court to court without suspicion, and in comparative safety, because, being generally natives of Iceland, they had no hereditary family feuds with the people of the land, no private vengeance for family injuries to apprehend; and being usually rewarded by gifts of rings, chains, goblets, and such trinkets, they could, without exciting suspicion, carry with them the tokens by which, before the art of writing was common in courts, the messenger who had a private errand to unfold was accredited. When kings or great people met in those ages they exchanged gifts or presents with each other, and do so still in the East; and the original object of this custom was that each

should have tokens known to the other, by which any bearer afterwards should be accredited to the original owner of the article sent with him in token, and even the amount of confidence to be reposed in him denoted.

We, with writing at command, can scarcely perhaps conceive the shifts people must have been put to when even the most simple communication or order had to be delivered *vivâ voce* to some agent who was to carry it, and who had to produce some credential or token that he was to be believed. Every act of importance between distant parties had to be transacted by tokens. Our wonder and incredulity cease when we consider that such a class of men as those who composed and transmitted this great mass of saga literature were evidently a necessary element in the social arrangements of the time and people, and, together with their literature or traditional songs and stories, were intimately connected with the material interests of all, and especially of those who had property and power. They were not merely a class of wandering poets, troubadours, or story-tellers, living by the amusement they afforded to a people in a state too rude to support any class for their intellectual amusement only. The skalds, who appear to have been divided into two classes—poets, who composed or remembered verses in which events were related, or chiefs and their deeds commemorated; and saga-men, who related historical accounts of transactions past or present—were usually, it may be said exclusively, of Iceland.^h

Several of the kings of Sweden entertained Icelandic skalds, but it was at the courts of Norwegian monarchs that they found the most hospitable reception and liberal patronage. Thus Harold Harfagr had always in his service four principal skalds, who were the intimate companions of his leisure hours, and with whom he even counselled upon his most serious and important affairs. He assigned them the highest seats at the royal board, and gave them precedence over all his other courtiers. St. Olaf, king of Norway—whose zeal against the pagan religion induced him to include the songs of the skalds among the other inventions of the demon, and of whom the skald Sigvat said, “He was unwilling to listen to any lay”—deprived them of their accustomed precedence at his court. But such was the force of ancient feelings and prejudice that this monarch continued to give them much of his confidence, and frequently employed them on the most important public missions.

Nor could he suppress the wish that his own name might live in song, and he was accompanied to the field in the last fatal battle, which terminated his life and reign, by three of the most celebrated Icelandic skalds of the time, to whom he assigned in the midst of his bravest champions a conspicuous post, where they might be able distinctly to see and hear, and afterwards relate the events of the day. Thormod, one of these skalds, dictated a lay, which the whole army sung after him, and which is still extant. Two of them fell dead by the king's side, and Thormod, though mortally wounded by an arrow, would not desert him, but still continued to chant the praises of the saintly king until he expired.ⁱ

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE NORTHMEN

If the historical sagas tell us little concerning the religion and religious establishments of the pagan Northmen, they give us incidentally a great deal of curious and valuable information about their social condition and institutions. The following observations are picked up from the sagas.

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The lowest class in the community were the *thraell* (thralls, slaves). They were the prisoners captured by the vikings at sea on piratical cruises, or carried off from the coasts of foreign countries in marauding expeditions. These captives were, if not ransomed by their friends, bought and sold at regular slave markets. The owners could kill them without any fine, mulct, or manbod to the king, as in the case of the murder or manslaughter of a free man. King Olaf Tryggvason, in his childhood, his mother Astrid, and his foster-father Thorolf, were captured by an Esthonian viking, as they were crossing the sea from Sweden on their way to Novgorod, and were divided among the crew, and sold. An Esthonian man called Klerkon got Olaf and Thorolf as his share of the booty; but Astrid was separated from her son Olaf, then only three years of age. Klerkon thought Thorolf too old for a slave, and that no work would be got out of him to repay his food, and therefore killed him; but sold the boy to a man called Klærk for a goat.

A peasant called Reas bought him from Klærk for a good cloak; and he remained in slavery until he was accidentally recognised by his uncle, who was in the service of the Russian king, and was by him taken to the court of Novgorod, where he grew up. His mother, Astrid, apparently long afterwards, was recognised by a Norwegian merchant called Lodin at a slave market to which she had been brought for sale. Lodin offered to purchase her, and carry her home to Norway, if she would accept of him in marriage, which she joyfully agreed to; Lodin being a man of good birth, who sometimes went on expeditions as a merchant, and sometimes on viking cruises. On her return to Norway her friends approved of the match as suitable; and when her son, King Olaf Tryggvason, came to the throne, Lodin and his sons by Astrid were in high favour. This account of the capturing, selling, and buying slaves, and killing one worn out, is related as an ordinary matter. In Norway this class appears to have been better treated than on the south side of the Baltic, and to have had some rights. Lodin had to ask his slave Astrid to accept of him in marriage.

We find them also in the first half of the eleventh century, at least under some masters, considered capable of acquiring and holding property of their own. When Asbiorn came from Halogaland in the north of Norway to purchase a cargo of meal and malt, of which articles King Olaf the Saint, fearing a scarcity, had prohibited the exportation from the south of Norway, he went to his relation Erling Skialgsson, a peasant or bondi, who was married to a sister of the late King Olaf Tryggvason, and was a man of great power. Erling told Asbiorn that in consequence of the law he could not supply him, but that his thralls or slaves could probably sell him as much as he required for loading his vessel; adding the remarkable observation that they, the slaves, are not bound by the law and country regulations like other men — evidently from the notion that they were not parties, like other men, to the making of the law in the Thing.

It is told of this Erling, who was one of the most considerable men in the country, and brother-in-law of King Olaf Tryggvason, although of the bonder or peasant class, that he had always ninety free-born men in his house, and two hundred or more when Jarl Hakon, then regent of the country, came into the neighbourhood; that he had a ship of thirty-two banks of oars; and when he went on a viking cruise, or in a levy with the king, had two hundred men at least with him. He had always on his farm thirty slaves, besides other workpeople; and he gave them a certain task as a day's work to do, and gave them leave to work for themselves in the twilight, or in the night. He also gave them land to sow, and gave them the benefit of their

own crops; and he put upon them a certain value, so that they could redeem themselves from slavery, which some could do the first or second year, and "all who had any luck could do it in the third year." With this money Erling bought new slaves, and he settled those who had thus obtained their freedom on his newly cleared land, and found employment for them in useful trades, or in the herring fishery, for which he furnished them with nets and salt. The same course of management is ascribed in the Saga of St. Olaf to his stepfather, Sigurd Syr, who is celebrated for his prudence, and wisdom, and skill in husbandry; and it has probably been general among the slaveholders. The slaves who had thus obtained their freedom would belong to what appears to have been a distinct class from the peasants or bonders on the one hand, or the slaves on the other—the class of unfree men.

This class—the unfree—appears to have consisted of those who, not being udal born to any land in the country, so as to be connected with and have an interest in the succession to any family estate, were not free of the Things; were not entitled to appear and deliberate in those assemblies; were not Thingmen. This class of unfree is frequently mentioned in general levies for repelling invasion, when all men, free and unfree, are summoned to appear in arms; and the term unfree evidently refers to men who had personal freedom, and were not thralls, as the latter could only be collected to a levy by their masters. This class would include all the cottars on the land paying a rent in work upon the farm to the peasant, who was udal born proprietor; and, under the name of housemen, this class of labourers in husbandry still exists on every farm in Norway. It would include also, the house-carls, or free-born indoor men, of whom Erling, we see, always kept ninety about him. They were, in fact, his bodyguard and garrison, the equivalent to the troop maintained by the feudal baron of Germany in his castle; and they followed the *bondi* or peasant in his summer excursions of piracy, or on the levy when called out by the king. They appear to have been free to serve whom they pleased.

We find many of the class of bonders who kept a suite of eighty or ninety men—as Erling, Harek of Thiottó, and others. Sweyn, of the little isle of Gairsay in Orkney, kept, we are told in the Orkneyinga Saga, eighty men all winter; and as we see the owner of this farm, which could not produce bread for one-fourth of that number, trusting for many years to his success in piracy for subsisting his retainers, we must conclude that they formed a numerous class of the community. This class would also include workpeople, labourers, fishermen, tradesmen, and others about towns and farms, or rural townships, who, although personally free and free-born, not slaves, were unfree in respect of the rights possessed by the class of bonders, land-owners, or peasants, in the Things. They had the protection and civil rights imparted by laws, but not the right to a voice in the enactment of the laws, or regulation of public affairs in the Things of the country. They were, in their rights, in the condition of the German population at the present day.

Bondi

The class above the unfree in civil rights, the free peasant-proprietors, or bonder class, were the most important and influential in the community. We have no word in English, or in any other modern language, exactly equivalent to the word *bondi*, because the class itself never existed among us. Peasant does not express it; because we associate with the word peasant

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the idea of inferior social importance to the feudal nobility, gentry, and landed proprietors of a country, and this bonder class was itself the highest class in the country. Yeoman, or, in Cumberland, statesman, expresses their condition only relatively to the portions of land owned by them; not their social position as the highest class of landowners. If the Americans had a word to express the class of small landholders in their old settled states who live on their little properties, have the highest social influence in the country, and are its highest class, and, although without family aggrandisement by primogeniture succession, retain family distinction and descent, and even family pride, but divide their properties on the udal principle among their children, it would express more justly what the bonder class were than the words landholder, yeoman, statesman, peasant-proprietor, or peasant. In the translation of the Heimskringla, where the word peasant is used for the word *bondi*,¹ the reader will have to carry in mind that these peasants were, in fact, an hereditary aristocracy, comprehending the great mass of the population, holding their little estates by a far more independent tenure than the feudal nobility of other countries, and having their land strictly entailed on their own families and kin, and with much family pride, and much regard for and record of their family descent and alliances, because each little estate was entailed on each peasant's whole family and kin.

Udal right was, and is to this day in Norway, a species of entail, in realty, in the family that is udal born to it. The udal land could not be alienated by sale, gift to the church, escheat to a superior, forfeiture, or by any other casualty, from the kindred who were udal born to it; and they had, however distantly connected, an eventual right of succession vested in them superior to any right a stranger in blood could acquire. The udal born to a piece of land could evict any other possessor, and, until a very late period, even without any repayment of what the new possessor having no udal right may have paid for it, or laid out upon it; and at the present day a right of redemption within a certain number of years, is competent to those udal born to an estate which has been sold out of a family. The right to the crown of Norway itself was udal born right in a certain family or race, traced from Odin down to Harold Harfagr through the Yngling dynasty, as a matter of religious faith; but from Harold Harfagr as a fixed legal and historical point. All who were of his blood were udal born to the Norwegian crown, and with equal rights of succession in equal degrees of propinquity. The eldest son had no exclusive right, either by law or in public opinion, to the whole succession, and the kingdom was more than once divided equally among all the sons.

This principle of equal succession appears to have been so rooted in the social arrangement and public mind that, notwithstanding all the evils it produced in the succession to the crown by internal warfare between brothers, it seems never to have been shaken as a principle of right; and the kings who had laboured the most to unite the whole country into one sovereignty, as Harold Harfagr, were the first to divide it again among their sons. One cause of this may have been the impossibility, among all classes, from

¹ *Bondi* (in the plural *bændr*) does not suit the English ear, and there is no reasoning with the ear in matters of language. *Bonder*, although it be plural, is therefore used singularly, and *bonders*, although it be a double plural, to express more than one of the *bondi*. The word itself, *bondi* or *buandir*, seems derived from *bu*, a country dwelling, signifying also the stock, wealth, affairs, and all that belongs to husbandry. The word *bu* is still retained in Orkney and Shetland, to express the principal farm and farm-house of a small township or property, the residence of the proprietor; and is used in Denmark and Norway to express stock, or farm stock and substance.

the king to the peasant, of providing otherwise for the younger branches of a family than by giving them a portion of the land itself, or of the products of the land paid instead of money taxes to the crown. Legitimacy of birth was held of little account, owing probably to marriage not being among the Odin-worshippers a religious as well as a civil act; for we find all the children, illegitimate as well as legitimate, esteemed equal in udal-born right even to the throne itself; and although high descent on the mother's side also appears to have been esteemed, it was no obstacle even to the succession to the crown that the mother, as in the case of Magnus the Good, had been a slave.

This was the consequence of polygamy, in which, as in the East, the kings indulged. Harold Harfagr had nine wives at once, and many concubines; and every king, even King Olaf the Saint, had concubines as well as wives; and we find polygamy indulged in down to about 1130, when Sigurd the Crusader's marriage with Cecilia, at the time his queen was alive and not divorced, was opposed by the Bishop of Bergen, who would not celebrate it; but nevertheless the priest of Stavanger performed the ceremony, on the king's duly paying the church for the indulgence. Polygamy appears not to have been confined to kings and great men; for we find in the old Icelandic law book, called the *Grey Goose*, that, in determining the mutual rights of succession of persons born in either country, Norway or Iceland, in the other country, it is provided that children born in Norway in bigamy should have equal right as legitimate children — which also proves that in Iceland civilisation was advanced so much further than in Norway that bigamy was not lawful there, and its offspring not held legitimate. Each little estate was the kingdom in miniature, sometimes divided among children, and again reunited by succession of single successors by udal-born right vesting it in one. These landowners, with their entailed estates, old families, and extensive kin or clanship, might be called the nobility of the country, but that, from their great numbers and small properties, the tendency of the equal succession to land being to prevent the concentration of it into great estates, they were the peasantry.

In social influence they had no class, like the aristocracy of feudal countries, above them. All the legislation, and the administration of law also, was in their hands. They alone conferred the crown at their Things. No man, however clear and undisputed his right of succession, ventured to assume the kingly title, dignity, and power, but by the vote and concurrence of a Thing. He was proposed by a bonder; his right explained; and he was received by the Thing before he could levy subsistence, or men and aid, or exert any act of kingly power within the jurisdiction of the Thing. After being received and proclaimed at the Ore Thing held at Trondhjem as the general or sole king of Norway, the upper king — which that Thing alone had the right to do — he had still to present himself to each of the other district Things, of which there were four, to entitle him to exercise royal authority, or enjoy the rights of royalty within their districts.

The bonders of the district, who had voice and influence in those Things by family connection and personal merit, were the first men in the country. Their social importance is illustrated by the remarkable fact that established kings — as, for instance, King Olaf Tryggvason — married their sisters and daughters to powerful bonders, while others of their sisters and daughters were married to the kings of Sweden and Denmark. Erling the bonder refused the title of jarl when he married Estrith, the king's sister. Lodin married the widow of a king, and the mother of King Olaf Tryggvason.

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There was no idea of disparagement, or inferiority, in such alliances; which shows how important and influential this class was in the community.

The Absence of a Feudal Aristocracy

It would be a curious inquiry for the political philosopher to examine the causes which produced, in the tenth century, such a difference in the social condition of the Northmen and of the cognate Anglo-Saxon branch in England and Germany. Physical causes connected with the nature of the country and climate, as well as the conventional causes of udal right, and the exclusion of inheritance by primogeniture, prevented the accumulation of land into large estates, and the rise of a feudal nobility like that of Germany. The following physical causes appear not only to have operated directly in preventing the growth of the feudal system in the country of the Northmen, but to have produced some of the conventional causes also which concurred to prevent it.

The Scandinavian peninsula consists of a vast table of mountain land, too elevated in general for cultivation, or even for the pasturage of large herds or flocks together in any one locality; and although sloping gently towards the Baltic or the Sound on the Swedish side, and there susceptible of the same inhabitation and husbandry as other countries, in as far as climate and soil will allow, on the other side — the proper country of the Northmen — throwing out towards the sea all round huge prongs of rocky and lofty ridges, either totally bare of soil or covered with pine forests, growing apparently out of the very rock, and with no useful soil beneath them. The valleys and deep glens between these ridges, which shoot up into lofty pinnacles, precipices, and mountains, are filled at the lower end by the ocean, forming fjords, as these inlets of the sea are called, which run far up into the land, in some cases a hundred miles or more; yet so narrow that the stones, it is said, rolling down from the mountain slope on one side of such a fjord, are often projected from the steep overhanging precipice, in which the slope half-way down ends, across to the opposite shore. These fjords in general, however, are fine expanses or inland lakes of the ocean, — calm, deep, pure blue; and shut in on every side by black precipices and green forests, and with fair wooded islets sleeping on the bosom of the water.

These fjords are the peculiar and characteristic feature of Norwegian scenery. Rivers of great volume of water, but generally of short and rapid course, pour into the fjords from the Fielde, or high table-land behind, which forms the body or mass of the country. It is on the flat spots of arable land on the borders of these fjords, rivers, and the lakes into which the rivers expand, that the population lives. In some of these river-valleys and sea-valleys a single farm of a few acres of land is only found here and there in many miles of country, the bare rock dipping at once into the blue deep water, and leaving no margin for cultivation. In others, narrow slips of inhabitable arable land extend some way, but are hemmed in behind, on the land side, by the rocky ridges which form the valley; and they are seldom broad enough to admit of two rows of little farms, or even of two large fields, in the breadth between the hill-foot and the water; and in the length are often interrupted by some bare prong of rock jutting from the side-ridge into the slip of arable level land, and dividing it from such another slip. All the land capable of cultivation, either with spade or plough, has been cultivated from the most remote times; and there is little room for improvement, because it is the

ground-rock destitute of soil, not merely trees or loose rocks encumbering the soil; that opposes human industry. The little estates, not averaging perhaps fifty acres each of arable land, are densely inhabited; because the seasons for preparing the ground, sowing, and reaping, are so brief that all husbandry work must be performed in the shortest possible time, and consequently at the expense of supporting, all the year, a great many hands on the farm to perform it. And the fishing in the fjord, river, or lake, the summer pasturage for cattle in the distant *fielde-glens* attached to each little estate in the inhabited country, and a little wood-cutting in the forest afford subsistence to many more people than the little farm itself would require for its cultivation in a better clime, or could support from its own produce. The extent of every little property has been settled for ages, and want of soil and space prevents any alteration in the extent, and keeps it within the unchangeable boundaries of rock and water.

It is highly interesting to look at these original little family estates of the men who, in the ninth and tenth centuries, played so important a part in the finest countries of Europe — who were the origin of the men and events we see at this day, and whose descendants are now seated on the thrones and in the palaces of Europe, and in the West have made a new world of social arrangements for themselves. The sites, and even the names, of the little estates or *gaards* on which these men were born remain unchanged, in many instances, to this day; and the posterity of the original proprietors of the ninth century may reasonably be supposed, in a country in which the land is entailed by *udal* right upon the family, to be at this day the possessors — engaged, however, now in cutting wood for the French or Newcastle market, instead of in conquering Normandy and Northumberland.

Some of the great English nobility and gentry leave their own splendid seats, parks, and estates in England, to enjoy shooting and fishing in Norway for a few weeks. They are little aware that they are perhaps passing by the very estates which their own ancestors once ploughed — sleeping on the same spot of this earth on which their forefathers, a thousand years ago, slept, and were at home; men, too, as proud then of their high birth, of their descent, through some seven-and-twenty generations, from Odin, or his followers, the *Gotar*, as their posterity are now of having “come in with or before the Conqueror.” The common traveller, visiting this land destitute of architectural remains of former magnificence, without the temples and classical ruins of Italy, or the cathedrals and giant castles of Germany, will yet feel here that the memorials of former generations may be materially insignificant, yet morally grand. These little farms and houses, as they stand at this day, were the homes of men whose rude, but just and firm sense of their civil and political rights in society, is, in the present times, radiating from the spark of it they kindled in England, and working out in every country the emancipation of mankind from the thralldom of the institutions which grew up under the Roman Empire, and still cover Italy and Germany, along with the decaying ruins of the splendour, taste, magnificence, power, and oppression of their rulers. Europe holds no memorials of ancient historical events which have been attended by such great results in our times as some rude excavations in the shore-banks of the island of *Vigerø*,¹ in *Møre* — which are pointed out by the finger of tradition as the dry docks in which the vessels of *Rolf Ganger*, from whom the fifth in descent was our William the Conqueror, were drawn up in winter, and from whence he launched them, and set out from Norway on the expedition in which he conquered Normandy.

¹ *Vigerø*, the isle of *Viger*, is situated in *Haram* parish, in the bailiwick of *Soud Mør*.

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The philosopher might seat himself beside the historian amidst the ruins of the Capitol, and with Rome and all the monuments of Roman power and magnificence under his eye might venture to ask whether they, magnificent and imposing as they are, suggest ideas of greater social interest — are connected with grander moral results on the condition, well-being, and civilisation of the human race in every land, than these rude excavations in the isle of Viger, which once held Rolf Ganger's vessels.

It is evident that such a country in such a climate never could have afforded a rent, either in money or in natural products, for the use of the land, to a class of feudal nobility possessing it in great estates, although it may afford a subsistence to a class of small working landowners, like the bonders, giving their own labour to the cultivation, and helping out their agricultural means of living with the earnings of their labour in other occupations — in piracy and pillage on the coasts of other countries in the ninth century, and in the nineteenth with the cod fishery, the herring fishery, the wood trade, and other peaceful occupations of industry. On account of these physical circumstances — of a soil and climate which afford no surplus produce from land, after maintaining the needful labourers, to go as rent to a landlord — no powerful body of feudal nobility could grow up in Norway, as in other countries in the Middle Ages; and, from the same causes, now in modern times, during the four hundred years previous to 1814 in which Denmark had held Norway, all the encouragement that could be given by the Danish government to raising a class of nobility in Norway was unavailing.

Slavery even could not exist in any country in which the labour of the slave would barely produce the subsistence of the slave, and would leave no surplus gain from his labour for a master; still less could a nobility, or body of great landowners drawing rent, subsist where land can barely produce subsistence for the labour which, in consequence of the shortness of the seasons, is required in very large quantity, in proportion to the area, for its cultivation. We find, accordingly, that when the viking trade, the occupation of piracy and pillage, was extinguished by the influence of Christianity, the progress of civilisation, the rise of the Hanseatic League and of its establishments, which in Norway itself both repressed piracy and gave beneficial occupation in the fisheries to the surplus population formerly occupied in piracy and warfare, that class of people which had formerly been engaged all summer and autumn in marauding expeditions fell back upon husbandry and ordinary occupations; and the class of slaves, the thralls, was necessarily superseded in their utility by people living at home all the year. The last piratical expeditions were about the end of the twelfth century, and in the following century thralldom, or slavery, was, it is understood, abolished by law by Magnus the Law Improver. The labour of the slave was no longer needed at home, and would not pay the cost of his subsistence.

The Things

Physical circumstances also, and not conventional or accidental circumstances, evidently moulded the other social arrangements of the Northmen into a shape different from the feudal. The Things or assemblies of the people, which kings had to respect and refer to, may be deduced much more reasonably from natural causes similar to those which prevented the rise of a feudal class of nobles in Norway, than from political institutions or principles of social arrangement carried down from the ancient Germans in a natural

state of liberty in remote ages. In every age and country, there are but two ways in which the governing class of a community can issue their laws, commands, or will, to the governed. One is through writing and by the arts of writing and reading being so generally diffused that in every locality one individual at least, the civil functionary or the parish priest, is able to communicate the law, command, or will of the governing to that small group of the governed over which he is placed.

The other way, and the only way where, from the nature of the soil and climate, the governed are widely scattered, and writing and reading are rarely attained, and such civil or clerical arrangement not efficient, was to convene Things or general assemblies of the people, at which the law, command, or will of the governing could be made known to the governed. There could be no other way, in poor, thinly inhabited countries especially, by which the governing, however despotic, could get their law, command, or will done; for these must be made known to be executed or obeyed, whether they were for a levy of men or of money, for war or for peace, for rewarding and honouring, or for punishing and disgracing — the law, command, or will must be promulgated.

The concurrence of a few great nobles could not here give effect to the royal command, law, or will; because the few, the intermediate link of a powerful aristocracy, were from physical causes — the poverty of the soil — totally wanting among the Northmen, and the kings had to deal direct with the people in great general assemblies or Things. The necessity of holding such general meetings or Things for announcing to the people the levies of men, ships, and provisions required of them, and for all public business, and the check given by the Things to all measures not approved of by the public judgment, appear in every page of the *Heimskringla*, and constitute its great value, in fact, to us, as a record of the state of social arrangement among our ancestors. The necessity of assembling the people was so well established that we find no public act whatsoever undertaken without the deliberation of a Thing; and the principle was so engrafted in the spirit of the people that even the attack of an enemy, the course to be taken in dangerous circumstances, to retreat or advance, were laid before a Thing of all the people in the fleet or army; and they often referred it to the king's own judgment — that is, the king took authority from the Thing to act in the emergency on his own plan and judgment.

A reference to the people in all that concerned them was interwoven with the daily life of the Northmen, in peace and in war. We read of "house Things," of "court Things," of "district Things," for administering law, of Things for consultation of all engaged in an expedition; and in all matters, and on all occasions, in which men were embarked with common interests, a reference to themselves, a universal spirit of self-government in society, was established. King Sverri, who reigned from 1177 to 1203, although taking his own way in his military enterprises, appears in a saga of his reign never to have omitted calling a Thing, and bringing it round by his speeches, which are often very characteristic, to his own opinion and plans.

So essential were Things considered, wheresoever men were acting with a common stake and interest, that in war expeditions the call to a Thing on the war-horn or trumpet appears to have been a settled signal-call known to all men — like the call to arms, or the call to attack; and each kind of Thing, whether it was a general Thing that was summoned, or a house Thing of the king's counsellors, or a herd Thing of the court, or of the leaders of the troops, appears to have had its distinct peculiar call on the war-horn known to all

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men. In the ordinary affairs of the country, the Things were assembled in a simple and effective way. A *bod*, called a *budstikke* in Norway, where it is still used, was a stick of wood like a constable's baton, with a spike at the end of it, which was passed from house to house, as a signal for the people to assemble. In each house it was well known to which neighbouring house it had to be passed, and the penalties for detaining the *bod* were very heavy.

In modern times, the place, house, and occasion of meeting are stated on a slip of paper inclosed in the bottom of the budstick; but in former times the Thing-place, and the time allowed for repairing there, were known, and whether to go armed or unarmed was the only matter requiring to be indicated. An arrow split into four parts was the known token for appearing in arms. If the people of a house to which the token was carried were from home, and the door locked, the bearer had to stick it on the door by the spike inserted in one end for this purpose; if the door was open, but the people not at home, the bearer had "to stick it in the house-father's great chair at the fireside"; and this was to be held a legal delivery of the token, exonerating the last bearer from the penalties for detaining it. The peace token, a simple stick with a spike; the war token, an arrow split into quarters, and sent out in different directions; a token in shape of an axe, to denote the presence of the king at the Thing; and one in shape of the cross, to denote that church matters were to be considered — are understood to have been used before writing and reading were diffused. On one occasion, we read of Jarl Hakon issuing the usual token for the bonders to meet him at a Thing; and it was exchanged, in its course, for the war token, and the bonders appeared in arms, and overpowered the jarl and his attendants.

The Things appear not to have been representative, but primary assemblies, of all the bonders of the district udal born to land. In Sweden there appears to have been one general Thing held at Upsala, at the time when the festivals or sacrifices to Thor, Odin, and Frigg were celebrated. From the proceedings of one of the Things held at Upsala in February or March, 1018, related in the Saga of St. Olaf, we may have some idea of the power of those assemblies. King Olaf of Sweden, who had a great dislike to Olaf king of Norway, was forced by this Thing to conclude a peace with and give his daughter in marriage to King Olaf of Norway, in order to put an end to hostilities between the two countries; and they threatened, by their lagman, to depose him for misgovernment, if he refused the treaty and alliance which King Olaf of Norway proposed by his ambassador Hjalte the skald. The lagman appears to have been the depositary and expounder of the laws passed by the Things, and to have been either appointed by the people as their president at the Things, or to have held his office by hereditary succession from the godar, and to have been priest and judge, exercising both the religious and judicial function.

At this general Thing at Upsala the lagman of the district of Upland was entitled to preside; and his influence and power in this national assembly appear to have been much greater than the king's. It is a picturesque circumstance, mentioned in the Saga of St. Olaf about this Thing at Upsala in 1018, that when Thrognyr the lagman rose after the ambassador from Norway had delivered his errand, and the Swedish king had replied to it, all the bonders, who had been sitting on the grass before, rose up, and crowded together to hear what their lagman Thrognyr was going to say; and the old lagman, whose white and silky beard is stated to have been so long that it reached his knees when he was seated, allowed the clanking of their arms and the din of their feet to subside before he began his speech. The Things appear

to have been always held in the open air, and the people were seated; and the speakers, even the kings, rose up to address them. In the characters of great men given in the sagas we always find eloquence, ready agreeable speaking, a good voice, a quick apprehension, a ready delivery, and winning manners, reckoned the highest qualities of a popular king or eminent chief. His talent as a public speaker is never omitted. In Sweden this one general Thing appears to have been for the whole country; and besides the religious or civil business, a kind of fair for exchanging commodities arose from the concourse of people to it from all parts of the country.

In Norway — owing no doubt to the much greater difference in the means of subsistence in the different quarters of the country, in some of which fishing-grounds out at sea, and even rocks abounding in sea-fowl eggs at the season, were subjects of property; in others pasturages in distant mountain glens, and in others arable lands only, are of importance — four distinct Things appear in the oldest times to have been necessary for framing laws suitable to the different circumstances of their respective jurisdictions; and, within their jurisdictions, the smaller district Things appear to have determined law cases between parties according to the laws settled at the great Things; and as the mulcts or money penalties paid for all crimes went partly to the king, and were an important branch of the royal revenue, the kings, on their progresses through the land, with the lagman of each district, appear to have held these Things for administering justice and collecting their revenue. The king's bailiff, or the tacksman or donatory of the revenue of the district, appears to have held these law Things in the king's absence. The great Things appear to have been legislative, and the small district Things within their circle of jurisdiction administrative. Of the great Things there were in old times four in different quarters of Norway: the Froste Thing was held in the Trondhjem country, at a farm called Lagten, in the present bailiwick of Frosten; Gule Thing, at Evindwick, in the shi-prath of Gule, on the west coast of Norway; Eidsivia Thing, at Eidsvold, in Upper Raumerige, for the inland or upland districts of Norway; and Borgar Thing, at the old burgh called Sarpsborg, on the river Glommen, near the great waterfall called Sarpsfors.

One or two other law Things appear to have been added in later times. one in Halogaland for the people living far north, and one on the coast between the jurisdiction or circle of the Sarpsborg Thing and that of the Gule Thing. A special Thing, called the Ore Thing, from being held on the Ore, Aar, or isthmus¹ of the river Nid, on which the city of Trondhjem stands, was considered the only Thing which could confer the sovereignty of the whole of Norway, the other Things having no right to powers beyond their own circles. It was only convened for this special purpose of examining and proclaiming the right to the whole kingdom; and it appears to have been only the kingship *de jure* that the Ore Thing considered and confirmed: the king had still to repair to each law Thing and small Thing, to obtain their acknowledgment of his right, and the power of a sovereign within their jurisdictions. The scatt or land-tax — the right of guest-quarters or subsistence on royal progresses — the levy of men, ships, provisions, arms, for defence at home, or war expeditions abroad, had to be adjudged to the kings by the Things; and amidst the perpetual contests between udal-born claimants, the principle of referring to the Things for the right and power of a sovereign, and for the title of king, was never set aside. No class but the bonders appeared at

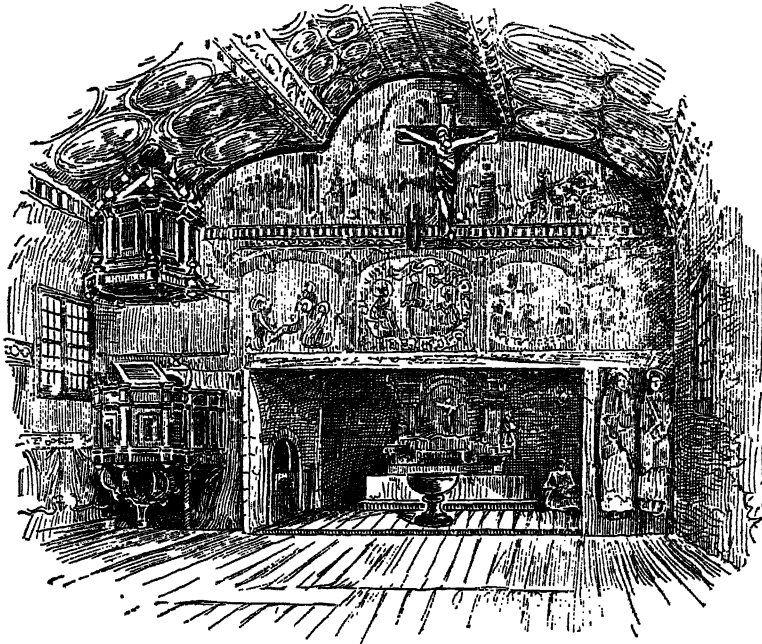
¹ The narrow slip of land between two waters, as at a river mouth or outlet of a lake, between it and the sea, is still called an Are or Ayre in the north of Scotland, and is the same as the Icelandic Ore,

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Things with any power. The kings themselves appear to have been but Thingmen at a Thing.

THE LACK OF BUILDING MATERIALS

Two circumstances, which may be called accidental, concurred with the physical circumstances of the country, soil, and clime, to prevent the rise of a feudal nobility in Norway at the period, the ninth century, when feudality was establishing itself over the rest of Europe. One was the colonisation of



INTERIOR OF RADA CHURCH, VERMLAND

Iceland by that class which in other countries became feudal lords; the other was the conquests in England and in France by leaders who drew off all of the same class of more warlike habits than the settlers in Iceland, and opened a more promising field for their ambition abroad in those expeditions than in struggling at home against the supremacy of Harold Harfagr. In his successful attempt to reduce all the small kings, or district kings, under his authority, he was necessarily thrown upon the people for support, and their influence would be naturally increased by the suppression through their aid of the small independent kings.

This struggle was renewed at intervals until the introduction of Christianity by King Olaf the Saint; and the two parties appear to have supported the two different religions: the small kings and their party adhering to the old religion of Odin, under which the small kings, as godars, united the offices of judge and priest, and levied certain dues, and presided at the sacrificial meetings as judges as well as priests; and the other party, which included the mass of the people, supported Christianity, and the supremacy of King Olaf, because

it relieved them from the exactions of the local kings and from internal war and pillage. The influence of the people, and of their Things, gained by the removal to other countries of that class which at home would have grown probably into a feudal aristocracy. In Iceland an aristocratic republic was at first established, and in Normandy and Northumberland all that was aristocratic in Norway found an outlet for its activity.

A physical circumstance also almost peculiar to Norway, and apparently very little connected with the social state of a people, was of great influence, in concurrence with those two accidental circumstances, in preventing the rise of an aristocracy. The stone of the peninsula in general, and of Norway in particular, is gneiss, or other hard primary rock, which is worked with difficulty, and breaks up in rough shapeless lumps, or in thin schistose plates; and walls cannot be constructed of such building materials without great labour, time, and command of cement. Limestone is not found in abundance in Norway, and is rare in situations in which it can be made and easily transported; and even clay, which is used as a bedding or cement in some countries for rough lumps of stone in thick walls, is scarce in Norway. Wood has of necessity, in all times and with all classes, been the only building material. This circumstance has been of great influence in the Middle Ages on the social condition of the Northmen. Castles of nobles or kings, commanding the country round, and secure from sudden assault by the strength of the building, could not be constructed, and never existed in Norway. The huge fragments and ruins of baronial castles and strongholds, so characteristic of the state of society in the Middle Ages in the feudal countries of Europe, and so ornamental in the landscape now, are wanting in Norway. The noble had nothing to fall back upon but his war-ship, the king nothing but the support of the people. In the reign of the English king Stephen, when England was covered with the fortified castles of the nobility, to the number, it is somewhere stated, of fifteen hundred, and was laid waste by their exactions and private wars, the sons of Harold Gille — the kings Sigurd, Inge, and Eystein — were referring their claims and disputes to the decision of Things of the people.

In Normandy and England the Northmen and their descendants felt the want in their mother-country of secure fortresses for their power; and the first and natural object of the alien landholders was to build castles, and lodge themselves in safety by stone walls against sudden assaults, and above all against the firebrand of the midnight assailant. In the mother-country, to be surprised and burned by night within the wooden structures in which even kings had to reside was a fate so common that some of the kings appeared to have lived on board ships principally, or on islands on the coast.

This physical circumstance of wanting the building material of which the feudal castles of other countries were constructed, and by which structures the feudal system itself was mainly supported, had its social as well as political influences on the people. The different classes were not separated from each other, in society, by the important distinction of a difference in the magnitude or splendour of their dwellings. The peasant at the corner of the forest could, with his time, material, and labour of his family at command, lodge himself as magnificently as the king — and did so. The mansions of kings and great chiefs were no better than the ordinary dwellings of the bonders. Lade, near Trondhjem — the seat of kings before the city of Trondhjem, or Nidaros, was founded by King Olaf Tryggvason, and which was the mansion of Jarl Hakon the Great, and of many distinguished men who were jarls of Lade — was, and is, a wooden structure of the ordinary dimensions of the houses of the opulent bonders in the district. Egge — the seat of Kalf Arneson, who

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led the bonder army against King Olaf which defeated and slew him at the battle of Stiklestad, and who was a man of great note and social importance in his day — is, and always has been, such a farm-house of logs as may be seen on every ordinary farm estate of the same size. The foundation of a few loose stones, on which the lower tier of logs is laid to raise it from the earth, remains always the same, although all the superstructure of wood may have been often renewed; but these show the extent on the ground of the old houses. The equality of all ranks in these circumstances of lodging, food, clothing, fuel, furniture, which form great social distinctions among people of other countries, must have nourished a feeling of independence of external circumstances — a feeling, also, of their own worth, rights, and importance among the bonders — and must have raised their habits, character, and ideas to a nearer level to those of the highest. The kings, having no royal residences, were lodged, with their court attendants on the royal progresses, habitually by the bonders, and entertained by them in regular turn; and even this kind of intercourse must have kept alive a high feeling of their own importance in the bonder class, in the times when, from the want of the machinery of a lettered functionary class, civil or clerical, all public business had to be transacted directly with them in their Things.

The lendermen, or tacksmen of the king's farms and revenues, could scarcely be called a class. They were temporary functionaries, not hereditary nobles; and had no feudal rights or jurisdiction, but had to plead in the Things like other bonders. As individuals they appear to have obtained power and influence, but not as a class; and they never transmitted it to their posterity.

Jarls, Churchmen, and Thingmen

The jarls or earls were still less than the lendermen a body of nobility approaching to the feudal barons of other lands. The title appears to have been altogether personal — not connected with property in land, or any feudal rights or jurisdiction. The jarls of Orkney — of the family of Rognvald jarl of More, the friend of Harold Harfagr, and father of Rolf Ganger — appear to have been the only family of hereditary nobles under the Norwegian crown exercising a kind of feudal power. The jarls of More appear to have been only functionaries or lendermen collecting the king's taxes, managing the royal lands in the district, and retaining a part for their remuneration. The jarls of Orkney, however, of the first line, appear to have grown independent, and to have paid only military service, and a nominal quit-rent, and only when forced to do so. This line appears to have been broken in upon in 1129, when Kala, the son of Koll, was made jarl, under the name of Jarl Rognvald. His father Koll was married to the sister of Jarl Magnus the Saint; but the direct male descendants of the old line, the sons of Jarl Magnus' brothers, appear not to have been extinct. In Norway, from the time of Jarl Hakon of Lade, who was regent or viceroy for the Danish kings when they expelled the Norwegian descendants of Harfagr, there appears to have been a jealousy of conferring the title of jarl, as it probably implied some of Jarl Hakon's power in the opinion of the people. Harold Harfagr had appointed sixteen jarls, one for each district, when he suppressed the small kings; but they appear to have been merely collectors of his rents.

The churchmen were not a numerous or powerful class until after the first half of the twelfth century. They were at first strangers, and many of them English. Nicholas Breakspear, the son, Matthew Paris tells us, of a peasant

employed about the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans in Hertfordshire, and educated by the monks there, was the first priest who obtained any political or social influence in Norway. He was sent there, when cardinal, on a mission to settle the church; and afterwards, when elected pope, 1154, under the title of Adrian IV, he was friendly to the Norwegian people. His influence when in Norway was beneficially exerted in preventing the carrying of arms, or engaging in private feuds, during certain periods of truce proclaimed by the church. The body of priests in the peninsula until the end of the twelfth century being small, and mostly foreigners from England, both in Sweden and in Norway, shows the want of education in Latin and in the use of letters among the pagan Northmen; and shows also the identity or similarity of the language of a great portion at least of England with that of the Scandinavian peninsula.

Several of the smaller institutions in society, which were transplanted into England by the Northmen or their successors, may perhaps be traced to the mode of living which the physical circumstances of the mother-country had produced. The kings having, in fact, no safe resting place but on board ship, being in perpetual danger, during their progresses for subsistence on shore, of being surprised and burned in their quarters by any trifling force, had no reluctance at all to such expeditions against England, the Hebrides, or the Orkney Islands, as they frequently undertook; and when on shore, and from necessity subsisting in guest-quarters in inland districts, we see the first rudiments of the institution of a standing army, or bodyguard, or body of hired men-at-arms. The kings, from the earliest times, appear to have kept a *hærd*, as it was called, or court. The *herdmen* were paid men-at-arms; and it appears incidentally from several passages in the sagas that they regularly mounted guard — posted sentries round the king's quarters — and had patrols on horseback, night and day, at some distance, to bring notice of any hostile advance. We find that Olaf Kyrre, or the Quiet, kept a body of 120 herdmen, 60 giesters, and 60 house-carls, for doing such work as might be required. The standing armed force, or bodyguard, appears to have consisted of two classes of people. The herdmen were apparently of the class *udal* born to land, and consequently entitled to sit in Things at home; for they are called Thingmen, which appears to have been a title of distinction. The giester appears to have been a soldier of the unfree class; that is, not of those *udal* born to land, and free of or qualified to sit in the Things. They appear to have been the common seamen, soldiers, and followers; for we do not find any mention of slaves ever employed under arms in any way, or in any war expeditions. The giesters appear to have been inferior to the Thingmen or herdmen, as we find them employed in inferior offices, such as executing criminals or prisoners.

The victories of Sweyn, and Canute the Great, are ascribed to the superiority of the hired bands of thingmen in their pay. The massacre of the Danes in 1002, by Æthelred, appears to have been of the regular bands of thingmen who were quartered in the towns, and who were attacked while unarmed and attending a church festival. The herdmen appear not only to have been disciplined and paid troops, but to have been clothed uniformly. Red was always the national colour of the Northmen, and continues still in Denmark and England the distinctive colour of their military dress. It was so of the herdmen and people of distinction in Norway, as appears from several parts of the sagas, in the eleventh century.

Olaf Kyrre, or the Quiet, appears to have introduced, in this century, some court ceremonies or observances not used before. For each guest at the

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royal table he appointed a torch-bearer, to hold the candle. The butler stood in front of the king's table to fill the cups, which, we are told, before his time were of deer's horns. The court-marshals had a table, opposite to the king's, for entertaining guests of inferior dignity. The drinking was either by measure, or without measure; that is, in each horn or cup there was a perpendicular row of studs at equal distances, and each guest when the cup or horn was passed to him drank down to the stud or mark below. At night, and on particular occasions, the drinking was without measure, each taking what he pleased; and to be drunk at night appears to have been common even for the kings. Such cups with studs are still preserved in museums, and in families of the bonders. The kings appear to have wanted no external ceremonial belonging to their dignity. They were addressed in forms, still preserved in the northern languages, of peculiar respect; their personal attendants were of the highest people, and were considered as holding places of great honour. Jarl Magnus the Saint was, in his youth, one of those who carried in the dishes to the royal table; and torch-bearers, herdmen, and all who belonged to the court were in great consideration; and it appears to have been held of importance, and of great advantage, to be enrolled among the king's herdmen.

We may assume from the above observations, derived from the facts and circumstances stated in various parts of the *Heimskringla*, that the intellectual and political condition of this branch of the Saxon race, while it was pagan, was not very inferior to although very different from that of the Anglo-Saxon branch which had been Christianised five hundred years before, and had among them the learning and organisation of the church of Rome. They had a literature of their own; a language common to all, and in which that literature was composed; laws, institutions, political arrangements, in which public opinion was powerful; and had the elements of freedom and constitutional government. What may have been the comparative diffusion of the useful arts in the two branches in those ages? The test of the civilisation of a people, next to their intellectual and civil condition, is the state of the useful arts among them.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE BUILDING OF SHIPS

The architectural remains of public buildings in a country — of churches, monasteries, castles — as they are the most visible and lasting monuments, are often taken as the only measure of the useful arts in former times. Yet a class of builders, or stone-masons, wandering from country to country, like our civil engineers and railroad contractors at the present day, may have constructed these edifices; and a people or a nobility sunk in ignorance, superstition, and sloth may have paid for the construction, without any diffusion of the useful arts, or of combined industry, in the inert mass of population around. Gothic architecture in both its branches, Saxon and Norman, has evidently sprung from a seafaring people. The nave of the Gothic cathedral with its round or pointed arches, is the inside of a vessel with its timbers, and merely raised upon posts, and reversed. No working model for a Gothic fabric could be given that would not be a ship turned upside down, and raised on pillars.

The name of the main body of the Gothic church — the nave, *navis*, or "ship" of the building, as it is called in all the northern languages of Gothic root — shows that the wooden structure of the shipbuilder has given the idea and principles to the architect, who has only translated the wood work into

stone, and reversed it, and raised it to be the roof instead of the bottom of a fabric. The Northmen, however, can lay no claim to any attainment in architecture. The material and skill have been equally wanting among them. From the pagan times nothing in stone and lime exists of any importance or merit as a building; and the principal structure of an early age connected with Christianity, the cathedral of Trondhjem, erected in the last half of the twelfth century, cannot certainly be considered equal to the great ecclesiastical structures of Durham, York, or other English cathedrals, scarcely even to that of the same period erected in Orkney — the cathedral of St. Magnus. We have, however, a less equivocal test of the progress and diffusion of the useful arts among the Northmen than the church-building of their Saxon contemporaries, for which they wanted the material. When we read of bands of ferocious, ignorant, pagan barbarians, landing on the coasts of England or France, let us apply a little consideration to the accounts of them, and endeavour to recollect how many of the useful arts must be in operation, and in a very advanced state, too, and very generally diffused in a country, in order to fit out even a single vessel to cross the high seas, much more numerous squadrons filled with bands of fighting men. Legs, arms, and courage, the soldier and his sword, can do nothing here.

We can understand multitudes of ignorant, ferocious barbarians, pressing in by land upon the Roman Empire, overwhelming countries like a cloud of locusts, subsisting, as they march along, upon the grain and cattle of the inhabitants they exterminate, and settling, with their wives and children, in new homes; but the moment we come to the sea we come to a check. Ferocity, ignorance, and courage will not bring men across the ocean. Food, water, fuel, clothes, arms, as well as men, have to be provided, collected, transported; and be the ships ever so rude, wood-work, iron-work, rope-work, cloth-work, cooper-work, in short almost all the useful arts, must be in full operation among a people, before even a hundred men could be transported, in any way, from the shores of Norway or Denmark to the coasts of England or France.

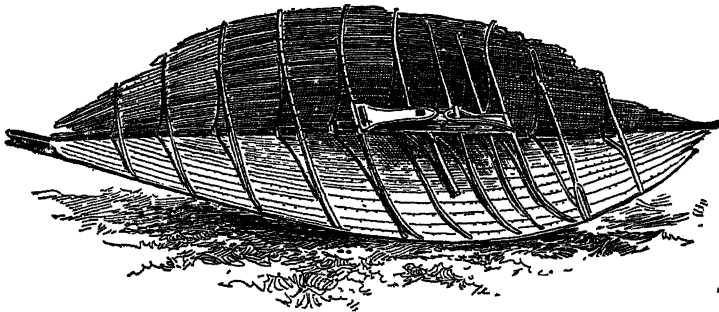
Fixed social arrangements too, combinations of industry working for a common purpose, laws and security of person and property, military organisation and discipline, must have been established and understood, in a way and to an extent not at all necessary to be presupposed in the case of a tumultuous crowd migrating by land to new settlements. Do the architectural remains, or the history of the Anglo-Saxon people, or of any other, in the eighth or ninth century, and down to the thirteenth, give us any reasonable ground for supposing among them so wide a diffusion of the arts of working in wood and iron, of raising or procuring by commerce flax or hemp, of the arts of making ropes, spinning, and weaving sailcloth, preserving provisions, coopering water casks, and all the other combinations of the primary arts of civilised life, implied in the building and fitting out of vessels to carry three or four hundred men across the ocean, and to be their resting place, refuge, and home for many weeks, months, and on some of their viking cruises even for years? There is more of civilisation, and of a diffusion of the useful arts on which civilisation rests, implied in the social state of a people who could do this, than can be justly inferred from a people quarrying stones, and bringing them to the hands of a master builder to be put together in the shape of a church or castle.^b

THE VIKINGS

But however great the progress which the Northmen may have attained in the arts of civilisation, they were at this time themselves the terror of the

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whole of the civilised west.^a As the bellicose tendencies with which their religion was impregnated were a product of the national spirit, so a doctrine which proclaimed personal valour as the highest of virtues, and cowardice as the most shameful of vices must in return contribute powerfully to nourish the inherent taste for war and make it take root. The thirst for glory and the hope of booty were the two strongest passions which animated the people of the North, and to satisfy them they shrank neither from difficulties nor perils. Danger, on the contrary, stimulated their courage, since the greater the peril the greater the glory, and he who succumbed covered with honourable wounds enjoyed, in Valhalla, the greatest happiness it were possible to imagine, and his memory was perpetuated on earth in the songs of the skalds. To die on a bed of sickness was the greatest misfortune that could fall to the lot of a Scandinavian hero, for this kind of death was dishonourable and shut him out



REMAINS OF VIKING SHIP FOUND IN NORWAY

from the joys of Valhalla. It was, therefore, not unusual that an old warrior, after having vainly sought death in battle, would pray one of his friends to run him through with his sword, or by some kind of a violent death end an existence which no longer had any charm.

This contempt for life was so strongly rooted in the Northern spirit that the mother herself silenced her solicitude for her children rather than to assure their welfare at the price of the slightest dishonour. There is a tale of a northern chief who consulted his mother to know whether it were not better to retire before a much stronger enemy. She replied: "If I had thought that thou wouldst live forever, I would have had thee swathed in wool. Know that life depends on destiny; it were better to die with honour than to live in shame."

Accustomed from childhood to a rude mode of life and a nutriment which developed their strength, they were in a condition to support easily the hardships of war, while the consciousness of their own valour made them brave every peril of land and sea. The limits of the fatherland were often too narrow for youth, eager for glory and perilous adventure, and therefore they sought in foreign countries a more extensive area for their wild exploits. Their ruling idea did not, moreover, allow any honourable man to remain inactive at home; if he would gain the esteem of his fellows and the love of women he must scour the world and acquire reputation and wealth abroad.

Besides this the northern countries were poor and sterile, producing barely enough for the needs of their people; so necessity and inclination joined to

develop the barbaric custom of piracy, which made the Northmen so dreaded and at the same time so famous. Each spring numerous bands left the shores of the fatherland and cruised in every sea, pillaging merchant ships and ravaging the coasts. These terrible vikings spared nothing; if a captive escaped death, he found himself reduced to slavery, and his property was considered legitimate spoil. Yet all vikings were not alike — some made a profession of piracy and spent almost their whole life upon the sea with no dwelling on shore except perhaps some tiny fortress by the sea, as a safe place of deposit for their loot. It is of these that it has been said, "They never slept under a smoke-blackened roof, nor ate and drank at any hearth." Their mode of life and their manners were as savage as their profession was cruel, if we are to believe what the sagas recount of some of them — that they drank blood and ate raw meat; but there were also vikings of another kind, who, instead of disturbing the peaceful merchant, protected him and sought glory in pursuing and fighting the fierce pirates — asking of the merchant only what they and their companions absolutely stood in need of, after which they went their way in peace. Hjalmar, the viking, declares for example: "I shall never take from the merchant or the peasant more than what I need to maintain my crew, and then shall pay its value. I shall never let a woman be robbed, however rich she may be, and if one of my men does violence to a woman or brings her on shipboard against her will, he shall pay for it with his life, be he of high or low degree."

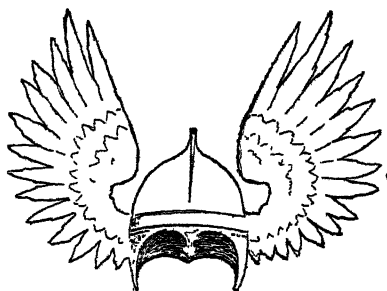
The vikings did not confine themselves to northern parts, but at an early date ventured into more distant seas, penetrating even to the countries of southern Europe which attracted them by their fertility and wealth, and whose inhabitants, more civilised, but less hardy, were able to offer but feeble resistance to the impetuous bravery of the Northmen. England, where social order, commerce and agriculture had been developed at an early date and had spread prosperity and wealth among the inhabitants, was the first to be exposed to the incursions and ravages of the Danes; while Scotland and Ireland were principally visited by the Norwegians who, under the name of "Eastmen," established separate kingdoms in these lands and later on extended their dominion over the north of Great Britain. But the Normans (as the southerners called all the vikings that came from northern latitudes, whether they were Danes, Norwegians, or Swedes) spread the terror of their name into countries still farther south. All the south and west coasts of Europe, Flanders, France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece were ravaged and pillaged by the terrible Normans. Even the sunburnt peoples of Africa learned to know the power of the North. At one time almost the whole of France was conquered by them; from the south, west, and north they ascended in their shallow vessels the great water-courses and joined their forces in the centre of the country. The city of Paris was taken, plundered, and sacked; and the capital of Christendom, Rome, barely escaped the same fate.

The people of these lands, too weak to repel the foreign invaders by the sword, in their distress sought with gold and silver to make them withdraw; but this only encouraged the rapacious bands to return very soon. Foreign chroniclers of this age have left terrible descriptions of the cruelties and horrors which the Normans perpetrated during their expeditions. The river valleys and the most beautiful and fertile tracts of country were changed into deserts where one could travel great distances without meeting a single living being. Children and old people were massacred in cold blood or thrown living into the flames of their burning homes. Women were maltreated and men

[—1050 A.D.]

put to death or reduced to slavery. But it was principally the churches, cloisters, and other sacred edifices, with their inmates, the nuns, monks, and priests, which were the object of the fury, insults, and outrages of the still pagan Normans, whose natural cruelty was mixed with hatred of religion. During the ninth and tenth centuries these piratical excursions increased in so astounding a manner that it seemed as if the entire South would inevitably become the prey of the innumerable viking bands which poured out of the North as if a great migratory movement were taking place by sea. The reason for this increase was in part the demoralised condition the Frankish Empire had then reached owing to dissensions among the worthless successors of Charlemagne. It was therefore an easy thing for the bold Normans to make great progress, and after some of them were established in a place new bands were soon drawn thither in the hope of meeting with equal success.

To this reason must be added an important change which the North was at that time undergoing. During these same centuries the numerous little kingdoms of Denmark, as well as Norway and Sweden, were being united into great states, and Christianity began to be propagated throughout these lands and to supplant the old religions. Many chiefs lost their possessions, and there were besides numbers of discontented ones who, sincerely attached to the religion of their fathers and the old customs, could not accommodate themselves to the new order of things. They preferred, therefore, to abandon their fatherland rather than their religion and the unrestrained freedom to which they were accustomed. By their emigration they augmented the already numerous bands of the vikings. The expeditions now assumed a different character. The Normans no longer sought only to plunder and pillage, they hoped also to establish permanent settlements to replace the fatherland they had lost. It was not until after Norman states had been set up in Normandy, Italy, Russia, and elsewhere, and after the union of the petty kingdoms and the introduction of Christianity had somewhat dried up the flow by bringing peace and order to the north — it was not until then that the movement began to abate, and Europe was delivered from the scourge which, for centuries, had desolated its fairest lands.





CHAPTER III

NORWAY TO THE UNION OF KALMAR

[1050-1397 A D]

MAGNUS I TO THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

MAGNUS, whom the Norwegians had called to the throne in place of the unpopular Svend, was a bastard son of that odd saint Olaf by his concubine Alfhilda. He accompanied his father in the exile to Holmgard, and there he remained during that father's unfortunate expedition to Norway. Left an orphan, he was well entertained by his host, the grand prince of Russia. Here he received intelligence of the unpopularity of Svend, and of the anxiety with which his return was expected. Proceeding to Sweden, he was honourably received by the Swedish monarch, and a small but resolute band of armed men accompanied him into Norway. As he passed the mountains into Trondhjem, the adherents of Svend fled in great alarm towards the southern provinces; and Svend himself followed the example. In his progress, Magnus received many evidences of the popular good will. At the capital, his reception was enthusiastic. To the Thing assembled on the occasion flocked a multitude of men friendly to his cause; and there he was solemnly elected king.

The first care of Magnus I was to reward his followers by conferring on them the governments which had been held by Svend's adherents. His next was to collect troops and march against his rival. To assert his rights, the latter, who was then in Hadaland, sent out the arrow of war in every direction; and many hastened to his summons. In the midst of the assembly, he asked whether they were ready to join him in resisting Magnus. Some expressed their consent; some openly refused; the greater number hesitated: but disaffection to his cause was so evident in the great body that he

[1047-1066 A.D.]

declared his resolution of seeking more faithful defenders. Leaving Norway, he repaired to Denmark, where, that very year, he died. Harthacnut son of Canute the Great claimed the crown of Norway; but hostilities were closed by the singular compact that if either died without children, he should succeed to the states of the other.

Astrida, the widow of St. Olaf, had accompanied Magnus into Norway; and such had been the aid she had procured him that he gratefully settled her in his palace, showing her the utmost honour. But, at the same time, he sent for his mother Alfilda, whom he treated with more affection but with less honour. Indignant at this distinction, she insisted on more than an equality, which Astrida being unwilling to grant, the two ladies could no longer reside in the same house. In his kingdom Magnus had more influence than in his palace; he effectually restored tranquillity, and became popular. Of his deceased father miracles were reported. The mere report was enough: he pretended to believe it; he well knew what honour would be his through his descent from a saint; and he caused the relics of the royal martyr to be placed in a magnificent casket, and displayed for the veneration of the faithful.

On the death of Harthacnut, Magnus, in accordance with the compact which had been made between them, proceeded in Denmark, to take possession of the throne. His claim was admitted by his new subjects.^c But he had to contend with two enemies, Svend, nephew of Canute the Great, and Harolda Hardrada, his own cousin. The history of his wars and agreements with these two princes will be related in connection with the history of Denmark.^a

The demise of Magnus immediately followed his successful expedition in Denmark to avenge a rebellion of Svend. The son of a saint could scarcely leave the world without some manifestation of divine favour. In a dream his father Olaf appeared to him, and ordered him to make his choice between two proposals—either to die and join the deceased king in heaven, or to live the most powerful of monarchs yet commit some crime for which he could hardly expect the divine forgiveness. He instantly chose the former alternative; and was immediately afflicted with a disease the result of which, to the great sorrow of his people, was fatal. He was a great and good prince; as much superior to his father in intellect and moral worth as one man can be to another. That he was not without ambition is evident; and as the heir of the Danish throne, by his compact with Harthacnut, king of England and Denmark, he claimed, after that monarch's death, all the states of the great Canute. Edward the Confessor returned a spirited reply, the justice of which he acknowledged by his inactivity.

By the death of Magnus the Good (1047) Harold Hardrada was the undisputed king of Norway. He aspired also to the throne of Denmark, from which he endeavoured to unseat his former ally Svend. But in 1064 peace was made, no permanent advantage having been gained by either.

On the death of Edward the Confessor (1066), and the accession of Harold the son of Earl Godwin, the Norwegian monarch led an armament against the English sovereign. The ambition which could prompt him to such an undertaking was not very measured; but it was characteristic of this king, whose early familiarity with danger and whose wild adventures in the East and North had rendered him confident of success. If the English were not favourable to Earl Godwin's son, they could scarcely be so to the king of Norway, and the hope of conquest, when so valiant a competitor as William of Normandy was entering the field, would have appeared futile to

any less desperate man. The result is known to every reader of English history: at Stamford Bridge Harold Hardrada found a grave.

From the fatal shores of England Olaf III (Kyrre the Quiet), the son of Harold, returned to Norway (1066), and with his brother Magnus II was elected to the government. The former had the eastern, the latter the northern provinces of the kingdom. In three years Magnus paid the common debt, and Olaf became monarch of the whole (1069). The reign of Olaf was pacific; and he applied his efforts to the civilisation of his kingdom. He first introduced chimneys and glass windows into houses: he established a commercial emporium at Bergen, and to him we must ascribe the introduction of guilds or mercantile fraternities, after the model of those existing in Germany and England. He must be praised, too, for his humanity to the servile class: he carried in the national Thing a law that in every district throughout Norway a serf should be annually enfranchised. To the church he was a munificent patron. At Trondhjem he began to build a stone cathedral destined to receive the hallowed relics of his ancestor. "This city," says Adam of Bremen^b the contemporary of Olaf Kyrre, "is the capital of the Northmen. It is adorned with churches, and frequented by a great concourse of people. Here lies the body of the holy king and martyr Olaf, at whose tomb miracles are daily wrought: here, from the most distant nations, pilgrims flock to his shrine to share in his blessed merits. Hitherto there are no fixed limits to the dioceses in Norway and Sweden. Any bishop, when desired by the king and people, may build a church in any district, and govern those whom he converts to the day of his death." These regional bishops, as they are called, moved from place to place, baptising and preaching as they went along.

Magnus III, surnamed Barfod, or the Barefoot, succeeded his father Olaf III (1093). At first, he was acknowledged by the southern provinces: in the northern was opposed to him Hakon, nephew of the late king. Though death soon rid him of that rival, an army only could induce those provinces to receive him. This was the first Norwegian monarch after St. Olaf that visited the Orkneys. He went to punish the jarls of those islands, which had thrown off their allegiance to the yoke of Norway. These jarls were Erling and Paul, whom he took and sent prisoners to his kingdom. Leaving his son Sigurd in the government, with fit councillors, he laid waste Sutherland, which was a portion of the jarldom, and feudally dependent on the Scotch crown. Proceeding to the Hebrides, he reduced them also. Very different was his conduct at Iona from that which had been pursued by his pagan ancestors. He showed great veneration for the memory of St. Columba, and great affability to the inhabitants of all the islands that submitted. Islay was next reduced, then Kintyre.

These successes were followed by depredations on both the Irish and Scottish coasts. Most places offered little resistance, but the conquest of Anglesea could not be effected without a battle. Two Welsh chieftains, both named Hugh, fought stoutly for their independence. One, Hugh the Magnanimous, was so encased in armour that his two eyes only were visible: Magnus shot an arrow into one eye, a Norwegian warrior wounded the other; after a valiant struggle victory declared for the Northmen. The whole island, we are told, acknowledged the king; but this statement will obtain little credit with any reader. The truth seems to be that he made some of the chiefs do homage for their respective domains; but they reasserted their independence the moment he had left the shores. There is more probability in another statement of the northern chroniclers that he forced Mal-

[1099-1108 A.D.]

colm of Scotland to cede to him the sovereignty over all the islands, from the Orkneys to Man. From this expedition he returned in 1099. Its results were valuable: the Hebrides and the Orkneys were now his. The possession of the former indeed was short-lived and precarious; but the latter were long subject to his successors.

The next war of this restless prince was with his neighbour Yngve, king of Sweden. It arose from a dispute as to the boundary, and raged for two years with varied success until, through the mediation of Eric king of Denmark, peace was restored. On this occasion, Magnus married the princess Margaret, daughter of Yngve (1101). Within a year from this pacification, Magnus, whose enterprise was excited by his late successes, again sailed for Ireland, with the design of subjugating, if not the native kings, those who were of Scandinavian origin. At this period the island contained several of these principalities. Landing on the coast of Connaught, the king of which, Murdoch, was his acquaintance and ally, he effected a junction with that chief, and subdued the kingdom of Dublin. The following winter he spent in Connaught; and when spring arrived he embarked to return.

As he slowly passed along the Ulster coast, he sent a party of his followers in search of provisions, that is, of plunder. Their stay being much longer than he had expected, he landed with a small body, and with difficulty made his way through the marshes. Being at length joined by the foragers, he was returning to his ships, when he fell into an ambush prepared for him by the natives. He was easily known by his shining helmet and breastplate, and by the golden lion on the red shield — the device of the Norwegian kings. Ordering one of his chiefs with a body of archers to clear the marsh, and from the other side to gall the enemy with their arrows, so as to cover his passage also, he fought with desperation. Unfortunately, the chief on whom he thus relied fled, and was followed by the rest. Magnus, therefore, with a mere handful of men, had to sustain the hostile assaults of a multitude. All that valour could do was effected by him; but the contest was too unequal; and, after receiving several wounds, he fell. His followers retreated, leaving his corpse in the hands of the enemy. Thus perished a monarch whose valour and constancy rendered him equal to the ancient heroes of the North. By the warlike he was beloved; but with the people at large, whom he taxed heavily to defray the expenses of his frequent expeditions, he was no favourite. His character may be best conceived from the reply which he gave to his courtiers, who expressed their apprehension lest his continued wars should prove fatal to him — "It is better for a people to have a brave than an old king."

THE KINGDOM IS DIVIDED; THE EXPLOITS OF SIGURD I

On the death of Magnus III (1103), Norway was divided between his three sons. Sigurd had the southern provinces, with the Scottish islands, which he governed by his jarls. Eystein I reigned over the North. Olaf IV had the central and eastern provinces. All were children at their accession: the eldest, Eystein, was but fifteen; and Olaf was so young that for some years his portion of the monarchy was administered by his elder brothers.

Of these kings, two may be dismissed with little notice. Eystein was distinguished for prudence, and for the useful structures with which he adorned his portion of the kingdom. He erected stone churches and palaces, which were novelties in the North. He was well versed in history and

the laws, and was the patron of literary men, especially of the skalds. Olaf was the best beloved of the three; but he died in 1116, and his dominions were divided by his brothers. Eystein was never at open war with Sigurd but the two brothers could scarcely be warm friends; and while we read of their disputes, we are surprised that there should have existed so much tranquillity in the realm. In 1122 he breathed his last, and Sigurd was monarch of Norway.

The name of Sigurd I is celebrated in the annals of the North alike for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem [which won him the name of Jorsallafari], and his exploits during the voyage. To aid in the recovery of the holy places from the hands of the infidels might enrich an adventurous monarch, and would surely open to him the gates of heaven. Influenced by this two-fold advantage, and by the hope of booty on the passage, Sigurd, with sixty ships, sailed from the North. During the first winter he remained in England, and was hospitably entertained by Henry I. The second winter, at least the greater part of it, he passed near the shrine of Santiago in Galicia: he was a pilgrim, no less than a champion of the cross. On his way to Lisbon, he captured some infidel privateers, and destroyed several Moorish settlements on the coast, especially one at Cintra. All who refused baptism he put to the sword. Lisbon, according to the Northern chroniclers, was divided into two parts, one inhabited by the Moors, the other by the Christians. The former he assailed, took it, and with much booty proceeded through the straits of Gibraltar in quest of new adventures. Having passed these straits, he conquered a whole fleet of the infidels, and this was the fifth battle since he left Norway. In vain did the Mohammedan pirates on the African coast resist him: his valour overcame everything.

Landing in Sicily, he was magnificently entertained by Roger, sovereign of the island, who had expelled the Saracens. Roger was of Norman descent: he remembered the land of his sires; and so far did he carry his good will as to insist on serving Sigurd at table. Continuing his voyage, he landed at Acre, and proceeded to Jerusalem, where the offer of his sword was most welcome to Baldwin. From that king he received what he thought a valuable treasure—a fragment of the true cross, which he promised to deposit in the shrine of St. Olaf. He promised too, at the instance of his new friends, to establish an archi-episcopal see in Norway, to build churches, and to enforce the payment of tithe. His last exploit in these regions was to join in the siege of Sidon; and when that city was taken half the booty became his. On his return through Constantinople, his reception by the Greek emperor was a noble one; but much of what the northern annalists relate bears the marks of invention. Such are the opening of the golden gate; the carpeting of the streets; the three large presents made him by Alexius, with their immediate distribution among the followers of Sigurd; and the gift by the latter of his sixty ships to Alexius. Such fables may gratify a northern imagination; but history can only say that in 1111 the king arrived in Norway after an absence of four years.

That this remarkable expedition redounded greatly to the honour of Sigurd is certain: he was thenceforth much venerated throughout the North. He married, and attended to the duties of government, especially to the extirpation of idolatry. His expedition (undertaken at the request of the Danish king) against the inhabitants of the isle of Småland, was one congenial to his feelings. They had received Christianity, but, like many other portions of the Scandinavian population, had returned to idolatry. Great was the punishment inflicted by Sigurd and his ally Nicholas on the

[1122-1130 A D]

pagans whom they had vanquished; but mercy to infidels, and still less to apostates, formed no portion of their creed.

In his latter days, Sigurd seems to have occasionally lost the use of his reason, or perhaps he was visited by some bodily infirmity which gave him the appearance of insanity. But he never relinquished the duties of royalty. One of his last cares was to fortify Konghella on the river Gota, to ornament it with a fine Gothic church, and to place in that sacred edifice some of the pictures which he had brought from the East. But with all his attachment to the church, he was not without his delinquencies. Of these one of the most noted was his dismissal of his queen to make room for a concubine, Cecilia by name, whom he resolved to marry. A great entertainment was provided for the occasion, and many were the guests assembled at Bergen. The bishop of the district, hearing of the intention, hastened to the town, and expostulated with the king on the guilt of dismissing one wife to take another, when there was no charge against the former, and consequently no way of annulling the marriage. Great was the wrath of Sigurd, who held a drawn sword in his hand, and who, at one moment, seemed disposed to use it on the neck of the prelate. If he so far restrained his passion as to walk away, he persevered in his design, and the union was celebrated. The truth is that his heart was so fixed on the maiden that no earthly consideration could induce him to abandon her.

Some time afterwards he was afflicted with his last illness, which was regarded by many as the judgment of heaven on his crime. His courtiers urged him to dismiss her; and she, out of regard for him—to save him from renewed guilt—really wished to leave him. Such was the attachment he bore her that he could not give his consent to the separation. She departed, however, and with her departed the only solace which had been left him. In a few days he was no more. Previously to his death, he had caused his son Magnus to be recognised as his successor, and had prevailed on the states to swear that they would obey him.

THE ANARCHY OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

From the death of Sigurd I (1130) to the union of Norway with Denmark, there is little in the history of the former country to interest us. During the whole of the twelfth century we perceive nothing but anarchy and bloodshed occasioned by disputes for the throne. In a country where illegitimacy was no bar to the succession, and where partition of the sovereign power was frequent, there could not fail to be numerous candidates. Sigurd I was succeeded by his son Magnus IV, to whom, as we have related, the estates of the realm had sworn fealty before the death of Sigurd.

How little dependence could be placed on such a guarantee soon appeared. In the reign of the preceding monarch, an adventurer, Harold Gilchrist, or Gille, had asserted—probably with justice—that he was a natural son of King Magnus Barfod. As he could produce no satisfactory proof of that connection, recourse was had to the decision of heaven, and he was made to pass over nine red-hot ploughshares. This ordeal, merely to prove his parentage, was thought to be severe; but he shrank not from it, and led by two bishops he sustained it unhurt. To resist the divine pleasure was impossible, and Harold's claim was allowed even by Sigurd, on the condition that he would not insist on the advantage to which his relationship entitled him, before the death of his son Magnus IV. Scarcely, however, had this Magnus succeeded to the throne, than Harold came forward to assert his right; and

from the number no less than the influence of those who espoused his interests (among them were the kings of Denmark and Sweden), he had everything to hope from a civil war. In this emergency, Magnus consented to a division of the kingdom, the very year of his accession.

Harold IV (1130-1152) was very different in character and manners from his colleague Magnus. He was mild as the latter was severe, and generous as the latter was penurious. He therefore became the favourite of the people. This circumstance probably roused the jealousy of Magnus, who at the head of many followers marched against him, conquered him, and compelled him to forsake the realm. Repairing to the court of Eric Emun, king of Denmark, he was well received by that monarch, "because they were brothers-in-arms." With the supply of money and men furnished him by his generous host, he returned to Denmark, and surprised rather than defeated Magnus, whom he consigned to a monastery and deprived of eyesight (1134). He was now therefore monarch of Norway. But his reign was of short duration. The town of Konghella which Sigurd had fortified, and adorned with so magnificent a church, was taken by the Wend pirates: it was completely sacked, and the inhabitants were led into captivity. For this disaster, Harold was censured: he was accused of inactivity in repelling the invaders; and was even forsaken by the great body of his supporters. In this condition he was assassinated. A melancholy illustration of the spirit of the times is afforded by the fact that the assassin, Sigurd,¹ also claimed Magnus Barfod for his father. From this deed of blood he derived no advantage. The nation would not admit his claim, but proclaimed two sons of the murdered king, Sigurd II (1136-1155) and Inge I (1136-1161).

Both, however, were children; and their inability to defend themselves led to civil war. Sigurd, their reputed uncle, the assassin of their father, raised troops and laid waste the country. To strengthen his party he formed an alliance with Magnus the Blind, whom he drew from the monastery; but he was defeated and compelled to flee. Both soon obtained the aid of the Danish king Eric; but fortune was still unfavourable: in battle, Magnus lost his life, and the restless Sigurd too was made prisoner, and subsequently executed. Though two enemies were thus removed, the royal brothers, Sigurd and Inge, were often at discord; and a third firebrand was soon added in Eystein II (1142-1157), a younger brother, who, returning from Scotland in 1142, was invested with a third portion of the realm. There was not, nor could there be, any tranquillity in the country. Complaints, recriminations, quarrels, treachery, bloodshed succeeded each other, when the arrival of a papal legate, the cardinal Albano, suspended for a time the sanguinary proceedings of these princes.

The Mission of Nicholas Breakspear; Renewed Warrings

This legate was Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman, who subsequently ascended the pontifical throne as Adrian IV. His mission was two-fold — to restore peace between the unnatural brothers, and to establish an archbishopric. The Norwegian monarchs had long demanded a primate of their own, instead of being dependent on the archbishops of Lund. In both objects he was successful. The three kings laid down their arms; united in showing the highest deference to the legate; and beheld with joy the creation of a metropolitan see at Trondhjem, with a jurisdiction, not over

¹ The story of Sigurd forms the subject of one of Björnson's plays, the trilogy, *Sigurd Slemve*.

[1148-1162 A.D.]

Norway merely, but Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and Man. In return, the chiefs and people readily agreed to pay the tribute of Peter's Pence.

Many were the reforms which this well-meaning dignitary endeavoured to carry out. He introduced more decorum into the public worship; he enjoined the clergy to attend more to their proper functions, and to interfere less in secular matters; and impressed on the new archbishop the necessity of a rigorous control over the morals of his flock. In attempting to enforce clerical celibacy, he did not meet with so ready an acquiescence; but no one dared openly to resist him. To another of his measures we must award a much higher meed of praise. Seeing that bloodshed had for many reigns stained the proceedings of the Landsting, or provincial assembly, he prevailed on the chiefs to promise that they would not in future attend with arms. Even the king was to be accompanied only by twelve armed men — an exception conceded less to his dignity than to the necessity under which he lay of enforcing the judicial sentences. "In several other respects," observes Snorre [speaking of the legate], "he reformed the customs and manners of the people during his stay; so that never did stranger come to the land more honoured or more beloved by the princes and their subjects."

If the ascendancy of the cardinal had restored peace, his departure was immediately followed by new struggles between two of the brothers. Eystein had no share in them, because he absented himself on a piratical expedition. He is said to have ravaged the eastern coasts of Great Britain, from the Orkneys to the Humber. Soon after his return, he entered into a plot with Sigurd to remove their brother Inge. In 1155, Sigurd and Inge met in the Thing held at Bergen, and though they could not fight, for want of arms, both they and their followers regarded one another with deadly hatred. Scarcely was the assembly dissolved, when Inge, who had heard of the plot for removing him, determined to prevent it by assailing Sigurd, and after a sharp contest the latter fell. The following year Inge and Eystein, who were still hostile, met to agree on conditions of peace; but it was a truce rather than a peace, and in a few months it was broken by both parties. They marched towards each other with the resolution of deciding their quarrel by the sword; but Eystein, who was unpopular, was deserted by most of his followers, and compelled to seek an asylum in the mountains of Vikia. Thither he was pursued by Inge, was betrayed in a forest, and put to death by one of his brother's myrmidons.

By this deed therefore Inge was the monarch of the country. But he had soon a competitor in Hakon III, son of Sigurd II, whom the party of Eystein proclaimed king (1157). The four succeeding years were years of civil war. Hakon, a mere child, was driven into Gothland. The following season he returned and besieged Konghella; but he was again defeated and forced to re-enter Sweden. Yet early in 1159 he arrived at Trondhjem, where he found adherents. With thirty vessels he laid waste the coasts which held for Inge; but in a great naval battle he was defeated by that king, though not without considerable loss to the victor. Repairing into Trondhjem, where he passed the winter, he prepared for the next campaign. It was not decisive; but in 1161 Inge, betrayed by his own followers, fell in battle with Hakon.

By this event Hakon, it might be expected, would be left undisputed sovereign of Norway. But the Norwegians at this period seem to have had little wish for a monarchy; and Magnus V (1162-1186) was raised by the party of the deceased Inge to the throne of the North. Magnus was the

[1162-1177 A.D.]

grandson of Sigurd I, and one of his duties in the opinion of the times was to revenge the murder of his kindred. As, however, he was but a child, the government was administered by his father Erling. Erling was, by marriage, a kinsman of the Danish monarch, from whom he obtained aid to resist the hostility of Hakon. Through that aid he was victor; Hakon fell (1162), and consequently Magnus was the only king left. A rival indeed, Sigurd a son of Sigurd II, was opposed to him; but in little more than a year that rival was crushed by the indefatigable Erling.

To confirm the authority of his son by religious sanction, Erling requested the primate to crown him. The archbishop consented on the condition that Norway should be regarded as a fief of St. Olaf; that on the death of every monarch the crown was to be formally offered to the saint in the cathedral; that the saint's representative, the archbishop of the time, should receive it; that from each diocese the bishop, the abbots, and twelve chiefs, should assemble to nominate a successor, and that the sanction of the primate should be necessary before anyone could be lawful king of Norway. That a considerable reduction in the number of electors was politic cannot be disputed; and probably this was one of the reasons that induced the archbishop to introduce so extraordinary an innovation. But a greater no doubt, was the superiority which the church would thereby acquire over the state. The proposal was accepted; and Magnus, then only eight years of age, was solemnly crowned by Eystein in presence of the papal legate (1164).

The aid furnished by the Danish king was not gratuitous. In return for it Erling had promised the province of Vikia (Vigen), and Valdemar (the first of that name) now demanded the fulfilment of that pledge. His position was a critical one. He had not power to transfer that province, and if he attempted that transfer, his own destruction and that of his son must be the result. Yet if he did nothing, he must expect an encounter with that formidable monarch. To escape from this dilemma, he convoked the states, and laid before them the proposition of Valdemar: they indignantly refused to receive the Danish yoke. Open war followed, but through the policy of Erling it was soon succeeded by peace. He secretly engaged to hold Vikia with the title of jarl as a fief of Denmark; and, in the event of a failure of issue in his son, to subject the whole kingdom to the same crown.

Neither the sanction of the church, nor the vigour of his father, nor even his own virtues could except Magnus from the common lot of Norwegian kings — open rebellion and rivalry for the throne. The next who troubled his tranquillity was Olaf, a grandson of Eystein II. Proclaimed king by the Uplanders, Olaf had the glory to defeat the regent; but in his turn he was defeated, and compelled to flee into Denmark, where he died the following year (1169).

The next was a more formidable rival, in the person of Eystein, a prince of the same family. Placing himself at the head of the discontented, the banished, the proscribed, this prince became a bandit chief, and laid waste the provinces on the borders of Sweden. As the number of his followers increased, so did his boldness, until with a small fleet, he sailed for Trondhjem which he subdued. Here he persuaded or forced the people to elect him king (1176). The following year he penetrated into the central provinces, which had the option of either doing homage or of experiencing all the evils of desolation. In 1177, four years after the commencement of his adventurous career, he met Magnus in the field, and was defeated. His followers hastened into Sweden, the eastern provinces of which were still pagan, and but loosely connected with the crown. He was less fortunate: he was slain in his flight.

[1177 A D]

Sverri's Conquest and Rule

Of a different character from either of the preceding, and more successful in his object, was the next adventurer, Sverri, whose career is one of romance. His mother, Alfhilda, had been the concubine of Sigurd II; and he was the issue of the connection. After Sigurd's death, she became the wife of a smith — a business of high repute in the North — and removed, with her husband and son, to the Farøe Isles. Young Sverri was designed for the church, and on reaching the age of twenty-five he entered into holy orders. Now, for the first time, his mother acquainted him with the secret of his birth.

Far more wisely would she have acted by keeping it in her own bosom; for no sooner did the young priest know it, than he indulged in dreams of ambition. As our sleeping are but the images of our waking thoughts, he had a dream which seemed to prognosticate his future greatness. He mentioned it to a friend, who promised him the archbishopric of Trondhjem. But he had no relish for the ecclesiastical state; and he mentally interpreted it in a different way. Urged by ambition, he left the obscure isles in which he had been so long imprisoned, and repaired to the court of Magnus. His learning and his martial appearance made a favourable impression on the regent Erling; and he too so admired the vigorous administration of that chief, that in despair of effecting a revolution, he withdrew into the Swedish province of Vermland. Probably his design was to subsist by plunder, in the service of one of those predatory bands, so frequent on the confines of the two kingdoms. At first, however, his prospects were gloomy; and in his restlessness, he had resolved to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when the band which Eysteine had commanded solicited him to become their chief. After some hesitation he consented, was invested with the royal title, and enabled to take the field.

The early efforts of this adventurer were bold but unsuccessful. In an expedition through the southern provinces he was indeed joined by some hundreds of followers, mostly bandits; but when he proceeded towards the north, where Magnus and Erling had their seat of government, he was abandoned by most of his adherents: the enterprise was too desperate even for them. With great difficulty did he save himself by penetrating through the mountain passes into Vermland. To escape the pursuit of his enemies, no less than to recruit his numbers, the following spring he plunged into the vast forests of the modern Dalecarlia, then called Jarnberaland, or the Iron-being land. The inhabitants knew little of Swedish kings, or of the rest of the world, or of Christianity; but they knew the value of freedom; and in the apprehension that he came to deprive them of it, they prepared a stout resistance. He had no difficulty, however, in persuading those sons of the forest, the mountain, and the river, that he had no design against them — that he wanted hospitality, guides, and troops. Of the last he seems to have obtained none; but he was well entertained, and conducted into Jämtland, where this little band was recruited. The hardships which he underwent in this expedition — cold, hunger, fatigue — made him resolve to attempt some enterprise, the success of which would rescue him from this wretched mode of life. Appearing suddenly before Trondhjem, he hoped to surprise the place; but he was repulsed, and again forced to seek a refuge in the mountains.

His next object was to increase the number of his followers; and as he, or some about him, were well acquainted with the haunts of the banditti in

[1177-1186 A.D.]

the trackless forest, and the inaccessible cavern, he obtained a considerable accession. But a hardy band of peasant archers from Telemarken was his most valuable acquisition. Reappearing before the gates of the capital, he defeated the little army of Magnus, and captured the banner of St. Olaf. As both king and regent were at Bergen, their usual place of residence, he pushed his way into the city, assembled the inhabitants of the province, and was proclaimed king! His task, however was not half accomplished. A numerous party, including all the churchmen, adhered to Magnus; and he was soon expelled from Trondhjem, to seek a shelter in his mountain fastnesses. But with these revolutions he was now familiar: he knew how to recruit his forces — to advance when there was a prospect of victory — retreat when the danger was evident. During two years the civil war raged with violence, and the alternations of triumph and defeat succeeded each other with rapidity.

At length Sverri suddenly descended from the mountains, and defeated the regent and his son, leaving the former dead on the field. Magnus fled, but only to return with another army. The second battle, however, was not more fortunate than the first, his army was annihilated or dispersed, and he was glad to seek a refuge in Denmark, while the archbishop fled to England. By the Danish monarch Magnus was supplied with an armament, with which he again contended for the throne, but with no better success. A second time he repaired to that country for aid, and again he fought with the usurper. As on the two former occasions, victory declared for Sverri: his rival fled, and perished in the waves. He was not one of those savage chieftains in whom ancient Norway rejoiced, and whom some of her modern sons would have us mention with respect. If his soul had not been much improved by religion, it had been humanised by education. To the followers of Magnus he exhibited great clemency. He caused the fallen monarch to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of Trondhjem; and he himself, in conformity with ancient custom, pronounced the funeral oration of the deceased, to whose virtues, now that he had no reason to fear them, he paid the sincere homage of praise.

Sverri (1186-1202) thus obtained the object of his ambition; but he could not expect to hold it in peace. In fact, the whole of his reign was a struggle to preserve what he had so painfully gained. From England Archbishop Eystein hurled the thunders of the church at the head of the apostate priest; but the promise of the king, that he would lay his case before the pope, and submit to such penance as his holiness might impose, induced the primate to return and resume his metropolitan functions. Much of his attention was employed on the enlargement and improvement of his cathedral, which he wished to vie with the most splendid Gothic edifices in Europe. From the king he derived considerable aid towards this end; but he lived only to finish the choir. The rest was completed by Archbishop Sigurd, in 1248. It was then a very respectable structure. The high altar, which was adorned with a costly silver shrine containing the relics of St. Olaf, and which was visited by pilgrims from all parts of the North, had a splendid appearance. Sverri no doubt expected that by his liberality on this occasion he should win over to his government the great body of the clergy; but he refused to hold the crown as a feudatory of St. Olaf, that is, of the primate; and this rebellion cancelled all his other merits. Aware of the influence which the primate exercised over the people, he endeavoured, on the death of Eystein, to obtain the election of a successor favourable to his views; but in defiance of his influence, that successor was one of his enemies, Eric bishop of Stavanger, who had been the warm friend of Erling and Magnus.

[1186-1202 A.D.]

From the hands of the new primate he solicited the ceremony of the coronation; but Eric refused, and for so doing he has been severely censured. It should, however, be remembered that he could not crown an excommunicated prince. That penalty Sverri had incurred by various crimes — by forsaking the altar without the leave of his diocesan, by the shedding of blood at the head of banditti, by assuming the crown without secularisation, and by taking a wife. No bishop, no metropolitan could absolve him: the pope only was competent to dispense with the authority of the canons. In revenge for this refusal, Sverri endeavoured to curtail the revenues and patronage of the church. He insisted that its claim to the pecuniary fine in case of homicide should be abolished, and that the fine should revert to the crown. He also attempted to usurp the patronage of the church. Eric supported with firmness the rights of the church, and by so doing incurred the royal displeasure to such a degree that he was compelled to flee into Denmark. From thence he appealed to the pope, who threatened to place the kingdom under an interdict, unless satisfaction were made to the church. In vain did Sverri endeavour to prove that the pope had no right to interfere in such cases: the canons, he well knew, taught a different doctrine. In vain did he attempt to make the multitude believe that the blindness with which the archbishop was visited during the dispute was owing to the wrath of heaven. The people had more confidence in the primate and in the pope than they had in a monarch whose early career had not been the most edifying.

Convinced by experience how little was to be gained by struggling with the formidable power which humbled the greatest monarchs, Sverri now applied to the pope for absolution and pardon. He was directed, in the first instance, to make his peace with the archbishop, who alone could intercede for him. Incensed at the reply, and fearful lest the people should desert him because he had not been crowned, he convoked his bishops, and prevailed on one of them — a mere court tool — to perform the ceremony. To anoint an apostate priest would not have been within the bounds even of papal authority: penance and absolution were previously indispensable; but neither was exacted, and if they had been the censure could only have been removed by the supreme pontiff. The bishop who performed a ceremony in its very nature null was excommunicated; and the king's own excommunication was confirmed. In this emergency, Sverri convoked an Althing at Bergen, where a resolution was passed to send deputies to Rome to procure his absolution. On their return they all died in Denmark — no doubt through poison. They brought no absolution; but a confirmation of the former sentence. For this instrument the king, who was capable of any act, substituted another, which contained a plenary remission, and which he declared was the one brought from the head of the church. To account for the death of his messengers, he asserted that they had been poisoned by his enemies lest the papal absolution should reach him. The benefits of this deception he could not long hope to enjoy. The pope charged him with both the forgery and the murder, and placed the whole kingdom under an interdict. Even the bishop, Nicholas, who had crowned him, now escaped into Denmark, to join the metropolitan; and both were nobly entertained by Archbishop Absalon, primate and minister of that kingdom.

During these transactions with the church, Sverri was twice compelled to enter the field against claimants for the crown. The first was Sigurd, son of Magnus V, who had taken refuge in the Orkneys. Accompanied by a band of adventurers, Sigurd landed in Norway, and was joined by many of the

peasantry. But Sverri had a body of men whose valour was unequalled, and whose fidelity was above all suspicion — men whom he had commanded before his accession, to whom he was indebted for the throne, and whom he had transformed from robbers into good soldiers. With them he triumphed over Sigurd, whose corpse rested on the field. The next adventurer was supported by Bishop Nicholas, who was anxious to ingratiate himself with his metropolitan and the pope, by exhibiting uncommon zeal in the destruction of the king. His name was Inge, and he was represented by his patron as a son of that same Magnus. When he and the bishop landed, they were joined by a considerable number of the discontented; but the king, who had obtained archers from England, was better prepared than even on the former occasion to defend his authority. Still the struggle was a desperate one; several battles were fought, and two or three victories were necessary to humble the hopes of the assailants.

In the midst of these struggles, after a whole life passed in fomenting rebellion or crushing it, Sverri breathed his last at the age of fifty-one. That he was a man of great genius and of commanding character is evident from his unparalleled success. Whether he was really the son of a Norwegian king is extremely doubtful; but, even if he were, he had none of the advantages which the relationship generally ensures. His fortune was the result of his own enterprising powers. Few indeed are the characters in history who have risen from so obscure to so high a station against obstacles so great; fewer still who, in the midst of perpetual dangers, have been able to maintain themselves in that station. In both respects he is almost unequalled. On the whole, he may safely be pronounced one of the most extraordinary men of the Middle Ages.

Before the death of his father, Hakon IV (1202-1204) had been saluted as heir of the monarchy; and he ascended the throne without opposition. One of his first acts was to recall the primate, the rest of the bishops, and all whom his father had exiled. In return the interdict was removed from the realm; and prosperity was returning to a country so long harassed by civil wars when the young king died.

THE DYNASTY IS CONTINUED UNDER HAKON V

Guthrum (1204-1205), a grandson of Sverri, was next raised to the throne; but his reign was only a year, and there seems to be little doubt that he was removed by poison, through the contrivance of a faction, which hoped to restore the ancient line of kings. In consequence of this event, Inge II (1205-1207), a grandson, on the female side, of Sigurd II, acceded; but in two years he too descended to the tomb, whether violently or in the order of nature is unknown. The death of four princes in five years is a melancholy illustration of the times.

There now remained only one male descendant of this dynasty — Hakon, a natural son of Sverri. After his father's death, and during the struggles between the old and the new dynasty for the supreme power, this prince was secreted in the mountains. Fortunately for him, the companions of his father, the devoted Birkebeinar, the bandit soldiers, still remained — they espoused his cause, and procured his election to the throne. Before the church, however, would ratify the election, the mother, Inga, was required to undergo the ordeal of hot iron, in proof of her having truly sworn to the paternity of her son. She consented; was shut up in a church to prepare

[1209-1250 A.D.]

by fasting and prayer for the trial; was guarded night and day by twelve armed men; and the burning-iron left no wound on her fair hand. Whoever doubted that the ordeal was a fair one, that Hakon was the offspring of Sverri, was menaced with excommunication.

Hakon V, who bears in history the surname of "the Old," was thus the recognised monarch of the country; but he had still to sustain the hostility of the faction which adhered to the former dynasty. The most inveterate as well as the most powerful of his enemies was Skule the jarl, half-brother of Inge II. To pacify this ambitious noble, he was admitted to a share in the government; and his daughter became a wife of Hakon. This union, in effecting which the church had a great share, was expected to combine the hearts of both factions. But the hope was vain: other pretenders to the legitimate or illegitimate honour of royal descent appeared in succession to claim a portion of their birthright. So distracted was the country by these conflicting claims that a great council of the nation was convoked at Bergen. The decision was that Hakon was the only lawful king. Yet through the advice of the primate, whose object was evidently to avert a civil war, the northern provinces were confided to Skule; and by the king he was soon adorned with the ducal title — a title which had been in disuse ever since the ninth century.

But this ambitious noble was not to be silenced by benefits. On a memorable day (1240) he convoked the states of his own government to assemble in the cathedral: his descent from the martyr Olaf was then attested by oath on the relics of that saint; and by his party, amidst the silence of the spectators, he was declared the lawful heir to the crown, as the successor of Inge II. Constrained by the example, the rest did homage to him after he had sworn to administer the laws in righteousness, as his holy predecessor had administered them. Thus the northern provinces were again dissevered from the monarchy. But Hakon was true to his own rights and the interests of his people. Assembling his faithful Burkebemar, and all who valued the interests of his order, he marched towards Trondhem. At his approach, the usurper fled into the interior, but only to collect new forces, with which he obtained some advantages over those of Hakon. When spring returned, however, and the latter marched against the rebels, fortune declared for him. Skule was signally defeated, compelled to flee, overtaken, and killed.¹

Released from the scourge of civil war, Hakon now applied his attention to the internal government of his kingdom. He made new treaties of commerce with the neighbouring powers: he fortified his sea-ports; he improved the laws; he made salutary changes in the local administration. But he was not yet fully at peace with the church; and he requested Innocent IV to mediate between them, and to cause the crown to be placed on his brow. Innocent despatched a legate, the cardinal bishop of Sabina, for this purpose. At first the king was desired to comply with the law of his predecessor Magnus V — that Norway should hereafter be regarded as a fief of St. Olaf: but he had the patriotism to refuse: he would protect, he observed, the just rights of the church, but he would never sanction this domination of the ecclesiastical over the secular state. His firmness was respected, and at the cardinal's instance he was crowned without subscribing to the obnoxious compact. He had gratified that churchman by promising to go on the crusade; but though he made preparations circumstances prevented his departure. His kingdom indeed could not safely be left at such a crisis.

[¹ It is this early period of Hakon's history which Ibsen has celebrated in the drama translated into English under the name of *The Pretenders*.]

[1250-1263 A.D.]

His frontiers were still subject to ravage from the licentious bands who infested the western provinces of Sweden, and who took refuge in either territory when pursued by the injured inhabitants of the other. Without a cordial union between the two governments, there could be no hope of extirpating these predatory bands. Fortunately Birger, the regent of Sweden, concurred with him in this object.

To create a good understanding between the two countries, a marriage was negotiated between the daughter of Birger, whose son was on the throne of Sweden, and Magnus, the eldest son of Hakon. But this union was never effected: the subsequent conduct of Birger was not agreeable to the monarch; and Magnus married the daughter of Christopher, king of Denmark. The clemency of Hakon led to this connection. He had many causes of complaint against Denmark; and he did not resort to hostilities until he had long and vainly sued for redress. He soon reduced Christopher to long for peace, but with a generosity of which there are few records among kings, he forgot his wrongs in sympathy for his brother monarch, and became the friend of the man whom he had left Norway to chastise.

The last and by far the most memorable expedition of Hakon was against the Scots. The chief incentive to this war was the attempt of Alexander III to recover the Hebrides, which, as we have before observed, had been subdued by Magnus Barfod. Not that they were then subdued for the first time. The truth is that they had frequently been reduced to the Norwegian yoke as far back as the ninth century, and from that time had, at intervals, paid tribute to that power. More frequently, however, they had asserted their independence. Colonies, too, from the mother-countries, had assisted to people those islands, which Harold Harfagr and his successors had regarded as no less a dependency than the Shetlands or the Orkneys. In the time of Magnus the number of those colonists increased; and there were not a few nobles of the isles who could trace their pedigree to the royal line of Norway.

But their position drew them into the sphere of Scottish influence: to Scotland, and not to the distant North, they must look for allies in their frequent wars with one another; and the eagerness of the Scottish monarchs to establish their feudal superiority over them brought the two parties into continual communication. In 1244, two bishops arrived in Norway to induce Hakon to renounce all claim to the Hebrides. They told him that he could have no just right to them, since Magnus Barfod had only gained possession of them by violence — by forcibly wresting them from Malcolm Canmore. The king replied with more truth that Magnus had not wrested them from the Scottish king, but from the Norwegian Gudred, who had thrown off the allegiance due to the mother country. Defeated in their historical arguments, they had recourse to one which with a poor monarch they hoped would be more convincing — the pecuniary argument. They besought him to say what sum he would demand for their entire cession. "I am not so poor that I will sell my birthright!" was the reply, and the prelates returned. Alexander III, however, would not abandon the hope of annexing these islands to his crown; and he commenced a series of intrigues among the Highland chieftains. The vassals of Hakon began to complain of the vexatious hostilities to which they were subject, especially from the thane of Ross, and to beg immediate aid. The atrocities which they detailed we should scarcely expect to find in a Christian people and in the thirteenth century: we should rather assign them to the period when the pagan Northmen ravaged the coasts of these islands. In great anger Hakon convened a diet at Bergen, and it resolved that the aid required should be immediately furnished.

[1263-1280 A.D.]

Leaving his son, prince Magnus, regent of the kingdom, Hakon sailed for the Hebrides (1263). In the Orkneys he was joined by the jarls and by the king of Man. On the western coast of Scotland, many of the Highland chieftains submitted to his arms. But though he took Arran and Bute, and laid waste many of the western districts of the continent with fire and sword, his expedition was a disastrous one. At the mouth of the Clyde, while landing his troops, a tempest arose and forced him from the shore; and those who were landed were overpowered by the superior number of the enemy.¹ In vain did Hakon endeavour to lead the rest of his forces with the view of saving the brave men who were thus overwhelmed: the storm was too powerful for him; some of his ships were lost; more were dispersed; and in great anguish of mind he repaired to the Orkneys where he intended to winter, and invade Scotland the ensuing spring.

That spring he was never to see. A fever, the result of anxiety no less than of fatigue, laid him on the bed from which he was no more to rise. The activity of his mind, however, was not arrested even by fatal disease; he caused the Bible and the old sagas to be read to him night and day. When convinced that there was no hope of his recovery, he dictated his last instructions to his son; made liberal presents to his followers; confessed and received the sacrament; and "at midnight Almighty God called him from this world, to the exceeding grief of all present and of all who heard of his death." His body was first interred in the cathedral of St. Magnus, Kirkwall, but subsequently removed to Bergen, and laid with those of his royal ancestors.

MAGNUS VI (1263-1280 A.D.)

Magnus VI (1263-1280), who had been crowned during his father's life, now ascended the throne. He had the wisdom to make peace with the Scots, by ceding to them all the islands off their coast except the Orkneys, but not in full sovereignty. For these he was to receive 4,000 marks, and an annual tribute of 100 marks. At the same time Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, was betrothed to the son of Magnus. The islands ceded had never produced any benefit to the crown: to maintain them would have entailed a ruinous expenditure of money and blood. But the Orkneys, though frequently independent, had been so long connected with the mother country, and lay so much nearer, that though their preservation might bring no great advantage they were useful as nurseries for seamen. In the reign of Magnus, too, Iceland became thoroughly dependent on the Norwegian crown.

Internally, the reign of this prince exhibits considerable improvement. One of his most serious objects, (which had also been his father's) was to establish, on fixed principles, the succession to the throne. As in other European countries, that succession was now made to depend on the law of primogeniture, in the male line only. To this regulation the bishops gave their assent; and, in accordance with it, they not merely recognised Eric as the successor of Magnus, but crowned that prince. Hence they no longer insisted on the obnoxious compact between Magnus V and the primate of that day. It is indeed true that in return for their sanction of this new and fundamental law of succession, they obtained some favours; but most of them related

[¹ There is considerable difference between the Scotch and Scandinavian accounts of this battle, and the loss sustained is variously computed. By the Scots it was remembered under the name of the battle of Largs as a glorious victory won by a sovereign to whose reign they looked back with pride and regret from the stormy years of civil war which followed.]

[1280-1289 A.D.]

to their own matters. They were excepted, for instance, from the secular tribunals; but so they were in every other country in communion with Rome. But when each prelate claimed the right of coining money, and of maintaining a body-guard of forty men-at-arms, he surely forgot his spiritual character, and remembered only that he was a temporal baron.

This reign, too, witnessed some other changes. The allodial proprietors became vassals: the old jarls and hersers were replaced by dukes and barons and knights; feudal usages were introduced in lieu of the ancient national customs. As a necessary consequence the small landed proprietors began to disappear, and to be replaced by farmers. Still in the national character there was that which prevented the worse evils of feudality. If the peasant had no longer a voice, or we should rather say a vote, in the assembly of the estates, except by representation, he yet continued to be free, and to bear arms. In the cities and towns of the kingdom there was also a modification of the old system. In proportion to the increase of commerce, and to the prosperity of the great dépôts, was that of municipal rights. These rights were, as much as possible, assimilated to those of the German towns. For the two important cities of Bergen and Trondhjem, Magnus himself drew up a code of regulations, to define the rights of the guilds and of the different classes of burghers. And for the defence of the coasts he revived the ancient act of division of the maritime districts, each of which was to furnish a certain number of ships, and to maintain its beacon fire, so that intelligence of an invasion might speedily fly throughout the country. But the fame of this monarch chiefly rests on his legislative talents: hence his surname of Lagabætr, or "law-mender." He compiled from the centenary observances of the four Norwegian provinces a code which he designed for general use throughout his dominions.

ERIC II (1280-1299 A.D.)

Eric II, while yet a minor, succeeded his father without opposition; but his reign (1280-1299) was not one of peace. His first disputes were with the church. At his coronation, he promised rather to amplify than to curtail its privileges. In virtue of this promise, the archbishop of Trondhjem drew up a list of offences against the canon laws, and claimed for the clerical tribunals the pecuniary mulcts demanded on such occasions. These mulcts were considered the right of the crown, and as such were claimed by royal councillors, on behalf of the king. So far the conciliations were justifiable; but when they persuaded him to revoke all the privileges which his father had conceded, they wantonly perilled the tranquillity of the kingdom. They were excommunicated by the primate, who in his turn was banished. Both parties appealed to Rome; but the pope seems to have been a moderate man; and, though not disposed to surrender any rights which the church universal possessed, he doubtless saw that the Norwegian branch of it had usurped some that were inconsistent with civil government. The successor of the primate consented to abandon one or two of the more obnoxious claims, and to become the liege vassal of Eric. The king too was embroiled with Denmark, through the protection which he afforded to the assassins of Eric Glipping. Long and disastrous was the war which raged between the two countries. At length, both opened negotiations for peace; but it was not signed during the life of Eric.

These disputes with the church and his royal neighbour prevented Eric from engaging in another war for which he might have urged a better reason.

[1289-1380 A.D.]

In conformity with the treaty between his father and Alexander III, he married Margaret of Scotland. The issue was a daughter, who, on the death of her grandfather, in 1289 (her mother was no more), was undoubted heiress to the throne of that kingdom. The English king, Edward I, proposed a marriage between his son and the Maid of Norway. The proposal was readily accepted by Eric; but before it could be carried into effect, the princess died in the Orkneys. If Eric exposed himself to ridicule in claiming the Scottish crown in her right, he had an indisputable claim to his queen's dowry, most of which had never been paid. For this cause he might have troubled the kingdom; and he had another reason for interference. His second wife was Isabel, daughter or sister of Robert Bruce, whose pretensions he might have supported against those of Baliol. But he declared for neither party — a degree of moderation, as we have intimated, attributable rather to his disputes with the church and with Denmark, than to any other cause.

HAKON VI (1299-1319 A.D.)

As Eric the Priest-hater left no heirs male, he was succeeded by his brother Hakon VI (1299-1319), whom he had created duke of Norway, and who had been admitted to some share in the government. One of his first objects was to resume the negotiations with Denmark; but through the intrigues of the men who were implicated in the murder of Eric Glipping, the signature of the treaty was delayed until 1308. His transactions with Sweden are more important, since they led to a temporary union between the two crowns. His daughter Ingeburga became the wife of Eric, brother of Birger, king of Sweden. When Eric was barbarously murdered by his own brother, Hakon armed to revenge the death of his son-in-law. After a war of some duration, Birger was compelled to abdicate, and Magnus the son of Ingeburga, was elected in his place. As Hakon had no heirs male, and females could not inherit, Magnus became the heir of the Norwegian throne, to which he succeeded on the death of Hakon.

Under this prince, who died in 1319, Norway was not so powerful as it had been under his father: just as in his father's time it was not to be compared with what it had been under the domination of Hakon V. With this monarch indeed ended the greatness of the kingdom: from his time to the union of the crown with that of Denmark, there was a continued decline in the national prosperity. One reason is to be found in the wars between the kingdom and Denmark — wars which thinned the population, diminished the national revenues, and aimed a fatal blow at the national industry. A second is the monopoly of trade by the Hanse Towns. The vessels of that league had long frequented the coasts of Norway; Sverri had favoured them; Hakon V in 1250 had conferred upon them exclusive privileges; Magnus VI had established the foreign merchants in his dominions, especially at Bergen. Hakon also exempted them from many of the imposts to which they were subject in other countries.

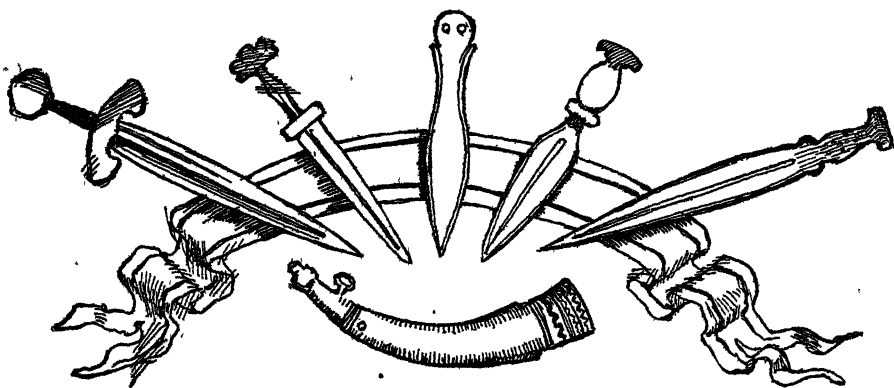
These avaricious strangers did not benefit the country. The advantage was entirely in favour of these foreigners, who absorbed a traffic which ought to have been divided into many channels, and by their monopoly excluded the natives from other markets. In this respect, we must condemn the short-sighted policy of Hakon, or rather perhaps the engrossing disposition of the league. But another reason may also be assigned for the decline of the national prosperity — the increase of luxury — the creation of artificial wants. The cardinal bishop of Sabina had expressed surprise at the condi-

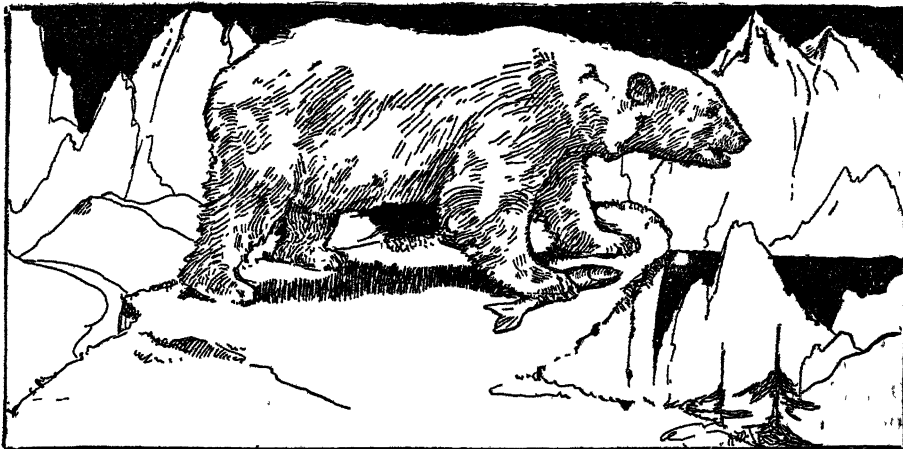
[1880-1897 A.D.]

tion of the people: he had found not merely the comforts but the luxuries of life. After the visit of that dignitary, the evil was not mended. The monarchs were fond of displaying a splendour which richer and more extensive kingdoms could not well support; and as the example of the court is sure to be followed by all who visit it, we may form some notion of the progress which luxury made amongst the people.

On the death of Hakon, as we have already intimated, the throne of Norway fell to his grandson Magnus VII (1319-1343), king of Sweden. In 1343 Magnus resigned the Norwegian sceptre to his son Hakon VII (1343-1380). This prince, as we have before observed, married Margaret, the daughter of Valdemar IV, king of Denmark, and died in 1380. He was succeeded in both thrones by his infant son Olaf (the fifth of Norway, the third of Denmark), on whose death both Denmark and Norway were ruled by Queen Margaret.

At this period the close connection of the three northern kingdoms can be explained only by reverting to the history of Sweden.^c But meantime this is a convenient place to glance at the affairs of that interesting dependency of Norway, the uniquely situated little territory of Iceland.^a





CHAPTER IV

ICELAND

[874-1275 A.D.]

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF ICELAND BY THE NORWEGIANS

INGOLF, the first settler of Iceland had found a refuge there in 874, he was followed by other illustrious exiles from Norway, who found in the enjoyment of liberty and independence a full compensation for the toils and hardships they were compelled to endure. The habitable parts of the island thus became in a few years entirely peopled by a Norwegian colony, among whom were several of the descendants of the Ynglings or ancient kings of Norway and Sweden, supposed to be the posterity of Odin. The manner in which this new society was formed and organised may be best illustrated by the story of a single individual.

We have selected for this purpose that of Rolf, or Thorolf, as it is told in the *Eyrbyggja*^b and other sagas. This chieftain resided in the northern parts of Norway, and, like all the other petty kings and chiefs of the country, was the pontiff of religion as well as the patriarchal head of his clan. Rolf presided in the great temple of Thor, the peculiar national deity of Norway, in the island of Mostur, and wore a long beard, from which he was called Thorolf-Mostrar-skegg. Thorolf had incurred the resentment of king Harold Harfagr, by giving an asylum to Björn, one of Thorolf's relations, who was persecuted by that monarch. Harold held an assize or *Thing*, and proclaimed Thorolf an outlaw, unless he surrendered himself with Björn into the king's hands, within a limited period. Thorolf offered a great sacrifice to his tutelary deity, and consulted the oracle of Thor, whether he should surrender himself to the king or migrate to Iceland, which had been settled by Ingolf ten years before. The response of the oracle determined him to seek an asylum in this remote and sequestered island.

He set sail, carrying with him the earth upon which the throne of Thor had been placed, the image of the god, and the greater part of the wooden work of his temple. He took also his goods, his slaves and his family. Many friends followed him. When the vessel approached the southwestern coast of Iceland, and entered the Maxe-Fjord, the adventurer cast into the sea the columns of the sanctuary, on which the image of the god was carved, intending to land wherever they should be carried by the winds and waves. He followed them to the northward round the promontory of Snæfellsness, and entered the bay on the other side, to which, from its extreme breadth, he gave the name of Breidi Fjord. Here Thorolf landed, and took formal possession of that part of the coast in the ancient accustomed manner, by walking with a burning firebrand in his hand round the lands he intended to occupy, and marking the boundaries by setting fire to the grass. He then built a large dwelling-house on the shores of what was afterwards called the Hofs-vog, or Temple Bay, and erected a spacious temple to Thor, having an entrance door on each side, and towards the inner end were erected the sacred columns of the former temple, in which the *regin-naglar*, or nails of the divinity, were fastened. Within these columns was a sanctuary, on which was placed a silver ring, two ounces in weight, which was used in the ministration of every solemn oath, and adorned the person of the pontiff-chieftain in every public assembly of the people. The basin for receiving the blood of the sacrifices was placed by the side of the altar, with the instrument of sprinkling, and around it stood, in separate niches, the images of the other deities worshipped by the people of the North.

The assize, or *Herjar-thing*,¹ of the infant community was held in the open air near this temple, and the oaths of the jurors and witnesses were sanctioned amidst the blood of sacrifice, by a solemn appeal to the national deities: "So help me Freyr, Njord, and the all-mighty As [that is, Odin]!" The site of the temple and the place of popular assembly were both considered consecrated ground, not to be defiled with blood, nor polluted with any of the baser necessities of nature. A tribute was established and collected by Thorolf from all the members of his little community, to defray the expenses of the temple and the worship there maintained.

The infant settlement thus commenced was soon strengthened by the arrival of Björn the fugitive outlaw, on whose account Thorolf was compelled to leave his native country. Each freely chose his several habitation according to his own pleasure, and the new colony soon became divided into three separate districts, each of which at first acknowledged the authority of Thorolf as supreme pontiff. At last dissensions broke out among the inhabitants, and the sacred spot was polluted with blood shed in their feuds, which were prosecuted with deadly fury. But it is unnecessary to pursue the narrative any further, as sufficient has been stated to enable the reader to form a general notion how these little communities were founded, with their public institutions partaking at once of a patriarchal, pontifical, and popular form of government, but not extending beyond the limits of the narrow valley in which they were established, and but imperfectly adapted to secure the blessings of public order.

In the space of about sixty years the habitable parts of this great island were occupied by settlers from Norway, notwithstanding that King Harold

¹ *Thing* signifies in the ancient language of the North a popular assembly, court of justice, or assize: *Al-thing*, a general meeting of that kind, and *Alls-herjar-thing*, the general convention of chiefs, nobles, or lords. The diet of Norway is called to this day the *Stor-thing*, a great assembly.

[874-984 A.D.]

had endeavoured to discourage the spirit of emigration by imposing a severe penalty upon those who left his dominions for this purpose. They brought with them both the religious and the civil institutions of their native land. The chieftains, who led each successive company, were, like Thorolf, the patriarchal rulers, and the religious pontiffs of their tribe. They brought with them not only their families and domestic slaves but a numerous retinue of dependents. These may more properly be called clients than vassals, since their relation to their chieftains was more like that of the Roman plebeian to his patron than of the feudal vassal to his lord. The followers were elevated far above the class of slaves by the possession of personal freedom and property, but they resorted to the protection of the aristocracy, as the natural judges of their controversies in peace and their leaders in war.

The chieftains who bore the principal part of the expense of these expeditions naturally appropriated to themselves the lands, which they afterwards granted out to the poorer colonists, upon the payment of a perpetual rent and a sort of tithes for the maintenance of religious rites. To this was sometimes superadded a hereditary personal jurisdiction over the client and his posterity, which partook somewhat more of the feudal relation. The chieftains who thus formed this patriarchal aristocracy were called *godar* or *hof-godar*, because they performed the public offices of religion, as well as the functions of civil magistracy. And it is very remarkable that, even after the introduction of Christianity into the island, the bishops continued for some time to exercise civil jurisdiction under the sacred name of *godar* — such is the force of habit over the minds of a rude people in the union of secular and ecclesiastical authority.

THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF ICELAND

The pontiff-chieftains of the various little communities, among which the island was divided, had at first no common umpire, and the evils growing out of their dissensions and the animosities engendered between so many rival tribes or clans rendered it at last imperiously necessary to combine these separate societies by some kind of fundamental law. On this occasion the Icelanders, like the people of the ancient Greek republics, resorted to the wisdom of a single legislator, and confided to him the task of providing a remedy for the disorders of their infant state. Ulfjot, who was the object of their choice, undertook a voyage to Norway, in his sixtieth year, to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the legal customs and institutions of the parent country (925). Here he sat for three years at the feet of Thorleif the Wise, famous for his skill in the laws; and, on his return to his native island, with the assistance of another chieftain of great influence and sagacity, Grim Geitskor, framed a code which was accepted by the people in a general national assembly (928).

The Icelandic legislators, following the indications pointed out by nature, divided the whole island into four great quarters, called, in the Icelandic tongue, *Fjerdingar*. In each of these they established a chief magistrate, who was chosen by the free voice of the people, and whose office very much resembled that of the *godar* before mentioned. These quarters were again divided into smaller districts, in which all the freemen possessed of landed property had a voice in the public assembly. The great national assembly, or assize of the island, at which all the freeholders had a right to participate, by themselves or their delegates, was held annually, and was called the

Al-thing. It bore a strong family likeness to the national assemblies of the parent country and of the other Scandinavian nations, and some similitude to the Witenagemot of the Anglo-Saxons and the Fields of March and May of the primitive Franks. The place of meeting was situated on a level plain on the shores of the lake of Thing-valle, and was called Lög-bergit, or the Law-Mount. It is at this early day a wild and dreary scene, the surrounding country having been convulsed and torn to pieces by volcanic eruptions; but it must always have presented a striking picture, suited to the solemnity of the occasion which brought together the assembled people of Iceland.

The Promulgator of the Law

The national assembly continued to be held at this place for eight centuries, until it was removed about a century ago, to a more convenient spot, but one less hallowed in popular opinion by its venerable antiquity and historical associations. The president of this assembly was chosen for life, and was called, *lögsögomadr*, or promulgator of the law. His functions were both legislative and judicial, and in the latter respect were similar to those of the *lagman* of the Gothic institutions. Indeed, he afterwards received the same name. After the introduction of book-writing, the book of the law was deposited in his hands, and he naturally became its most authoritative expounder. For nearly two centuries after their enactment, the laws of Ulfjot were preserved by tradition only, being for that purpose recited annually by the *logsogomadr* in the national assembly; from which we may readily infer how extremely simple they must have been in their details, and how great the latitude of interpretation indulged by this magistrate. Like all other systems of unwritten law, and this was literally such, it attributed great weight to the authority of precedents, which also were preserved in the same manner as the original laws themselves—by oral tradition. The forms of action and of pleading, which were very exactly observed by the Northmen, even of this earlier age, were also expounded by the promulgator of the law in the public assembly, so that they might be known to the people, and invariably observed in the assizes of the local districts. When the laws came afterwards to be reduced to a written text, those precedents, which had acquired the force of law, were incorporated into the code.

Ulfjot was the first citizen raised to that high office by his grateful countrymen. It was afterwards filled by the celebrated Snorre Sturleson, and the degree of importance attached to it is strikingly illustrated by the circumstance that time was computed by the Icelanders from the periods during which this magistracy was occupied by different individuals, the anniversary of their election serving to mark a distinct chronological epoch in the national annals.

As the laws of Ulfjot nowhere exist at the present day in a perfect form, it is impossible to form anything like an adequate notion of the precise nature of these institutions. In general we may conclude that they were framed after the model of the customary law of the parent country, with an adaption to the special circumstances and local condition of Iceland. Indeed, a system of original legislation, departing entirely from historical antecedents, and unaccommodated to the prejudices and usages of the people, would have been unhesitatingly rejected by them. Thorleif the Wise, who was consulted by Ulfjot in the compilation of his laws, was afterwards employed by King Hakon the Good in the formation of the Norwegian law, called the Gule-

[984-1000 A.D.]

thing law. But as this latter code no longer exists in its original form, and as we have only scattered fragments of the laws of Ulfjot, the two systems of jurisprudence cannot be compared together. Doubtless both of them were collections of the immemorial usages and customs already sanctioned by popular acceptances, rather than systematic codes of civil and criminal jurisprudence. The political part of Ulfjot's institutions formed the basis of the government of Iceland during the three centuries of the republic. If they secured the blessings of social order in an imperfect degree only, the same may be said of the constitutional code of every other country in Europe during the Middle Ages. The Icelandic commonwealth was torn with civil dissensions of the most implacable character, resembling at once the factions of the Italian republics and the anarchy of the feudal law. But the great body of the people was never reduced to the condition of feudal serfs. They nourished a proud spirit of personal independence, which, if partaking of the barbarous character of the age, became the parent of adventurous enterprise, at first in brilliant feats of arms and afterwards in those arts which adorn and embellish human life.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

The introduction of Christianity into Iceland is the most remarkable epoch in its subsequent history. Some of its inhabitants had always refused to worship the new gods originally introduced into the parent country from the East. Others refused to sacrifice to the peculiar national deities. Every family had its private faith and worship. Thorkill, the grandson of the first settler Ingolf, as he felt the near approach of death, requested to be carried out into the open air, where he might see the cheering light of the sun, and commend his parting spirit to the God who had created both sun and stars. Many of the Icelanders, in their voyages to Denmark and England, and in their military service with the Varangians at Constantinople, had received the initiating rites of Christianity, as then administered in those countries; but on their return to Iceland did not scruple to sacrifice to Thor as the local tutelary deity of the island.

The first Christian missionary was brought to Iceland by Thorwald, son of Kodran, a sea-rover, who, having been baptised on the banks of the Elbe by a German priest named Frederick, persuaded his instructor to accompany him to his native country, one hundred years after the first settlement, and during the chief magistracy of the lagman Thorkel Mani. His exertions were not wholly fruitless, and were afterwards seconded by other missionaries sent by Olaf Tryggvason, king of Norway, who, having established the new religion in that country, was anxious to propagate the faith among the various Norwegian colonies in the western seas. Among these missionaries were Gissur the White, and Hjalti, both Icelandic converts, who had been banished by the heathen party on account of their zeal for Christianity.

On the arrival of these exiles in the island (1,000), they found the national assembly of the Al-thing in session at Thing-valle, and immediately proceeded thither for the purpose of rallying the Christian party. Being joined by their friends, they boldly marched to the Lög-berg, or Mount of the Law in solemn procession, carrying crosses in their hands. Whilst the whole assembly were awed with this extraordinary scene, Hjalti offered incense, and Gissur expounded to the multitude the truths of Christianity with such fervid eloquence that a large portion of his audience broke off from the assem-

bly and avowed their determination to embrace the new religion. Whilst they were engaged in this discussion, news arrived that an eruption of lava had broken out with great fury in a neighbouring mountain. "It is the effect of the wrath of our offended deities," exclaimed the worshippers of Thor and Odin. "And what excited their wrath," answered Snorre Gode, a distinguished pontiff-chieftain, "what excited their wrath when these rocks of lava, which we ourselves tread, were themselves a glowing torrent?" This answer effectually silenced the advocates of the ancient religion, at least for the time; for these lava rocks were universally known to have been there before the country was inhabited. But the genius of heathenism was still stubbornly bent on resistance to this innovation. The heathen party determined to offer two human beings from each quarter of the island as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the gods, and stay the further progress of what they deemed this moral pestilence. On which, the Christian missionaries, determined not to be outstripped in zeal, convened a meeting of their friends, and proposed that an equal number of the Christian party should seal with their blood the truth of the religion for which they so strenuously contended.

The next day, Thorgeir, who was the lagman of the time, convened the assembly, with the avowed determination to put an end to the controversy which thus threatened to kindle a civil war, and to deluge the island with blood. With this view, he addressed them as follows: "Hear me, ye wise men, and listen to my words, ye people! The ruin of that state is at hand, when all the citizens do not obey the same law and follow the same customs. Division and hate prevail among us; these must soon give rise to civil war, which will destroy our resources, lay waste our isle, and reduce it to a barren wilderness. As union and concord strengthen the weak, so disunion and discord weaken the strong. Let us then strive with all our might, lest our internal peace be destroyed by a divided rule. Reflect then upon what ye well know, without having need to be reminded of the fact — how the kings of Denmark and Norway have become enfeebled by the destructive wars waged on the dispute of religion, until at last their subjects and counsellors have been reduced to the necessity of making peace without their consent. These monarchs have thus come to feel the healing virtue of peace and friendship, and laying aside their bitter hate have become, to the great joy of their subjects, the best of friends. And though we, magistrates and chieftains of this island, cannot pretend to compare ourselves with these kings in power, or with their counsellors in wisdom, still we may laudably imitate whatever is praiseworthy in their public conduct. We should then endeavour to pursue a course by which all may be reconciled, and adopt the same laws and customs; otherwise nothing is more certain than that our peace is gone forever."

This speech was received with approbation by the assembly, who referred to the decision of the lagman, who promulgated a decree purporting that all the inhabitants of the island should be baptised, the idols and temples destroyed, no man to worship the ancient deities publicly upon the penalty of banishment; but private worship, the exposition of infants, the eating of horseflesh, and other practices not inconsistent with the precepts of Christianity, to be still tolerated. This law was ratified by the assembly, all the heathens suffered themselves to be signed with the cross, and some were baptised in the hot-water baths of Langerdal and Reikdal. The apprehensions of famine, from abolishing the practice of exposing their infant children and the eating of horseflesh, soon subsided, and these last remnants of heathenism were suppressed in consequence of the earnest remonstrance of St. Olaf, king of Norway (1016).

[1011-1018 A.D.]

TRIAL BY BATTLE

The introduction of Christianity was followed by the abolition of trial by battle, a mode of procedure recognised by the early laws of all the northern nations, and growing out of their warlike habits and wild spirit of independence, which made every individual the arbiter of his own wrongs. This mode of trial derived its name (*holmgánga*) from the ancient usage among the northern warriors of retiring to a solitary island, there to decide their deadly feuds in single combat. The *holmgánga* was abolished in Iceland in 1011. The laws of the island still remained in oral tradition until more than a century afterwards, when they were revised and reduced to a written text in 1117, under the superintendence of Bergthor Rafni, then lagman of the republic, and Hafidi Mauri, another distinguished chieftain, who were assisted in this recompilation by experienced lawyers of the time.

This code, afterwards called the Grágás, was adopted by the national assembly of the Al-thing in the following year, 1118, and preserved the force of law until the year 1275, when Iceland became subject to the kings of Norway. The loss of national independence was followed by the introduction of the Norwegian collection of laws, called Jonsbok in 1280, which still continues to be the basis of the Icelandic legislation. The Grágás code was not, as has commonly been supposed, borrowed from the law of the same name, introduced into Norway by King Magnus the Good. It was founded mainly on the primitive laws of Úlfljot, and the revision of 1118; but in the form in which the Grágás now exists, it is intermingled with precedents of judicial decisions and the glosses of different commentators which have been incorporated into the original text. This code abounds with many examples of that spirit of litigation and legal subtlety which has ever marked the character of the Northmen.

These laws contain the same provisions for the satisfaction of penal offences by pecuniary mulcts, which are adjusted by a minute scale, according to the nature of the crime and the rank of the offender. They also contain the rude elements of the trial by jury, of which there are many traces to be found in the ancient annals of the North. In the saga of the famous chieftain Egill, son of Skallagrim, there is a curious and picturesque account of a civil trial in Norway, in the reign of King Eric Blodæxe, respecting an inheritance claimed by that chieftain. Soon after the battle of Brunanburh, in which Egill had aided King Æthelstan with a band of vikings and other northern adventurers, his wife's father died in Norway, and his brother-in-law Bergaumund took possession of the entire inheritance, of which Egill claimed a part, in right of his wife, which circumstance compelled Egill to make a voyage from Iceland to the parent country. On his arrival in Norway he brought a suit against Bergaumund, who was protected by the interest of King Eric and his queen Gunhilda. The suit was tried at the Gule-thing assizes, where the parties appeared, attended by numerous bands of followers and friends.

In the midst of a large field a ring was stretched out, with hazel twigs bound together with a cord, called a sacred band (*vebönd*). Within this circle sat the judges, twelve from the district called Fjordefylke, twelve from Sognefylke, and twelve from Hordafylke; these three districts being thus united into what may be called one circuit for the administration of justice. The pleadings commenced in due form, and Bergaumund asserted that Egill's wife could not, as the child of a slave, inherit the property in question. But Egill's friend Arinbiörn maintained, with twelve witnesses or compurgators,

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that she was of ingenuous birth; and as the judges were about to pronounce sentence, Queen Gunhilda, the old enemy of Egill; fearing the result might be favourable to him, instigated her kinsmen to cut the sacred cord, by which the assizes were broken up in confusion. Thereupon Egill defied his adversary to single combat in a desert isle (*holmganga*) in order to decide their controversy by battle, and denounced vengeance against all who should interfere. King Eric was sorely incensed; but as nobody, not even the king and his champions, was allowed to come armed to the assizes, Egill made his escape to the sea shore. Here his faithful friend Arinbiorn informed him that he was declared an outlaw in all Norway, and presented him with a bark and thirty men to pass the seas.

But Egill could not forego his vengeance, even for a season; and returned to the shore, where he lurked until he found an opportunity to slay not only his adversary Bergamund, but King Eric's son Ragnvold, a youth of only eleven years, whom he accidentally encountered at a convivial meeting in the neighbourhood. Before Egill set sail again for Iceland, he took one of the oars of his ship, upon which he stuck a horse's head, and as he raised it aloft, exclaimed: "Here I set up the rod of vengeance, and direct this curse against King Eric and Queen Gunhilda!" He then turned the horse's head towards the land, and cried aloud: "I direct this curse against the tutelary deities who built this land that they shall forever wander, and find no rest nor abiding place, until they have expelled from the land King Eric and Queen Gunhilda." He then carved this singular formula of imprecation in runic characters upon the oar, and fixed it in a cleft of the rock, where he left it standing.

ICELANDIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Under the protection of a form of government which might, however, more properly be called a patriarchal aristocracy than a republic, the Icelanders cherished and cultivated the language and literature of their ancestors with remarkable success. The cultivation of these was favoured by their adherence to the ancient religion for some time after all the other countries of the North had yielded to the progress of Christianity. The early dawn of literature in Europe was almost everywhere else marked by an awkward attempt to copy the classical models of Greece and Rome. In Iceland [as we have seen] an independent literature grew up, flourished, and was brought to a certain degree of perfection, before the revival of learning in the south of Europe. This island was not converted to Christianity until the end of the tenth century, when the national literature, which still remained in oral tradition, was full blown and ready to be committed to a written form.

With the Christian religion, Latin letters were introduced; but instead of being used, as elsewhere, to write a dead language, they were adapted by the learned men of Iceland to mark the sounds which had been before expressed by the runic characters. The ancient language of the North was thus preserved in Iceland, whilst it ceased to be cultivated as a written and soon became extinct as a spoken language in the parent countries of Scandinavia. The popular superstitions, with which the mythology and poetry of the North are interwoven, continued still to linger in the sequestered glens of this remote island. The language, which gave expression to the thoughts and feelings connected with this mythology and this poetry, rivals in copiousness, flexibility, and energy every modern tongue.

Thus we perceive how the flowers of poetry sprung up and bloomed amidst

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eternal ice and snows. The arts of peace were successfully cultivated by the free and independent Icelanders. Their arctic isle was not warmed by a Grecian sun, but their hearts glowed with the fire of freedom. The natural divisions of the country by icebergs and lava streams insulated the people from each other, and the inhabitants of each valley and each hamlet formed, as it were, an independent community. These were again reunited in the general national assembly of the Al-thing, which might not be unaptly likened to the Amphictyonic council or Olympic games, where all the tribes of the nation convened to offer the common rites of their religion, to decide their mutual differences, and to listen to the lays of the skald, which commemorated the exploits of their ancestors. Their pastoral life was diversified by the occupation of fishing. Like the Greeks, too, the sea was their element, but even their shortest voyages bore them much further from their native shores than the boasted expedition of the Argonauts. Their familiarity with the perils of the ocean and with the diversified manners and customs of foreign lands stamped their national character with bold and original features, which distinguished them from every other people. The countries from which this branch of the great northern family had migrated were marked by equally striking moral and physical peculiarities.

The wild beauty of the northern scenery struck the poetic soul of Alfieri, as it must that of every other traveller of genius and sensibility. He was moved by the magnificent splendour of its winter nights, and, above all, by the rapid transition from the rudeness of that season to the mild bloom of spring.

This and the other distinctive qualities of the northern climate and modes of life act powerfully on the being of man; and, as has been beautifully observed by the distinguished living historian of Sweden, "draw the attention of man to nature, and create a closer relation to her and to her mysteries. To this cause may also be attributed that peculiarly deep and comprehensive perception of nature which forms a fundamental principle in distinguished northern minds — a tendency which, even in the earliest mythology and poetry of the North, expresses itself by dark images and tones, and in later times, purified by cultivation, has been principally developed in sciences and art."

The Sagas; The Elder Edda

The ancient literature of the North was not confined to the poetical art. The skald recited the praises of kings and heroes in verse, whilst the Saga-man recalled the memory of the past in prose narratives. The talent for story-telling, as well as that of poetical invention, was cultivated and highly improved by practice. The prince's hall, the assembly of the people, the solemn feasts of sacrifice, all presented occasions for the exercise of this delightful art. The memory of past transactions was thus handed down from age to age in an unbroken chain of tradition, and the ancient songs and sagas were preserved until the introduction of book-writing gave them a fixed and durable record. A young Icelandic, Thorstein Frode, was entertained at the court of Harold Hardrada as a saga-man or story-teller, and often amused the king and his courtiers in this manner. As the great Yule festival, or Christmas, approached, the king, observing him to become serious and melancholy, apprehended that his stock of stories might be nearly exhausted. On being asked the question, Thorstein confessed that he had indeed but a single story left, and that one he did not like to tell, because it related to the deeds

of the king himself in foreign lands. Being encouraged by Harold, he at last narrated the story to the great satisfaction of the king, who asked him where he had learned it. Thorstein answered that he had been in the constant habit of attending the Al-thing, or annual national assembly of Iceland, where he had heard different parts of this saga at different times, until he had firmly imprinted it on his memory. The original narrator was one Haldor, an Icelander who had accompanied King Harold in all his travels and expeditions to Russia, Greece, Asia, Sicily, and Palestine, and on his return to his native isle had spread the fame of the king's achievements among his countrymen.

These recitations were embellished with poetical extracts from the "works" of different skalds, if such an expression may be used for literary compositions before the art of book-writing was known, and quoted by the narrator as apt to the purpose of illuminating some remarkable passage in the life and exploits of the hero whose adventures he was relating. Story and song were thus united, and the memory was strengthened by this constant cultivation, so as to be the safe depository of the national history and poetry. A striking example of the degree to which this faculty was cultivated is given in the saga of a famous Icelandic skald, who sang before King Harold Sigurdson sixty different lays in one evening, and, being asked if he knew any more, declared that these were only the half of what he could sing.

The power of oral tradition, in thus transmitting, through a succession of ages, poetical or prose compositions of considerable length, may appear almost incredible to civilised nations accustomed to the art of writing. But it is well known that, even after the Homeric poems had been reduced to writing, the rhapsodists who had been accustomed to recite them could readily repeat any passage desired; and we have, in our own times, among the Servians, Calmucks, and other barbarous and semi-barbarous nations, examples of heroic and popular poems of great length thus preserved and handed down to posterity. This is more especially the case where there is a perpetual order of men whose exclusive employment it is to learn and repeat, whose faculty of memory is thus improved and carried to the highest pitch of perfection, and who are relied upon as historiographers to preserve the national annals. The interesting scene presented to this day in every Icelandic family, in the long nights of winter, is a living proof of the existence of this ancient custom. No sooner does the day close, than the whole patriarchal family, domestics and all, are seated on their couches in the principal apartment, from the ceiling of which the reading and working lamp is suspended; and one of the family selected for that purpose, takes his seat near the lamp, and begins to read some favourite saga, or it may be the works of Klopstock and Milton (for these have been translated into Icelandic), whilst all the rest attentively listen, and are at the same time engaged in their respective occupations. From the scarcity of printed books in this poor and sequestered country, in some families the sagas are recited by those who have committed them to memory, and there are still instances of itinerant orators of this sort, who gain a livelihood during the winter by going about from house to house repeating the stories they have thus learned by heart.

About two centuries and a half after the first settlement of Iceland by the Norwegians, the learned men of that remote island began to collect and reduce to writing these traditional poems and histories. Sæmund Sigfussen, an ecclesiastic, who was born in Iceland in 1056, and pursued his classical studies in the universities of Germany and France, first collected and arranged the book of songs relating to the mythology and history of the ancient North

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which is called the poetic, or elder *Edda*. Various and contradictory opinions have been maintained as to the manner in which this collection was made by Sæmund, who first gave it to the world. Some suppose that he merely gathered together the runic manuscripts of the different poems, and transcribed them in Latin characters. Others maintain that he took them from the mouths of different skalds, living in his day, and first reduced them to writing, they having been previously preserved and handed down by oral tradition merely. But the most probable conjecture seems to be that he collected some of this fragmentary poetry from contemporary skalds and other parts from manuscripts written after the introduction of Christianity and Latin letters into Iceland, which have since been lost, and merely added one song of his own composition, the *Sólar Ljóð*, or Carmen-Solare, of a moral and Christian religious tendency, so as thereby to consecrate and leaven, as it were, the whole mass of paganism.

He thus performed for these ancient poems the same office which, according to the theory proposed by Wolf and Heyne, was performed by the ancient Greek rhapsodist (whoever he was) who first collected and arranged the songs of his predecessors, and reduced them to one continuous poem, which bears the name of Homer's *Iliad*. It should, however, be observed that the different lays contained in Sæmund's *Edda* are not, in general, connected as one continuous poem in point of subject and composition, but consist of different pieces of ancient fragmentary poetry, relating to the characters and exploits of the northern deities and heroes. There is abundant internal evidence that the work, with the exception just mentioned, was not of his own composition or that of any other Christian writer; and that the poems contained in it could not have been collected by him, or by anybody else, from runic manuscripts, will be evident from the following considerations.

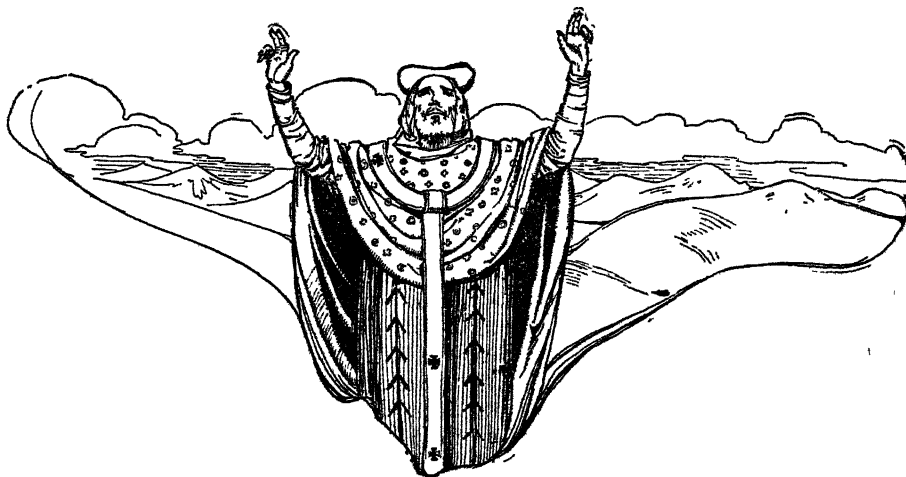
The runic alphabet consists properly of sixteen letters, which are Phœnician in their origin. The northern traditions, sagas, and songs attribute their introduction to Odin. They were probably brought by him into Scandinavia, but they have no resemblance to any of the alphabets of central Asia. All the ancient inscriptions to be found on the rocks and stone monuments in the countries of the North, and which exist in the greatest number near old Sigtuna and Upsala, in Sweden, the former the residence of Odin, and the latter of his successors, and the principal seat of the superstition introduced by him, are written in the Icelandic or ancient Scandinavian language, but in runic characters. Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote in the twelfth century, asserts that the ancient Danes engraved verses upon rocks and stones, containing accounts of the exploits of their ancestors. But he does not pretend to cite any runic inscriptions of the sort; and though he speaks of the rock on which King Harold Hildetand had caused the achievements of his heroic father to be inscribed, he admits that when Valdemar I endeavoured to copy this lapidary inscription it was found for the most part effaced and illegible.

It is probable that the zeal of the first converts to Christianity was employed in destroying these monuments, which they considered rather as the works of the demon than as contributing to illustrate the exploits of their pagan ancestors, whose fame was far from being held in honour by them. The runic characters were also used for inscriptions on arms, trinkets, amulets, utensils, and buildings, and occasionally on the bark of trees or wooden tablets for the purpose of memorials or epistolary correspondence. Thus Venantius Fortunatus, a Latin poet of the sixth century, asks his friend Flavius, if he is tired of the Latin, to write him in Hebrew, Persian, Greek, or even runic characters.

[874-1275 A.D.]

*Barbara fraaxineis pingatur Runa tabellis,
Quodque papyrus ait, virgula plana valet;
Pagina vel iudeat perscripta dolatilis charta,
Quod relegi poterit, fructus amantis erit.*

And the biographer of St. Anskar, the great apostle of the North, speaks of a letter written in the ninth century in runic characters, by a king of Sweden, to the emperor Louis le Débonnaire. These characters were also used for purposes connected with the pretended art of magic, and their efficacy in this respect is inculcated by Odin in several passages of the fragmentary poetry collected by Sæmund. Saxo Grammaticus speaks of magical songs carved on wooden tablets, and in the saga of the famous skald and hero Egill it is related how he was so deeply afflicted by the death of his beloved son that he resolved to starve himself to death, when he was diverted from his fatal purpose by his daughter persuading him to dictate an elegiac lay to his son's memory, which she offered to carve in wood *pa Kafle*. But the runic characters were principally used for lapidary inscriptions, and for the other purposes already mentioned, and there is no evidence that any such thing as "books," properly so called, existed among the Scandinavian nations before the introduction of the religion and language of the Roman church. The oldest manuscript book in the runic characters now existing is a digest of the customary laws of Skåne, written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which is preserved in the library of the university of Copenhagen.^c



CHAPTER V

DENMARK UNDER THE KNUDS AND VALDEMARS

[1050-1375 A D]

HARTHACNUT AND MAGNUS (1035-1042 A D.)

By his father's death, Harthacnut, the heir of Denmark, was equally so of England; and he was preparing to pass over into that kingdom when intelligence reached him of Harold's usurpation. But that usurpation was not sudden, nor complete; and had he hastened with a few thousand followers to claim the crown, he would have triumphed. But he had little energy of character; and while he remained irresolute, the period favourable for his hopes passed away. Fortunately Harold's reign was short; and in 1040 he was called by the English themselves to ascend the throne. On his arrival he committed an act of impotent vengeance against the memory of his brother, whose bones he caused to be disinterred and cast into the Thames. They were, however, reburied.

In his government of England, Harthacnut seems to have committed only one reprehensible act, and for that he had provocation. A tax levied for the support of the Danish soldiery was condemned by the English, and at Worcester resisted by the murder of the two collectors. To vindicate his authority, he resorted to severe measures. The ringleaders were executed, the city pillaged and partly burned. In other respects he was not unpopular. His kindness to the family of Æthelred did him great honour. To Emma he confided a share in the administration; and to Prince Edward, the youngest son of Æthelred, afterwards named the Confessor, whom he recalled from Normandy, he gave a splendid establishment. As he died without issue, with him ended the Danish dynasty in England.

Of Harthacnut's government in Denmark we have few records. He was negligent and intemperate; and his father's memory, more than his own

qualities, secured him on the throne. His transactions with Norway deserve especial consideration. Svend, the son of Canute, having been expelled from that kingdom by Magnus the Good as narrated in a former chapter, took refuge with his nearest brother in Denmark, and died soon after. If the Danish king was feeble, he was not without ambition. He knew that he should succeed to the English throne; and as, after that event, he should be the sole heir of Canute's extensive empire, he urged his claim to the crown of Norway. Finding Magnus too powerful for him, he met that prince, and as we have related, concluded a treaty singular in its nature and in its results important. If either king died without issue, the other was to inherit his dominions. This convention was guaranteed by the chief nobles and prelates of the two countries. Harthacnut did die without issue, and the throne of Denmark accordingly fell to Magnus (1042-1047).

On the arrival of this prince in Denmark, he was received with open arms. He was the son of a saint, with whose miracles the North resounded; and his own virtues (much less questionable than his father's) justified the expectation of a happy reign. To few princes, indeed, can history accord more virtues than to Magnus; yet he was not deficient in the active duties of his station. The Jomsburg pirates who had revolted, and whose ferocity was the dread of the North, he speedily reduced, and their capital he laid in ashes. This was a service both to the Danes and the Norwegians for which they could not be too grateful.

But the former, influenced by fickleness or by attachment to their old line of kings, or by mortification at receiving a sovereign from a country which they had twice conquered, soon cast their eyes on Svend, son of Jarl Ulf and of Estrith, sister of Canute the Great. After his father's murder, this prince had sought refuge at the court of the Swedish king. As he approached man's estate, he grew weary of inactivity, and having something to hope from the generosity of Magnus, he repaired to that monarch in Norway. He did not ask for any portion of Canute's vast possessions: he wanted employment merely under so generous a monarch; and his request was immediately granted. His talents, his lofty mien, his deportment, and above all his skilful flattery won the confidence of the Norwegian, who made him first minister, and next his lieutenant in Denmark. There was much imprudence in confiding to one so ambitious and so nearly connected with the throne a trust of this nature; but judging of other men's hearts by his own, Magnus thought that such a trust would forever bind Svend to his interests, and be agreeable to the Danes. On the relics of St. Olaf the young prince swore fidelity to the monarch, and was well received by the people. To deepen this favourable sentiment was his constant care; and by his affability, his attention to his duties, and his liberalities, he completely succeeded. When secure of their affection, he openly revolted. Magnus assembled an armament, proceeded to Denmark, defeated and expelled the usurper, who again sought refuge at the Swedish court.

No sooner was this enemy vanquished, than another appeared in the pagan bands which occupied all the eastern shores of the Baltic, that are now comprised in the Russian monarchy. These men, scarcely less ferocious than their allies the Jomsburg pirates, invaded Schleswig, wasting everything with fire and sword. Magnus flew to oppose them, and after a severe struggle triumphed. During his absence, Svend returned from Sweden, reduced Skåne, and passing into Zealand and Funen was again acknowledged by the people. Victory, in two or three successive actions, still declared for the monarch. Yet the cause of Svend was not destroyed. In the assistance of

[1042-1047 A.D.]

the Swedish king, in the adventurers on all the maritime coasts of the Baltic, and still more in the attachment of the Danes, he had resources which even the power of Magnus was not able wholly to destroy.

A third enemy now appeared in Harold, surnamed Hardrada, or the Stern, the son of Sigurd, and the half-brother of St. Olaf. If there be any truth in the ancient sagas, his adventures were most extraordinary. He was present at the last fatal scene of Olaf's life; and from Norway he fled to the court of the Russian duke Yaroslav, whose service he entered. Of Elisif, daughter of Yaroslav, he became deeply enamoured; but, his suit being unsuccessful, he repaired to Constantinople, and was admitted amongst the Varangian guard of the emperors. By his valour and his birth he obtained at length the command of that formidable though small body, and by his exploits invested his name with much lustre. Heading an expedition against the pirates of the African coast, he was the victor in several battles, and the owner of immense booty, a portion of which he sent to his friends in Russia. He was afterwards employed in Sicily, in Italy, and in a journey to the Holy Land. In all this there is no great improbability; but what follows is too romantic to be credited: As the reward of his services, Harold had demanded the hand of a princess of the imperial family, and had been refused.

"Those Varangians (Væringjar)," says Snorre,^c "who were in Miklagard, and received rewards for their services during the war, have said since their return home to the North that they were told in Greece by wise and grave men of that country that Queen Zoe herself wished for Harold as her husband, and that this in truth was the cause of her resentment, and of his wishing to leave Miklagard, though other reports were spread among the people. For these reasons the king Constantine Monomachus, who ruled the empire jointly with Queen Zoe, ordered Harold to be cast into prison. On his way thither, St. Olaf appeared to him, and promised him protection; and on that same street a chapel has been since erected, which is standing at this day. Here was Harold imprisoned with Halldór and Ulfr his men. The following night there came a noble lady, with two attendants, who let down a cord into the dungeon, and drew up the prisoners. This lady had been before healed by St. Olaf, the king, who revealed to her that she should relieve his brother from captivity. This being done, Harold immediately went to the Varangians, who all rose up at his approach and received him with joy. They seized their arms, and went to the chamber where the king slept and put out his eyes. The same night, Harold went, with his companions, to the chamber in which Maria slept, and carried her away by force. They afterwards proceeded to the place where the galleys of the Varangians were kept, and, seizing two vessels, rowed into the Bosphorus (*Sævdar-sund*). When they came to the iron chains which are drawn across the sound, Harold ordered all his men who were not employed in rowing to crowd to the stern with their baggage, and when the galleys struck upon the chains, to rush forward to the prow, so as to impel the galleys over the chains. The galley in which Harold embarked was carried quite over on to the other side, but the other vessel struck upon the chains and was lost. Some of her crew perished in the water, but others were saved. In this manner, Harold escaped from Miklagard, and entered the Black Sea, where he set the virgin on shore, with some attendants, to accompany her back to Miklagard, requesting her to tell her cousin, Queen Zoe, how little her power could have availed to prevent his carrying off the virgin, if he had been so minded."

The anxiety of Harold was occasioned by the intelligence that his nephew Magnus had ascended the thrones of Norway and Denmark. Proceeding

[1047-1076 A.D.]

through Russia, he married the daughter of Yaroslav; and with her returned to Norway through Sweden. On reaching Sweden, where the fame of his riches had preceded him, he entered into a league with Svend. The objects of this league are not very clearly defined; but we may infer that one of them was to place Harold on the Norwegian, Svend on the Danish throne. The wealth of Harold hired numerous adventurers; and by the two princes the coasts of Denmark were ravaged.

Again Magnus prepared an armament to oppose them; but his surer recourse was policy. To detach the celebrated Varangian chief from the cause of the Dane, he offered him half of the Norwegian kingdom (and also no doubt the eventual succession), on the condition of Harold's allowing in like manner a division of his treasure. The latter eagerly accepted the proposal; he forsook Svend, repaired to Norway, divided the treasure, the amount of which is described as wonderfully large, and was admitted to a share in the administration. Contrary to the usual experience of rulers so placed in regard to each other, they lived in harmony until the death of Magnus in the following year. By this defection, or rather by this conversion of an ally into an enemy, Svend was compelled to retire. But he had his partisans in Denmark, and Magnus, at his death, had the generosity to declare him his successor in that kingdom. To Harold was left the Norwegian throne. Thus the two adventurers became kings, in little more than a year after the arrival of Harold in the North.

The surname of Harold the Good sufficiently establishes his character. He was indeed an admira le king and a virtuous man. Much praise is awarded to a code of laws which he compiled; but they no longer exist in their original form.

SVEND AND THE NEW DYNASTY (1047-1076 A.D.)

As with Harthacnut had ended the ancient male line of Denmark — a line that traced itself to Odin — Svend II may be called the founder of a new dynasty. That dynasty occupied the throne until the extinction of its male line in Valdemar IV, when it was succeeded by the house of Oldenburg.

Scarcely was Svend invested with the dignity, when he found an enemy as powerful as Magnus, and less generous, in Harold Hardrada, who claimed the Danish crown. The assertion of this claim led to many years of warfare, ruinous to both kingdoms, but especially to Denmark, the coasts of which were often ravaged. In general the advantage rested with the Norwegian monarch, who, in 1064, obtained a great victory over the Danish fleet at the mouth of the Nissa. With great difficulty Svend escaped into Zealand, and began to collect a new armament. Fortunately the mind of Harold was now disposed to peace. Sixteen years of hostilities had brought him little advantage; the fortune of war was dubious; and the Danes, like their king, were averse to a foreign yoke. The two monarchs met, and entered into a treaty, which left affairs just as they had been at the death of Magnus.

These were not the only hostilities in which they were engaged. Both undertook predatory expeditions to the English coast; but they could obtain no advantage over the vigilant and intrepid monarch (William I), who now swayed the sceptre of that kingdom. Svend too had the mortification to see his own coasts (those of Holstein) ravaged by the Wend pirates, who laid both Schleswig and Hamburg in ashes. Before he could reach them they retired. Subsequently he was persuaded to march against the Saxons, then at war with the emperor; but his troops having no inclination to exasperate

[1047-1078 A.D.]

a people with whom they had long been on terms of amity, he desisted from the undertaking.

Svend showed much favour to the church. He built many places of worship, which he endowed with liberality; and he founded four new bishoprics: of these two were in Skåne, *viz.* Lund and Dalby, which were subsequently united; and two in Jutland, *viz.* Viborg and Borglum. Yet this liberality did not preserve him from quarrelling with it. His chief vice was incontinence. Numerous were his mistresses, and numerous his offspring: thirteen sons are mentioned, of whom five succeeded him; but the number of his daughters was much inferior; two only appear in history. His queen was a Swedish princess within the prohibited degrees of kindred. When Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, heard of the union, he angrily condemned it, and by his messengers threatened the king with excommunication if he did not separate from the princess. The king resisted, and even threatened to lay Bremen (the legate's residence) in ashes; but the power of the church was too great even for him to resist, and in the end he dismissed his wife.

Svend was a man of strong passions, and of irritable temperament. In a festival which he gave to his chief nobles in the city of Roeskilde, some of the guests, heated by wine, indulged themselves in imprudent though perhaps true remarks on his conduct. The following morning some officious tale-bearers acquainted him with the circumstance; and in the rage of the moment he ordered them to be put to death, though they were then at mass in the cathedral — that very cathedral which had been the scene of his own father's murder. When, on the day following this tragical event, he proceeded to the church, he was met by the bishop, who, elevating the crosier, commanded him to retire, and not to pollute by his presence the house of God — that house which he had already desecrated by blood. His attendants drew their swords, but he forbade them to exercise any degree of violence towards a man who in the discharge of his duty defied even kings. Retiring mournfully to his palace, he assumed the garb of penance, wept and prayed, and lamented his crime during three days. He then presented himself, in the same mean apparel, before the gates of the cathedral. The bishop was in the midst of the service; the *Kyrie Eleison* had been chaunted, and the *Gloria* about to commence, when he was informed that the royal penitent was outside the gates. Leaving the altar, he repaired to the spot, raised the suppliant monarch, and greeted him with the kiss of peace. Bringing him into the church, he heard his confession, removed the excommunication, and allowed him to join in the service. Soon afterwards, in the same cathedral, the king made a public confession of his crime, asked pardon alike of God and man, was allowed to resume his royal apparel, and solemnly absolved. But he had yet to make satisfaction to the kindred of the deceased in conformity with the law; and to mitigate the canonical penance he presented one of his domains to the church. This prelate was an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic, William, whom the archbishop of Bremen had nominated to that dignity, and who had previously been the secretary of Canute the Great. During the long period that he had governed the diocese of Roeskilde, he had won the esteem of all men alike by his talents and his virtues. For the latter he had the reputation of a saint, and for the former that of a wizard. It is no disparagement to the honour of this apostolic churchman that he had previously been the intimate friend of the monarch; nor any to that of Svend, that after this event he honoured this bishop more than he had done before.

From this time to his death, Svend practised with much zeal the observances of the Roman Catholic church. By his excessive liberalities he injured

[1047-1080 A.D.]

his revenues; and by his austerities, perhaps, his health. A faithful portrait is given of him and of his people by one who knew him well, Adam of Bremen.^d This ecclesiastic, hearing so much in favour of the royal Dane, proceeded to his court, and, like all other strangers, was graciously received.^b "Svend," says the canon,^d "is not only liberal towards foreigners, but well versed in literature; and he directs with much ability the missions which he has established in Sweden, Norway, and the isles; from his own mouth have I received most of the facts contained in this history." In his reign the pagans of Bornholm were first converted to Christianity by bishop Egin. The image of Frigg, which they had been so long accustomed to venerate, they demolished with contempt. Another proof of their sincerity appeared from their offer of their most valuable effects to the bishop. This, unlike most churchmen of the age, he refused to accept; and advised them to expend it in two noble ways — in the foundation of churches, and the redemption of the Christian captives. "The king," proceeds Adam,^d "has no vice but incontinence."

The canon speaks of Denmark as consisting almost wholly of islands. "Of them Zealand is the largest and richest, and its inhabitants are the most warlike." Leire had been, but Roeskilde was then the capital. Next to Zealand in importance was Funen, which was very fertile, but its coasts were exposed to the ravages of the pirates. The capital, Odense, was a large city. To cross from island to island was perilous, not only from the stormy sea that rolled between them but from the pirates. Jutland had a barren soil except on the banks of the rivers, the only parts cultivated: the rest of the country consisted of forests, marshes, and wastes, and was hardly passable. The chief towns lay near the narrow bays on the coast. Skåne, always geographically, now politically included in Sweden, is represented as fertile, as very populous, and full of churches. Nowhere, indeed, had Denmark much lack of these structures; Funen, Adam assures us, had 100; Zealand, 150. "Skåne is almost an island, and separated from Gothland by large forests and rugged mountains. Here is the city of Lund, where the robbers of the deep laid their treasures. These robbers paid tribute to the Danish king, on the condition of being allowed to exercise their vocation against the barbarians." Among the Danes, Adam perceives many other things contrary to justice: he sees little indeed to praise beyond the custom of selling into slavery such women as dishonoured themselves. So proud were the men that they preferred death to stripes; and they marched to the place of execution not only with an undaunted but with a triumphant air. Tears and groans they held to be unmanly; and they mourned neither for their wives nor for their dearest connections.

As Svend left no legitimate offspring, the only claim that could be made was from his numerous bastards. Harold was the eldest; but then, as he was of a quiet, gentle nature, he was not very agreeable to a fierce people. On the other hand, Knud, the next brother, had distinguished himself greatly in the wars against the pagans of Livonia. There was, accordingly, a dispute when the states assembled, most declaring for Harold, but all Skåne for Knud; and a civil war must have been the result; but for the bribes of two chiefs, who prevailed on the electors of that province to confirm the choice of Harold. After this decision, Knud refused to remain in Denmark, and passed the rest of his brother's life in his old occupation.

The short reign of Harold (1076-1080) affords no materials for history. Silent, reserved, timid, averse to the shedding of blood, even for judicial delinquencies, he was little esteemed. Yet few periods were more happy than that which witnessed his administration. He made new laws, which have

[1080-1086 A.D.]

been praised and condemned. According to Saxo, whose means of information cannot be disputed, he abolished the judicial combat, and substituted purgation by oath — a change which led to frequent perjury. But if the testimony of Elnoth be admissible, he enacted other laws which were long valued by the people — so valued that they made every new monarch swear to observe them.^b

THE CHURCH UNDER KNUD THE SAINT

After the death of Harold (1080) his brother Knud the Saint succeeded him without opposition. Although he possessed many fine qualities, he was beloved neither by the people nor the nobles, and from the very beginning of his reign had difficulties with the inhabitants of Halland and Skåne because they refused to respond to the numerous statute duties he imposed upon them. But he knew how to bring them to obedience by threatening to exclude them, some from the great oak forests where their pigs found food, others from the Sound fishing grounds; for he claimed that the forests and pasturing grounds, the gulfs and straits belonged to the king. Although Christianity had long been established in Denmark, many of the people still practised piracy, especially in isolated localities. A remarkable type of corsair was the powerful chief Egil-Ragnarsen of Bornholm, usually called Blod-Egil, because in the heat of battle he quenched his thirst with the blood of the wounded. Knud the Saint, who was now resolved to put an end to this barbarous practice of piracy, had warned Egil several times; and as the latter was not willing to give up his old habits, the king went to Bornholm, seized Egil, and hanged him.

This severity, while just, greatly incensed that portion of the people which was still animated by the spirit of paganism, and could not see anything wrong in piracy — but especially Egil's numerous and powerful friends and relatives became sworn enemies of the king. Knud's efforts tended principally to soften the manners of the Danes and to spread order and a higher civilisation throughout Denmark. He also showed much concern towards foreigners who made homes in the kingdom, and worked zealously to suppress slavery, which was a relic of paganism. The cessation of the piracy, which had provided the country with slaves, paved the way for the abolition of slavery; but this happy result was due above everything else to the influence of Christianity, which taught the equality of men, and the more the Christian spirit filtered down through the people the more it obliterated their degrading heritage of paganism.

While Knud was at loggerheads with the people and the chiefs because he found himself compelled to restrain the ancient liberties of the one and to bring the license of the others within the limits of order, he upheld with all his might the influence of the clergy, and sought in them a support against the other classes. He was himself of a very pious nature, rigidly observing days of abstinence, fasting frequently, and devoting himself to severe exercises of penance; sometimes he even went so far as to undergo flagellation from his chaplains.

He gave proof of a royal generosity with regard to the poor, the churches, and the priests, and it was the magnificent cathedral built in his reign that received the greatest marks of this. In the epoch when the church was governed by the energetic Gregory VII, she attained throughout Europe a high degree of power, not only spiritual but temporal as well, before which people and kings were compelled to bow. In Denmark, the clergy had

struggled for more than a century and a half before they were even tolerated, but their strength and power increased rapidly when Christianity was universally established, and their pretention to enjoy in the North the same privileges as in the rest of Europe seemed to be equally just and natural. In the midst of the license which prevailed during the centuries of barbarism, the people felt the need of some protection against arbitrary power and threw themselves into the arms of the church, which upheld justice against force and gave the oppressed a refuge against the persecutions of violence. Through auricular confession the clergy became masters of the conscience, and by excluding recalcitrants from divine service and from the communion they had a means of coercion which was especially efficacious in an age of devotion.

Generosity towards the church and respect for the clergy became articles of faith, and were considered the highest mark of piety, even as disobedience to the clerical orders was the greatest sin. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that people and kings rivalled one another in generosity towards the church and her religious establishments, and showered on them privileges which brought them at the same time riches and consideration. Thus favoured by the spirit of the age and the force of circumstances, the church obtained a degree of pre-eminence over the state which worked for good as long as the latter remained in a low state of development, and had power neither to protect civilisation nor maintain the law, but which became harmful as soon as the state could stand by itself.

Svend Estridsen raised the power of the church upon the foundations laid by Canute the Great, but under Knud the Saint the theocracy attained the apogee of its development, it made the clergy the first order of the state by giving bishops the rank of the greatest lords, dukes, and lay princes; it exempted ecclesiastics from the reach of ordinary jurisdiction in religious matters, and under King Niels the privilege was further extended to include every cause, so that in no event could the clergy be cited before a secular tribunal; and even at a later period laymen were amenable to clerical jurisdiction in certain pretended ecclesiastical matters, such as adultery, perjury, usury, etc. The ecclesiastics obtained, moreover, the right of "forfeit" for condemnations pronounced within their jurisdiction, a most important source of revenue in an age where the majority of punishments consisted in pecuniary reparation. Finally Knud tried to introduce the tithe system — one third of the revenue thus obtained to go to the bishop, one third to the parish priest, and the remainder to the maintenance of the church and the needs of public worship; but this experiment failed on account of the open resistance the people opposed to so onerous an innovation, and it finally cost the king his life.

In the impoverished country of Wendsyssel, north of Limfjord, open rebellion broke out and spread quickly over the whole of Jutland. Knud fled to Fünen, but the insurgents pursued and overtook him at Odense, where he shut himself up in the church of St. Alban with the men who had remained faithful to him. Knud would make no resistance and threw himself in prayer before the altar, but his brothers, Eric and Benedict, defended him with the most splendid bravery. The rebels attacked the sanctuary crying, "Where is Knud the Accursed? Let him show himself. Where is he hiding? He has betrayed the Danes long enough, and it must cease." Others exclaimed in meting out blows to the king's defenders, "Take this for my cow, King Knud; take this for my ox; take this for my horse." They finally broke into the sanctuary. Knud the Saint was assassinated before the altar,

[1086-1095 A.D.]

Benedict perished in the fight, but Eric fought his way out through the assailants (1086).

Knud the Saint is the sole Danish king to meet death in a general uprising. He was the victim of resistance to a new order of things that was beginning to creep into Denmark, but which he attempted to make prevail with too much violence and thoughtless zeal. After Knud's death, an embassy was sent to Flanders to bring back Olaf [the brother of Knud, whom the latter had sent thither in chains as a punishment for exciting a rebellion against him] but he was not set at liberty until his brother Niels was sent as a hostage in pledge for 10,000 silver marks of ransom, which could not be furnished just at the moment.

Olaf reigned nine years, but his reign is only noteworthy for a great famine, whence came his surname of "Hunger." Although scarcity and high prices prevailed over all Europe at the time, the clergy did not fail to represent the calamity as a divine punishment for the murder of Saint Knud. The same rumours of miracles at his tomb began to be circulated, but it took a long time to make the people believe in the sanctity of this detested king.

THE GUILDS

The canonisation of Saint Knud had important consequences in giving rise to the foundation of brotherhoods or guilds, founded in his honour and placed under his protection. They were institutions whose object was mutual assistance in misery and in danger, common defence, and the maintenance of order and morality in an age of license. These brotherhoods were composed of men and women, and governed by elders (oldermænd) according to the *Skraa* or particular statutes which the members engaged themselves by oath to observe; and these laws had without any doubt their origin in the frequent social reunions or guilds of antiquity. That explains the identity of the name, as well as the custom, practised also by the members of the later guilds, of coming together for purposes of banqueting and amusement. But it was only through the influence of Christianity that the guilds assumed their special character of half religious and half worldly associations.

The oldest guilds existed merely for religious purposes — such as saying prayers and holding services, subscribing donations to churches and monasteries, helping the poor and the pilgrims, or nursing the sick. But on account of the necessities and requirements of the age, brotherhoods were soon formed which held in view also the material welfare and safety of their members. Although of a more worldly nature, these societies, nevertheless, always kept their religious character, and continued to hold relations with the church; they were under the protection of a saint whose name they took; at the death of a brother the members kept vigil, that is to say they passed the night in singing hymns and saying prayers; masses were said for the repose of the dead man's soul; and the members were constantly making offerings, especially tapers, to the church dedicated to the patron saint of the brotherhood. Guilds may have been introduced into Denmark at the time of the country's union with England — one of the oldest homes of these associations; but it is also quite possible that they arose spontaneously from circumstances and necessities similar to those which developed the guilds elsewhere: in any case, it cannot be shown with certainty that guilds existed in Denmark before the canonisation of Saint Knud.

The secular guilds instituted on this occasion — and which are called

[1100-1375 A.D.]

royal because they were dedicated to Saint Knud, and later to Duke Knud, Lavard and King Eric Plovpenning, who, without being canonised was honoured in Denmark as one of the blessed—soon became famous and spread rapidly. Their distinguishing feature was the protection their members promised one to the others. When a brother was killed by a non-member it became the members' duty to force the murderer to pay the price of blood; and if he refused he became the object of the brotherhood's vengeance, against which he could preserve neither power nor rank: and so inevitable was this that even a king (Niels) was unable to escape it. The guild exercised extensive jurisdiction over its members, and differences which arose among the latter were settled by its own tribunal. When, on the contrary, a member was dragged by a non-member into the ordinary courts, his brothers were bound to appear with him, and to sustain him with their oath and their testimony, which latter was so respected that the word of one was worth that of three others. The danger which might thus result to justice in general was in part attenuated by the fact that the brotherhoods admitted none but persons of good character, and expelled all who were guilty of dishonourable actions. By these regulations, and by the discipline and order which ruled in the assemblies, the guilds exercised in that barbaric age a beneficial influence, and served as one of the pillars of morality as long as they themselves retained their primitive purity.

While not enjoying quite the same privileges as the royal ones, the petty guilds were nevertheless extremely important. They were composed of artisans and merchants, who met at certain times in a specified place to eat, drink, and consider their common interests. Each member had to pay a share of the expense incurred in the festivals, and as their cost was somewhat high, only the most affluent and prominent burghers could belong to them. Although these petty guilds did not have so extended a jurisdiction as the royal ones, yet the majority of disputes concerning trade and industry were judged by the tribunal of the corporation before being taken into the ordinary courts. Those guilds known as the *Calendars*, because their members met on the first day of every month (Kalends), were composed for the most part of priests, and other ecclesiastics, and only concerned themselves with religious questions.

The character and organisation of the guilds will become still clearer if we cite the most important articles of their rules. "If a member causes the death of one of his fellow members, he shall pay 40 marks to his victim's heirs, or be excluded from the brotherhood as a felon. If on the other hand a member of the guild kill a non-member, his brethren, if they be present, shall aid in saving their fellow's life; if it happen on the sea they shall procure him a ship with oars, an instrument for baling, a steel and flint, and an axe; after that he must defend himself as he can. If he has need of a horse they shall accompany him to the pasture grounds and procure for him free a horse for one day and one night. Members who have witnessed the killing of a fellow without going to his defence are expelled from the guild as felons.

"If a member lose his money a collection shall be taken for his benefit at the next banquet, and each of his *confrères* shall give what he thinks is right. Each member shall give three pieces of money to the brother whose house has been burned, or whose ship has been wrecked, or who is about to set out on a pilgrimage. Members shall not try to do each other harm by act or conduct whether in competition or any other fashion. Members shall watch two by two at the bedside of a sick comrade who has need of their

[1100-1375 A.D.]

aid, and shall continue to do so until he is well. At a member's death four comrades shall guard the corpse, and all share the funeral expenses, accompany the body and bear it to the tomb."

There are numberless other regulations with the object of preventing insults, quarrels, drunkenness, and other unpleasantnesses that would disturb the meetings. The oldest guilds mentioned are those of Odense, Schleswig, Ribe, Flensburg, Malmö, Lund, and Skanör; but they were soon to be found in every town of the kingdom. Their relation with the church, and the need of protection against the rampant license and immorality, facilitated their extension. When social order was established and laws were better respected, the guilds became not only superfluous but positively harmful, in their quality of little states within the state. To which it must be added that they slowly degenerated and became centres of quarrels, drunkenness, debauchery, and all sorts of violence — the very things which it had originally been their object to prevent. And so the kings were compelled gradually to reduce and suppress them; Valdemar Atterdag and his daughter Margaret worked to this end at the close of the fourteenth century, and their successors pursued the same aim. The Reformation, which abolished the cult of saints and masses for the dead, accomplished the complete dissolution of the guilds, which transformed themselves into simple corporations, armourers' companies, fire insurance companies, etc.

THE RISE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The guilds were a powerful element in the development of the burgher class, in that they taught the burghers self-respect, and awoke them to a consciousness of their own strength, and showed them how to unite in common efforts to defend their rights. Although there had been since ancient times, various towns, not without importance, yet their number was not great, and the origin of the majority of Danish towns may be assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Commerce and the trades made considerable progress; new sources of industry were opened up and the population of the towns began to be differentiated more and more from that of the country, by its occupations, its manner of life, and its organisation. The majority of the towns situated on the sea or inland waters took their origin from fortresses, built here and there on the coast for protection against pirates and as shelters during the winter to the ships drawn up on the sands. Merchants and fishermen, artisans and labourers, established themselves in proximity to these secure places, where there was, besides, a chance of profit; others were constantly coming in, until a whole town was formed whose origin is revealed by the termination "*borg*" like Aalborg, Vordingborg, Faaborg, etc., and their inhabitants were called *borgere* (burghers). A sufficiently large number of towns owe their origin to the foundation of monasteries and other religious institutions.

The construction of these edifices drew thither a crowd of masons, carpenters, and smiths, who established themselves in the neighbourhood with their families; where they were soon joined by others in the hope of sharing in the work and the profit always to be found around the rich religious establishments. In this manner were born the towns of Nestved, Sorø, Præsto, Maribo, Mariager, Nykjøbing, on the island of Mors, and several others. A safe harbour, good fishing grounds, and a situation favourable for commerce and navigation were sure to lead to the foundation of towns, which accordingly bore the termination *kjøbing* (place for trade), like Ring-

[1104-1123 A.D.]

kjöbing, Stubbekjöbing, Rudkjöbing, Kjöbenhavn (Copenhagen); or the ending *ör* when they were situated on a point of land, like Korsör, Helsingör (Elsinore), Skanör, etc. The artisans and merchants who first settled these towns were those engaged in preparing and selling the necessities of life — as bakers, brewers, butchers, inn-keepers, shoe-makers, tanners, smiths, masons, carpenters, etc. In the beginning the towns had the same tribunals as the surrounding country; but as the difference grew between villages and towns the latter obtained special tribunals, their own legislation, and very liberal charters under elective magistrates. But while these changes had begun to take place in this age they were not fully brought about until the following, when the burghers took their place for the first time among the orders of the state.

CHURCH AND STATE

The creation of a special metropolitan see in the North, so long meditated and planned, was finally realised. An apostolic legate came on this occasion to Denmark, and chose for the residence of the future archbishop the city of Lund, already the seat of an important diocese, and well situated to be the ecclesiastical metropolis of the three northern kingdoms.

The bishop of Lund, Adser, nephew of Queen Bothilde, wife of Eric Eiegod, was the first called to that office (1104). By the institution of a national archbishopric the kings no longer had the inconvenience of dealing with a foreign prelate, often imperious and not readily to be conciliated; but they did not gain much by the change, for the archbishops of Lund meddled much more with the affairs of the state than the archbishops of Hamburg had been able to do, and as natives they had family relations with the powerful men of the land, which still further increased their influence.

The state then had two heads, one civil and the other religious, whose opposing interests occasioned perpetual strife. The archbishops, thanks to their great revenue, important domains, and the influence they enjoyed as primates of the North, were soon in a position to defy the king and shake his throne with rebellion and civil war. The establishment of the archdiocese of Lund gave the clergy a point of support, heretofore lacking, which permitted them henceforth to take a firmer attitude towards the state.

The archbishop of Lund's jurisdiction extended over the churches of Norway and Sweden; but under Eskil, Adser's successor, each of these two kingdoms recovered its own archbishop; while the archbishops of Lund received, with the title of apostolic legate and primate of Sweden, a sort of supremacy over the whole northern clergy. This was rather an honorary than a real distinction, for the Norwegian and Swedish archbishops watched jealously over their rights and opposed every encroachment of the Danish primate. When the North had been provided with a special ecclesiastical chief, the sovereign pontiff thought to complete the separation of church and state by introducing the celibacy of the priesthood, which for nearly half a century had existed in the majority of European countries. As a result of the first Lateran council (1123) the Danish priests were enjoined to repudiate their wives and to live a celibate life; but it was a long time before the prescription was observed.

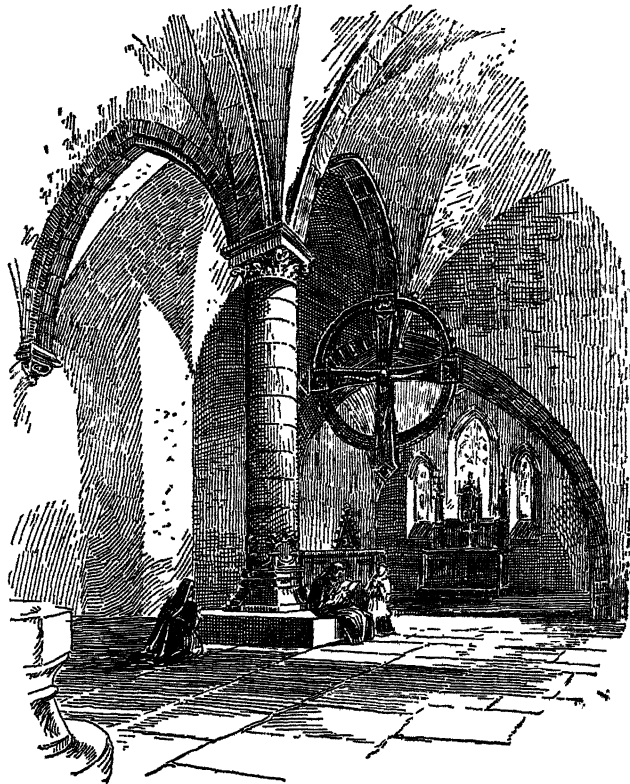
Archbishop Eskil was himself married, and the priests were sustained by the people in their resistance to the new regulation. In vain did the energetic archbishop Absalon work for the suppression of marriage in the priesthood; the people, already irritated by the tithes and other vexatious bur-

[1095-1222 A. D.]

dens, showed their opposition by a revolt in Skåne, where the peasants cried, "Down with the bishop. We will keep our priests, but only on condition that they are married." Denmark, however, could not escape a regulation so vigorously applied throughout the whole Catholic world, and after more than a century's struggle the Danish clergy were compelled to renounce their obstinate resistance.

The apostolic nuncio, Gregory, who came to Denmark in 1222, caused the marriage of priests to be once more forbidden in the council of Schleswig, and pronounced civil punishments for offenders. Even some priests in Jutland, who had had the courage to appeal to a general council as higher than the pope, could do nothing further. It was thus that the celibacy of the clergy was introduced little by little, but not without great detriment to their morals, for the ministers of religion henceforth kept concubines and scandalised their flocks by most irregular lives.

The church did not suppress this notorious evil, but shut her eyes to vice under a mask. In forbidding marriage to the priests, she broke the last link that held them to their fellow citizens, and ranged herself opposite the state as a separate and often hostile society.^e



HAMRA CHURCH, GOTLAND

(Built in the twelfth century)

ERIC III, NIELS, ERIC IV, AND ERIC THE LAMB

Eric III, called Eiegod or the Ever-good, was the fourth son of Svend II, and from the jarldom of Jutland was raised by the estates to the throne of that kingdom [on the death of Olaf Hunger, 1095]. As the next harvest was one of abundance, the people were again contented, and he obtained credit for the abundance with the same injustice as his brother had been condemned for the famine. More active than his predecessor, he administered the laws with vigour; and he destroyed Jomsburg, the stronghold of the pirates, who had again reared their heads during the preceding reign. To keep them in continued subjection, he erected fortresses in their country, and garrisoned

[1103-1134 A D]

them well. The most remarkable event of this monarch's reign is the erection of Lund into an archbishopric.

The cause of a pilgrimage which Eric undertook in 1103, and from which he was destined never to return, is not well known; but it was probably to expiate a homicidal act which he had perpetrated in a fit of anger or of drunkenness. Whatever the case, he resolved to visit the Holy Land, and that too in opposition to the prayers and tears of his people, by whom he was cherished. Passing through Rome, where he obtained the erection of Lund into a metropolitan see, he repaired to Constantinople. By Alexius Comnenus he was received with much distinction; though for some time he was narrowly watched, lest, with all his piety, he should place himself at the head of the Varangian guard, and become troublesome to his host. His manners soon dispelled this diffidence, and he was splendidly entertained. Being supplied not only with provisions and vessels but with a liberal store of gold, he sailed for Palestine; but, landing in the isle of Cyprus, he fell a victim to a pestilential disease.

After Eric's death there was an interregnum of two years. He had left his son Harold governor of the realm during his absence; but the conduct of that prince was so unpopular that when the states assembled they excluded him and his brothers, and resolved to choose one of his uncles. The eldest, named Svend, died before he could be elected. Ubbo, the next prince, refused the dignity, which then descended to Niels, the next in age.

The long reign of this monarch (1105-1134) was one of calamities, occasioned chiefly by his jealousy of his nephew Knud [called Lavard, that is, lord], second son of the late king. Henry king of the Abodriti, a Wend people who dwelt on the Baltic coast from Mecklenburg to Pomerania, was nearly connected with the royal house of Denmark, his mother being Sigritha, daughter of Svend II. As the Abodriti had been subdued by at least two Danish kings, and forced to embrace Christianity, they were regarded in the light of vassals. But Henry, more powerful than any of his predecessors, since he had reduced other Wend tribes to his yoke, would be no vassal to Denmark, though he was certainly one to Germany. He first demanded his mother's dowry, which he asserted had never been paid; and, when it was refused, invaded the southern part of Jutland. Niels marched against him, and was defeated.

To arrest the career of the invader was reserved for Knud, who had been invested by his father with the ducal fief of Schleswig [then known as South Jutland]. This prince not only cleared the duchy of its invaders, but carried the war into the country of the Abodriti. Henry now sued for peace, and was thenceforth the friend of his nephew. Knud had saved Denmark from many evils; and his conduct now showed that he was no less excellent a governor than he had been a general. He exterminated the banditti, restored the empire of the laws, and caused the arts of life to flourish. His reputation gave much umbrage to the king; nor was that feeling diminished when, after the death of Henry, he was presented by the emperor Lothair with the vacant regal fief. With this augmented power he maintained tranquillity the more easily, not in his ducal fief only but in the whole of Denmark. His eldest brother Harold, whose vices had excluded him from the throne, made many hostile irruptions into Jutland; but Eric, his next brother, was no less ready than he to protect that kingdom.

The contrast between the conduct of Niels and of Knud made a deep impression on the Danes. On two of them, the king and his son, it was no

[1184-1187 A.D.]

less painful than it was deep. To hasten Knud's destruction was the object of both. The first attempt was to accuse him of some crime in the assembly of the estates; but he defended himself so powerfully that he was unanimously absolved. Disappointed in this aim, Magnus requested an interview with Knud, under the pretext of settling all differences amicably; and, while unsuspecting of danger, assassinated him. All Denmark was in instant commotion. The kindred of the victim hastened to the meeting of the estates, and displaying his bloody garments called for vengeance on the murderers. To escape the popular indignation, Magnus fled into Sweden; but Niels, who relied on the support of a party, endeavoured to brave the storm. He was, however, solemnly deposed, and Eric, the brother of Knud, elected in his stead. But he refused to comply with the decree. He collected troops, and took the field against his rival, who exhibited no less activity in his own behalf. In the civil war which followed the bishops took part, and fought like the temporal nobles. Knud had been the vassal of Lothair, and had demanded the assistance of the empire; and that monarch collecting a small army, marched into Jutland to co-operate with Eric in avenging the death of Knud. Seeing that the junction of the emperor and Eric must be fatal to his cause, Niels withdrew the former from the alliance by the offer of a large sum of money, and by consenting to hold Denmark as a fief of the empire. Lothair then returned, leaving the fortune of war to decide between the two kings.

The retreat of the Germans was the signal for renewed and more fierce hostilities between the rivals. With his usual perversity Harold forsook the cause of his brother Eric, to fight for Niels; and Magnus, who had powerful armies in Sweden, brought reinforcements to the war. Success was varied: on the deep Magnus was defeated; on the land, Eric. But some acts of more than usual barbarity perpetrated by Niels and Harold at Roeskilde, diminished the number of their supporters. Still they were enabled to make another stand on the coast near the gulf of Fodvig in Skåne. Victory declared for Eric: Magnus fell in the battle; and Niels with much difficulty escaped into Jutland. Among the slain were five bishops and sixty priests. As Magnus was dead, Niels declared Harold, the brother of Eric, his successor—a declaration which did no good to his own cause. To escape the pursuit of his rival, he threw himself into Schleswig, which was better fortified than any city in the North. But this was an imprudent act: in that city the memory of Knud was idolised; and there he was massacred by some members of a fraternity of which the deceased prince had been the head (1135). Thus fell a monarch who in the early part of his reign had afforded his subjects reason to hope that he would prove a blessing to the realm, but whose subsequent conduct had covered him with universal odium.

In the reign of Eric IV, surnamed Emun, who on the death of his rival succeeded to the government of the whole kingdom, there is little for history. One of his first exploits was to put to death his brother Harold, and eleven sons of that prince. There was a twelfth, Olaf, who escaped into Sweden, and became in the sequel king of Denmark. He next pursued the Wend pirates into their stronghold of Arkona, which he took and destroyed. On his return, he applied himself with zeal to the administration of justice; and was assassinated by a Jutland chief, whose father or brother he had judicially condemned to death. This tragedy took place in the midst not merely of his court but of his people, while presiding over an assembly of the Jutland states (1137).

There were candidates for the crown — (1) Knud the son of Magnus, and

[1137-1147 A.D.]

consequently grandson of Niels; (2) Svend, a natural son of Eric IV; (3) Valdemar, the son of Knud king of the Abodriti, who had been murdered by Magnus, and who in 1170 was canonised, like the martyr of that name who had ruled over Denmark. The bias of the assembly was evidently in favour of Valdemar; but as both he and the two other candidates were of tender years, the choice fell on Eric, called the Lamb, whose mother was a daughter of Eric Eiegod.

The surname of this king will sufficiently explain his character. He was indeed one of the most pacific of men. Yet he was compelled to fight for his crown; for Olaf, the only son of Harold that had escaped the bloody proscriptions of Eric Emun, appeared at the head of a considerable force and claimed it. That, if hereditary right only was to be consulted, the claim was a valid one is certain, for he was the only representative of his father, the eldest son of Eric Eiegod. But the Danish throne was elective; and though the claim was confined to one family, little regard was paid to primogeniture. After many alternations of fortune, Olaf was vanquished and slain (1143). But Eric himself was conquered by the Wend pirates of the Baltic, who, though so frequently humbled (if any credit is to be placed in the national historians), soon re-appeared in numbers formidable enough to alarm the kingdom. This check and the consequent decline of his reputation in the eyes of a warlike people induced him soon afterwards to resign the crown, and to profess as monk in the cloister of Odense.

On the retirement of Eric the Lamb (1147), the three princes who had before been rejected on account of their youth were again candidates. Valdemar being deemed still too young, the choice was restricted to the other two. Unfortunately for the interests of order both were elected — Svend by the Landsting of Skåne and Zealand, Knud by the people of Jutland.

THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

That the division of the sovereignty would inevitably lead to civil war might have been foreseen by the blindest. It was a long and a bloody one, which, though suspended for a time through the efforts of the pope, who wished all Christendom to arm against the infidels, burst out with renewed fury. Adser, archbishop of Lund, led the Danish host against the pagans of the Baltic; but the expedition was inglorious, and the remnant which returned from it embraced one of the two parties. The fortunes of both varied; but when Valdemar, the favourite of the nation, joined Svend, the advantage was on the side of that king, who gained at least three battles over his rival. At one time Knud was driven from the realm, and forced to seek shelter at the court of the emperor Conrad III. But tranquillity was not the result of his retirement. The Wend pirates, not satisfied with having defeated the archbishop, and incited by the agitated state of the public mind, ravaged the coasts both of Jutland and of the isles. Finding their king and nobles unable to protect them, the people entered into armed fraternities, which were consecrated by religion. They not only defended their own coasts, but equipped vessels to cruise in the Baltic, and to surprise such of the pagan ships as they might find detached from the rest. In a few years twenty-two of these vessels took above eighty of the enemy's. Still these were partial, isolated effects, which had little influence over the general mass of misery. When Knud returned as the vassal of the empire, the civil war again raged. Frederick Barbarossa, as the lord paramount, now

[1147-1157 A.D.]

interfered, and meeting the two parties, decreed that while the title of king of Denmark should be left to the victorious Svend, Knud should reign over Zealand as a fief of the Danish crown. This award satisfied neither party, and least of all the nation, which was indignant with both of them for sacrificing its independence to the emperor. Svend refused to cede Zealand to his rival; and the civil war was about to recommence, when Valdemar, to whose valour Svend owed everything, prevailed on the one to give and the other to accept, in lieu of that island, certain domains in Jutland and Skåne. Peace therefore was procured for the moment; but it was a hollow peace, which the accident of an hour might break.

The advantage which Svend had gained by the aid of Valdemar he lost by his misconduct. He adopted the German costume; imitated the German manners; expressed much contempt for everything Danish as in the highest degree barbarous; seldom appeared at the national Thing; restored the old judicial ordeal of duel; became luxurious; and levied high contributions on his people. A disastrous expedition into Sweden made him despised as well as hated; and on his return into Skåne, he was assailed by the yellings of the infuriated populace. Something worse than this result would have been experienced by him, had not a chief, named Tycho, one of the most influential in the province, rescued him from his position.

When at liberty, he allowed his licentious followers to plunder the inhabitants. Many he put to death; and among them was the brave man who had saved him from their fury. This atrocious ingratitude lost him the favour of Valdemar, who passed over to the side of Knud, and cemented the alliance by marrying the sister of that prince. It was now the object of Svend to seize both princes, either openly or by stratagem; but they were on their guard; and each was always surrounded by armed attendants. At length he was vanquished, and forced to seek a temporary asylum in Saxony. But he obtained succour from the duke of that province, and from the archbishop of Bremen, who could never forgive the Danes for forcing the abolition of his jurisdiction over the North, and allied himself with the Wend pirates, who were always ready to join any party that offered them plunder. At the head of these forces he returned, and compelled the people to receive him as their king. Again Valdemar and Knud marched against him; but the former, pitying the sufferings of the people, offered his mediation, and tranquillity was for the moment re-established. The chief condition of this treaty was that the kingdom should be divided into three sovereignties; that Svend should have Skåne, Knud the isles, and Valdemar Jutland, in addition to his duchy of Schleswig. The whole people abandoned themselves to joy, and Svend, pretending to join in it, gave a magnificent entertainment to his brother kings in the castle of Roeskilde. But at that very festival he ordered both to be assassinated. Knud fell; but Valdemar, who defended himself courageously, escaped into Jutland.

The reputation of Valdemar, and above all his words, easily induced the people to espouse his cause. Pursued by his active enemy, he was constrained to fight before his preparations were completed. The result, however, was indecisive. In a subsequent and more general action, near Viborg, Svend was defeated and compelled to flee. He was eagerly pursued by the victors, who overtook him in a morass, from which the weight of his armour prevented him from emerging; and he was immediately beheaded. Never did the Danes suffer more than under this unworthy prince. Enfeebled at home, degraded abroad, without government or security for either person or substance, they were sunk even in their own estimation. But for these

disasters they could only blame themselves; they were the inevitable results of their own folly in dividing the monarchy.^b

VALDEMAR (I) THE GREAT SUBDUES RÜGEN

When peace was restored in the interior of the kingdom, Valdemar, who had already shown evidence of a generous and lofty soul, strove to give it the security and glory it had formerly enjoyed. The Wends were always its cruellest foes. These barbarians never ceased making irruptions into Jutland, where, in some of the Danish isles, and sometimes in several places at once when not opposed with prompt resistance, they left horrible traces of their rage. This gave another reason for attacking these undisciplined people, whom Valdemar regarded, not unjustly, as rebellious subjects over whom he could reassume the authority which Knud Lavard, his father, had exercised as their king. Moreover the desire to assemble them again under the standard of the faith made of this expedition a holy enterprise and one agreeable to the clergy, and this motive filled with fresh ardour all those who were destined to take part in it. Absalon was one of the leaders in whom Valdemar had the most confidence. He came of an illustrious Danish family and united bravery with prudence, wisdom and fidelity with ambition and a passion for arms. The see of Roeskilde being vacant in the time of which we speak, and the clergy and people not being able to agree on the choice of a prelate, two factions were formed which nearly came to blows, and which the king had some trouble in appeasing. Then, without having in any way touched on the liberty of the voters, he had the pleasure of seeing his favourite, Absalon, elected, who while he was invested with this dignity was not less zealous in peace than in war.

The Wends of Rugen, knowing the king to be occupied in Norway, had recommenced their incursions, and driven away the Danes, for whom they bore a hatred inspired by long wars, customs, and a different language and religion. Always sure of finding in Arkona, which they regarded as impregnable, a retreat where they with their plunder could brave the conqueror's anger, they abandoned to him without regret the badly cultivated fields, hoping, not without reason, to glean richer harvests in those of their enemies. Valdemar resolved to make every effort to demolish this fortress, and with it the last support of such obstinate ferocity. He prepared a formidable force, to which Duke Henry the Lion, Pribislaw who had become his vassal and prince of the Abodriti, Kasimir and Bogislaw, dukes of Pomerania, joined bodies of their troops. Having made a descent on the isle of Rugen, he marched without stopping as far as Arkona, which he immediately invested. Arkona, of which to-day only traces remain, was then the most considerable town of all Wendland. It was situated at the northern extremity of the isle of Rugen on a very protruding cape, and was defended on the east, south, and north by high and steep rocks. The western side was guarded by an extremely strong and high rampart.

Christianity had been preached to the people of Rugen long before. The monks of Corvei had even made several conversions there under Ludwig the German, and built a church in honour of St. Wit their patron. But as these people were the most ferocious and unconquerable of all the Slavs, they did not long suffer the Christian yoke. The missionaries were driven away, and there remained no trace of their work, save worship rendered to St. Wit, of whom these barbarians made an idol whom they soon adored under the name of Swanto-Wit as the supreme deity. Thus it is dangerous,

[1168 A.D.]

justly says a learned ecclesiastic, to preach the worship of saints before teaching the knowledge of the true God.

This idol had its chief temple in Arkona, a temple which was as remarkable for its size as for its statue of the pretended divinity. The gigantic idol was topped by four heads; its right hand held a horn which the high priest filled with wine every year; from the more or less quick evaporation of this, the fertility of the season was foretold. The other hand held a bow. Divers offerings were at its feet. Each year after harvest people hastened from every quarter to offer sacrifices, but nothing was more acceptable than a Christian. This festival was held every year. The priest who presided was more respected than even the princes. He interpreted the oracles and the decrees of the god, who gave through him most absolute orders. He alone had the right of entering into the enclosure where the idol dwelt. He dared not breathe in this sanctuary, and for fear an impure breath should offend a present divinity, he went outside to draw breath each time he had need. On the festive day, all the people being assembled before the temple door, he took the horn from the idol's hand and examined it attentively. If he found the wine had evaporated much he threatened an approaching drought and advised them to store their grain. If the contrary, he permitted them to sell superfluous stores. Several other auguries of this kind prolonged a ceremony which was ended by an exhortation from the priest to lavish sacrifices on the god. The assembly ended in feasts and wild debauchery, these being regarded as proofs of zeal for the idol.

This temple contained great riches, from tribute levied by the cunning of priests over the credulity of the people. All the nations of Wends scattered on the southern coasts had to make annual offerings. Some sent the spoils of their enemies, others the third part of the booty taken in their sea voyages. Princes sent presents to gain favourable answers from the god when they questioned him concerning the future, or when they formed some enterprise which needed his help. Three hundred military horsemen were specially dedicated to him and only plundered on his behalf. The sovereign pontiff also kept a white horse which he alone might approach, and on which the god rode when he went forth to combat enemies to the faith. Often this horse might be seen early in the morning covered with sweat caused by night rides. Favourable predictions were also drawn from the manner in which the animal ran. Neighbouring countries were filled with reports of such great marvels that the people of Rugen came to be regarded as the happiest and most formidable of all the Slav nations.

In reality, this people—animated and emboldened by the situation of their isle, by the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of the Swanto-Wit, by the riches they had collected on their journeys, by those sent from nations tributary to the pretended divinity, and by those moreover drawn from the abundant herring fishery on their coasts—was, as one might say, the root and trunk of the pagan Slav leagues, and as long as this trunk rested whole it was in vain that at great expense certain branches, always ready to give forth fresh shoots, were lopped off.

Thus all eyes were turned on Valdemar, awaiting with impatience the success of an enterprise wherein two nations and two religions combatted for their greatest interest. The Danes, animated by such powerful motives and by the presence of their king, attacked Arkona with the greatest valour, building battering rams to demolish the rampart. They lodged themselves in several advantageous posts and burned the principal tower. The fire, which spread by degrees to the combustibles which entered into the compo-

[1168-1177 A.D.]

sition of these ancient ramparts, seconded the efforts made by the Danes to overthrow them. At last the besieged, tired of warring against iron and fire, decided to capitulate. The king, who could flatter himself with the knowledge of being able to take the town by assault, and whose soldiers, greedy for rich plunder, besought him to sack it, yet yielded to the remonstrances of Bishop Absalon and Archbishop Eskil, who with a moderation very rare in a religious war advised him not to heed the plea of his soldiers, but to avoid bloodshed, and not reduce the besieged to despair. It was then agreed that the people of Rugen should deliver to the king the idol, Swanto-Wit, with all treasure in the temple; that all Christian slaves should be set at liberty without ransom; and that they should, for the future, all embrace and profess the Christian religion. All land assigned for the maintenance of their priests should be given to the church. Service in the Danish army when necessity arose was also demanded, and an annual tribute.

The hostages who were exacted as surety for the fulfilment of promises having been delivered, Esbern and Sunon, two prominent officers in the army, were ordered to go and overthrow the idol Swanto-Wit. They were obliged to knock down the colossus with precaution, for fear its fall should cause some accident, and give the people of Rugen grounds for saying that it avenged itself in perishing. In reality, the pagans had gathered in crowds to witness the sight, hoping to behold punishment of such sacrilege. But when the idol had fallen, and hurt no one, and they saw pieces of it quietly cut into firewood amid cheers from the Danes, the greater part saw their own simplicity and conceived more respect for the Divinity of their conquerors than for their own.

The temple, as well as the idol, was burned, after the treasure had been removed to a safe place. From Arkona Bishop Absalon, who directed the war under the king's orders, went to receive the submission of six thousand of the people of Rugen who composed the garrison of another fortress, named Karentz. He had burned three temples dedicated to three colossal and monstrous statues of other pretended gods tutelary of the nation. The ease with which these gods allowed themselves to be reduced to cinders prepared the minds of their worshippers to embrace the new religion which Absalon was authorised in one of the articles of capitulation to offer them. He substituted churches for their temples, in the country as in the towns, to the number of twelve, after which he took back hostages and seven large coffers full of money to the king.

After having subdued and pacified the people, and after the Rugen princes, Tetistas and Jarimar, had solemnly acknowledged themselves tributaries to the Danish crown, Valdemar, glorious and content, recrossed the sea with his army. Absalon, whom the cares of war could not distract from those of the episcopate, sent soon after to Rugen zealous priests to complete by persuasion conversions begun by force. Prince Jarimar, who was really converted, heartily seconded the efforts of these missionaries. Absalon did not neglect for this the interests of the see he occupied. Valdemar caused the conquests the church had made by arms to be made known to Pope Alexander III. Alexander loaded him with praise, and in the same bull ordered, in conformity with Absalon's desires, that the isle of Rugen should thenceforth form part of the diocese of Roeskilde. Other letters of the same pontiff, accorded two years after in answer to the insistence of the king, granted the canonisation of Knud. This was celebrated at Ringsted with great pomp, in presence of an infinite number of Danish prelates and strangers and other spectators. The inhabitants of Zealand had conceived such esteem for

[1177-1180 A.D.]

Knud that, not having been able as they desired to have him for an earthly king, they would thenceforth take him for patron saint in heaven.

ABSALON, AND THE SKÅNIANS

A short time after, Archbishop Eskil resolved to end his days in retirement, renouncing those dignities which seemed as heavy in old age as they had been worthy of envy before he had attained them. Vainly they tried to turn him from his object. He had vowed on the hand of the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, who had great love for him, as may be seen in his letters. In his quality as legate, Eskil had the right of naming his successor. But for fear of depriving the church of rights which he himself had defended with so much zeal, he remitted his power to the assembly, which ordinarily made the election. Then the king, speaking in the name of this assembly, nominated Absalon bishop of Roeskilde, his choice being approved by general acclamations.

But whether, as Absalon declared, he found the burden too heavy, or whether he secretly desired to become primate and archbishop, without ceasing to be bishop of Roeskilde, it is known that he persisted in refusing the offered dignity. The assembly and the king being equally obstinate on their side in refusing to make another choice, this seeming conflict of interests and wills had every promise of ending in a serious quarrel. Saxo even relates that certain men trying forcibly to seat Absalon on the archiepiscopal chair met with such resistance that several were thrown down. At last it was agreed to send an account of this singular difference to the pope for decision, and to that end deputies from either side were despatched. Doubtless this was just what Absalon wished. Alexander III crowned Absalon's secret satisfaction by the verdict given. He was permitted by the legate sent into Denmark to retain his bishopric and was threatened with excommunication if he refused the archbishopric of Lund. After this threat resistance would have been a crime, and nothing remained but to make a virtue of docility. Absalon then submitted and undertook his part in uniting in his person the two highest ecclesiastical dignities of the kingdom, with the offices of generalissimo, admiral, first minister, and senator.

The revolt of the Skånians was an event more remarkable when one sees what motives influenced the inhabitants of this province. They wished permission for their priests to marry, and pretended that their ministry was sufficient without the service of bishops. It might have been thought that these priests were the secret authors of the rebellion, if the Skånians had not at the same time refused to pay the ecclesiastical tenth and exacted that thenceforth only governors of their country should be sent to them.

In spite of his eloquence, his worth, and his power, Absalon could not stay the progress of this outbreak. He was even constrained to take refuge in Zealand; and, far from the threats of the king having any effect, the rebels were so irritated by them that they resolved to pay no more taxes, and forced the priests to take wives.

Valdemar, seeing the danger of suffering such disorders any longer, went to Skåne, followed by Absalon and a small army. He was received by a deputation of the principal men of the province, who promised to return to obedience if the king would recall Absalon and the foreign officials to whom the country had been given in charge. As this good prince always inclined to moderation, he obliged Absalon to retire again to Zealand and then followed him. In the hope that this condescension would satisfy the

malcontents, the king even consented to examine their grievances against his minister, conjointly with deputies they might name. But these deputies, gained over or intimidated, subscribed to everything in Zealand, and retracted everything in Skåne. Revolt broke out with renewed force and everyone flew to arms, while the archbishop on his side did not spare his diocesans his ecclesiastical thunders, and Valdemar raised an army capable of dealing even more effectual blows.

The king's setting out was the signal for war. But he flattered himself with the hope of being able to reduce them by fear alone, for repugnance to shed the blood of his subjects made him wish to avoid resorting to extreme measures. But the rebels forced his hand by defending a bridge over which he had to cross to get to them. In the efforts made by the soldiers of either side the battle became more deadly and sanguinary. Absalon, however, turned the scale in the king's favour by the skill with which he managed his cavalry, causing them to fall suddenly on the Skånians, and throwing many of them into the river. Help which came shortly afterwards only served to render their defeat more complete, so that, their troops being dispersed or destroyed, they could only ask for peace. Valdemar willingly granted this, receiving their hostages and submissions. But he found them so obstinate on the subject of the tithes that, for fear of renewing the bloody tragedies which a similar cause had evoked under King Knud IV, he obliged Archbishop Absalon to desist from his claim if only for a time. Thus the sedition was appeased, but we shall see afterwards that peace could only last as long as the clergy found it served their own interests. It was as little durable as their disinterestedness was sincere.

THE DEATH OF VALDEMAR; HIS LAWS

Valdemar was preparing to repress fresh incursions of the Wends when an illness detained him at Vordingborg, a town in Zealand; a short time afterwards he died of the results of this illness, or rather from the ignorance of a Skånian abbot who boasted of possessing great knowledge of medicine. The king was found dead immediately after having taken from these imprudent hands the drink which was meant to cure him. He was only forty-eight, and had reigned twenty-five years. His premature death was sincerely mourned by the people. It has been remarked that, when his body was taken to Ringsted for burial, the country people flocked weeping from all parts, crying that in him they had lost a father and a liberator to whom they owed the happiness of no longer fearing brigands and the barbarities of pirates. In truth this prince had united the principal virtues which make a king loved and esteemed. He understood how to conquer and how to pardon, to make his enemies fear him by being good to his people, and to re-establish peace and good order in his kingdom by increasing its consideration and influence abroad.

It was he who edited and published the code called *The Skånian Laws* and the *Law of Zealand*, as well as the *Ecclesiastical Rights* of these two provinces. The ecclesiastical laws of Skåne, composed of twenty-five articles, were published in 1162, the civil laws in the year following. The laws of Zealand appeared in 1171. These laws, conjointly with the *Jutland Code* published by Valdemar II, are the source of those which Denmark is to-day justly proud of possessing. They are simple, clear, concise, and generally adapted to assure liberty and property to citizens. Good sense is shown in him who dictated them, as in the style in which they are couched. There is

[1182-1186 A.D.]

no flourish of rhetoric, no vain ostentation of grandeur and authority, such as marks the début of so many other laws — as if the authors wanted to show the people that the pleasure of commanding them, not the care of rendering them happy, was uppermost. Brilliant centuries and nations famous for learning and spirit might envy the wise simplicity which governed these two codes.

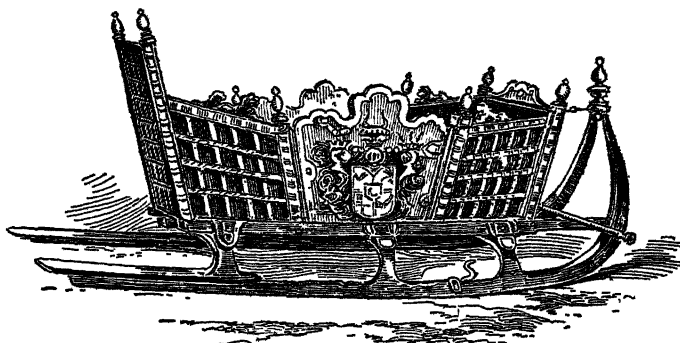
KNUD VI (1182-1202 A.D.)

Knud had been crowned in his father's lifetime, and from his fourteenth year had been admitted to a share in the government. His accession therefore to the undivided sovereignty was expected to pass without opposition. But the people of Skåne elected another sovereign — Harold, a grandson of Prince Magnus. The contest, however, was short-lived; they were reduced, and their ruler was compelled to flee into Sweden.

The reign of this monarch was one of conquest and of prosperity. Soon after his accession, Absalon led an armament against Bogislaw, duke of Pomerania, who exhibited ill-will to Denmark and her vassals, and obtained a complete victory over the enemy.

During the following two years the warlike operations continued, and Bogislaw at length was compelled to throw himself on the royal mercy. Besides offering a large quantity of gold, he did homage for all his possessions to Knud. The two dukes of Mecklenburg were also reduced, and acknowledged fealty to him. The submission of two such provinces, which had been dependent on Henry the Lion [duke of Bavaria and Saxony], and had subsequently acknowledged the superiority of the empire, filled the king with so much pleasure, that he assumed the title of king of the Wends.

To assume the feudal supremacy over these regions was a blow struck at the authority of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Between these potentates there was a misunderstanding from the very commencement of Knud's reign. Frederick invited him to his court under the pretext of drawing more closely the amicable bonds which had been formed between him and Valdemar; but as the king suspected that this was only a lure to enforce the payment of homage, he evaded compliance. It soon appeared that such was indeed the intention; for he was formally summoned to visit the diet for that purpose. A second refusal to attend so exasperated Frederick that he threatened to confer the fief of Denmark on some other vassal. The king replied that before he could give it he must first take it. All negotiation being useless, the emperor offered the greatest insult to the majesty of Denmark by sending back to her own country the sister of Knud, who had been



SLEIGH OF AXEL OXENSTIERNA

(In State Historical Museum)

[1187-1194 A.D.]

betrothed to his second son, the duke of Swabia. From this moment the breach was irreparable; and the king turned with more zeal to the cause of his father-in-law, Henry the Lion.^b

After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 messengers arrived [in Denmark] with letters from Pope Clement III, in which that pontiff exhorted the Danes to go on crusade like the faithful of other countries to try to recover the Holy City. The emperor himself went on crusade and, being obliged to be reconciled with his enemies, used the pope's favour to get Knud to make an agreement with him in which that king engaged not to trouble the peace of the empire during the absence of its head; and, effectually to do away with all sorts of discontents, he also revoked the proscription he had issued against Duke Henry the Lion, whose disgrace had embittered the greater part of the princes, and in particular the king of Denmark, his son-in-law, and the king of England, his father-in-law. Reading the papal letters made a great impression on the Danish nobility. Esbern, brother of the archbishop, himself supported the exhortations they contained with all the force of his eloquence. Fifteen of the principal lords of the assembly solemnly took crusader's vows, but only five kept their resolutions.

The king had the wisdom not to take any part. The five crusaders having enrolled those who presented themselves, went in their vessels to Norway, where they were joined by two hundred crusaders of that kingdom. But their journey was thenceforward made apart, and the Norwegians alone arrived in Syria. The Danes were shipwrecked on the coast of Friesland, where they sold their ships. Thence they went by land to Venice, where they embarked afresh, and at last arrived in the Holy Land. This long and painful voyage had no result. The Christians had just made peace with the Saracens, so they returned to their own land without having unsheathed their swords. There were also many Danes in the fleet of fifty-three ships which the Frisians and Flemish sent to sea. Frederick took the land route with his army to go into Palestine. An ancient historian tells us that a relation of the king was among them, with several great lords and about four hundred Danes.

The tranquillity of Denmark was further disturbed by a bishop and a member of the royal family. This was Valdemar, a bastard son of Knud V, who held the see of Schleswig. The king had also conferred on this bishop the government of the duchy until that other Valdemar, the king's brother, for whom the fief was destined, reached an age fit to govern. When that age arrived the prince was knighted, and at the same time invested with the duchy, of which he hastened to take possession. The bishop had tasted the sweets of power, and he was deeply hurt at its withdrawal: from that moment he became the enemy of the king.

Determined on revenge, he entered into alliance with all whom he knew to be hostile to Knud, and, among others, with Adolf of Schauenburg, count of Holstein. When his preparations were matured, he threw off the mask, declaring that his right to the Danish throne was as good as the king's, and demanding a share of the sovereignty. Passing into Norway, which at that time was not on friendly terms with Denmark, he obtained supplies, returned to the latter kingdom, and assumed the royal title. At the same period another army, led by the count of Holstein, marched towards the Eider to support his views. To Knud it was evident that their operations could not be long sustained; that the invaders would soon be in want of provisions, and disperse of themselves. Instead therefore of risking an action he quietly

[1194-1202 A.D.]

watched the motions of the bishop. The result justified his policy: the treasures of Valdemar were speedily exhausted; his mercenaries disappeared; he threw himself on the royal mercy, but was conducted a close prisoner to a strong fortress in Zealand (1194). Adolf yet remained; the king marched against him, and forced him to sue for peace. But that peace was of short duration. The count, being required to do homage to Knud for some of the domains which he had obtained by the deposition of Henry the Lion, refused to acknowledge any other superior than the emperor; and to fortify himself against the vengeance of the king he entered into an alliance with the markgraf of Brandenburg, whose territory adjoined the Wend dominions of the Dane, and who had an interest in preventing any further augmentation in that quarter. To assail both, Knud sent an armament to the northern coast of the Baltic; and as the venerable Absalon was now too old and too infirm for active warfare, the bishop of Roeskilde was invested with the command.

The result was not very favourable to the king. Two years afterwards however, he took the field in person, and forced Adolf to accept terms of peace: the chief were that Ditmarsh, with the strong fortress of Ratzeburg, should be ceded to Denmark (1200). But in this, as on the former occasion, tranquillity was of short duration. Adolf again quarrelled with his ally; and Valdemar, the king's brother, invaded Holstein. The result was favourable to the Danish arms: Adolf, who had thrown himself into Hamburg, was compelled to leave it, and to witness the fall of Lubeck, which was feudally subject to him. Most of Holstein was now reduced; and the duke having, in the king's name, received the homage of the towns and nobles, returned to Schleswig. No sooner had he left the province than the count reappeared; but it was only to be made prisoner and conveyed in triumph to one of the Danish fortresses. The king himself soon appeared amidst his new subjects; and at Lubeck he received the homage of the great vassals of Holstein, Ditmarsh, Stormarn, Ratzeburg, Schwerin, and other lordships, which were now subject to him, but which he could not incorporate with the monarchy, because they were dependencies of the empire and for them he must himself do homage to the chief of that empire. This was a proud day for Denmark; but that pride was much alloyed by the sudden death of Knud in the very flower of his age.

The flourishing state of Denmark under this prince is well described by Arnold of Lubeck.^g He alludes to its vast commerce, to its ceaseless activity, to its constantly increasing wealth, to its improvements in the arts of life, to its military reputation, to its zeal for learning. Many Danish youths, he informs us, were annually sent to study at Paris, where they distinguished themselves in philosophy, law, and theology. Many became admirable canonists; many subtle didacticians. The visits of young Danes to the capital of France may be explained by the union of Ingeborg, sister of Knud, with Philip Augustus.

Absalon's Good Works and Death

Towards the close of Knud's reign died Archbishop Absalon, who had held the see of Roeskilde since 1158, and the primacy since 1178.^b Absalon, whom nature had formed to occupy a great position, came from an illustrious Danish family, and was brought up with King Valdemar I, who, through discernment as much as friendship, never undertook anything without consulting him. He was elected bishop of Roeskilde in 1158, and archbishop

[1202-1208 A.D.]

of Lund in 1178. One might have seen without being scandalised the prelates of these days pass their lives in camp or at sea, if all those who left the pastoral staff for the sword had had, like Absalon, not only zeal for their country but qualities necessary to serve it. He was a great general and seaman, yet he did not neglect the government of his two dioceses, the propagation of the faith in countries he conquered, or the maintenance of religion in the interior of the kingdom. It was he who introduced uniformity in the celebration of divine service, in which the first missionaries sent into different countries had made changes.

Like all ministers who have been high-minded and loved true greatness, he was familiar with men of letters, encouraging them as a wise friend and a protector both zealous and powerful. By this the great Absalon rendered his nation services which were perhaps unknown or despised by contemporaries, but from which to-day she draws more satisfaction and glory than from the most signal victories he won. In reality it is to him she owes that elegant and poetical work of Saxo Grammaticus, a true wonder in a century wherein barbarism triumphed. Absalon, fearing that the history of past times would rest in oblivion, and future history would share the same fate, sought to remedy such past and present evil by charging Saxo and Svend Aggonis (Svend Aagesen) to write a history of Denmark down to their own times, and by founding a monastery at Soro where men could be entertained who would undertake to transmit remarkable events to posterity.

But of these projects, so worthy of the author, only the first was executed. Saxo wrote an entire history of Denmark, but one may say that not the least important light on history issued from the Sorø monastery, so that after the death of these two men the history of Denmark was found sterile and lacking in monuments and memoirs of all kinds.

VALDEMAR II AT VARIANCE WITH THE EMPEROR (1202-1241 A.D.)

In 1202 Knud VI died; and as he was without heirs male, the choice of the states fell on his brother Valdemar, duke of Schleswig, who, as we have related, had given some proofs of military talent [and who bears the surname of Seir, or the Victorious].

Like his predecessor, the new king repaired to Lubeck to receive the homage of the conquered inhabitants; and there he assumed the titles, "king of the Wends" and "lord of Nordalbingia." In the midst of his triumph he offered to release Count Adolf, provided the latter would forever renounce all pretension to Holstein with his other domains north of the Elbe, and engage not to make war, either personally or through his allies, on the king of Denmark. The conditions were accepted; and hostages being given for their execution, the count was released. Imprisonment seemed to have sobered him; for he passed the rest of his days in tranquillity.

Having fomented the troubles of Norway in revenge for the aid given to Bishop Valdemar, and exacted an annual tribute from Erling, whom he had supported against rival sovereigns, the Danish king departed on a more distant expedition — against the pagans of Livonia. It was attended, however, with no great success: the best that can be said of it is that it was not disastrous. A subsequent expedition into Sweden was more unfortunate: he was signally defeated; but peace was made on terms sufficiently honourable. About the same time the national arms regained their former lustre by the conquest of Eastern Pomerania, the duke of which did homage to Valdemar.

[1208-1219 A.D.]

From the prison to which he had been consigned by Knud VI the bishop of Schleswig was no inattentive spectator of events. He longed for revenge; but he must first recover his liberty. In this view he applied to the pope, to the archbishop of Lund, to many prelates of Denmark, and even to the queen, and interested them so far in his behalf that Valdemar, at their intercession, agreed to release him, on the condition of his never again entering Denmark, or any other place where he might give umbrage to the state.^b

Germany was, at this time, in a state of special ferment. There were vacillations, broken pledges, weakness, and anger on all sides. Otto IV, the new emperor, was no sooner in tranquil possession of the throne than a friendship he had formerly professed for Valdemar, not being now so necessary to his plans, gave place to jealousy excited by the conquests of a neighbour — jealousy made stronger by the fact that Valdemar was sovereign over the very provinces once held by the emperor's father, Henry the Lion. Thus, when the see of Bremen was again empty, the emperor quietly allowed Bernhard, duke of Saxony, to put Bishop Valdemar in possession of the archbishopric, although through a remnant of regard for the king he would not appear to take part in the affair. But a short time after, having become less circumspect, he allied himself against the king with Albert, markgraf of Brandenburg, who sought unceasingly to gain ground on the Wend side at the Dane's expense.

Valdemar easily discovered in this conduct a project to get Nordalbingia away from him, and authorised by Otto's example entered into alliance with Frederick II, son of Henry VI, emperor and king of Sicily. Valdemar recognised him as emperor, united with him, and as reward for such great services obtained the absolute cession of all the provinces he held in Germany, so that these were actually united to the Danish crown, and cut off from the empire. Letters patent from the emperor are dated May, 1214.

It is easy to understand to what degree this alliance of Valdemar and Frederick irritated the emperor Otto, who made several vain efforts to regain his footing. He then leagued himself against the king with his brother Henry, count palatine of the Rhine, and Albert, markgraf of Brandenburg, who continued his ordinary hostilities in Wendland; and with the help of these allies Otto made an irruption into Holstein, resolved to revive the rights which his ancestors, the two dukes of Saxony, had held over this province. He first took Hamburg without meeting any resistance. This was not all: to weaken still more the credit of the king in Germany the confederates openly took the part of Bishop Valdemar, who was still occupying the see of Bremen, and who had aided them in the siege of Hamburg.

But the king no sooner learned of the reddition of this town than he appeared in Holstein at the head of a formidable army. The league and its hopes vanished at the approach of this force. Otto hastily recrossed the Elbe; Hamburg held out, but the king and Count Albert, his nephew, having closed it in with two forts which they caused to be built at the gates of the town, it was obliged to surrender. Otto, abandoned by nearly all the German princes, and excommunicated by the pope, could do nothing but make several fruitless incursions into the diocese of Bremen.

Bishop Valdemar, struck with the same storm, was driven from that country. He was obliged to yield the see to Gerhard, bishop of Osnabrück, whom the pope protected, and was reduced to entering a cloister, where eighteen years after he ended a life that had only been used to the unhappiness of his fellows and himself.

THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIA

[1190-1219 A.D.]

THE CONQUEST OF ESTHONIA (1219 A.D.)

In the midst of these troubles certain religious dissensions in Livonia had passed unnoticed. In a period of about twenty years Riga had been founded, peopled, and fortified so as to be able to resist the repeated attacks of barbarians. Christians had multiplied on the coast, and with them forts, churches, and monasteries. A new order of knights, named the brotherhood of Christ's Soldiers [or Brothers of the Sword], was formed during this crusade, less celebrated than those of the Holy Land, and more lasting in its effects. Princes of these countries even saw themselves obliged to declare themselves its vassals, and to receive as a benefit their own states from these strangers. One party of the Livonians had seriously abjured the errors which had drawn on them so many anxieties and wars. New churches had been founded; the inhabitants of Esthonia, that is northern Livonia, in their provinces along the gulf of Finland, were yet independent and would have to be conquered and christianised. These men, proud and jealous of their liberty, gloried in having always rendered useless the efforts which the Danes, Swedes, and Christians in Riga had made at various times to convert them. Sworn enemies of their new hosts, they held them in continual alarm because their numerous and warlike hordes were often joined by Russian neighbours; these latter, being attached to the Greek ritual, seemed only Christianised that they might hate the Latins.

In this conflict of opposed passions, and forces nearly equal, it was necessary in order that one side might gain a decided advantage that a powerful and warlike prince should intervene. There was none whom personal qualities, resources, and reputation, combined with the situation of his states, made more fit to settle the quarrel than the king of Denmark. It was to him that the strongest appeals were made. They had already produced some effect by 1205, but the success of these first efforts had not been such as was expected from a great king. Valdemar had then determined to make new efforts, when his nephew, Count Albert, returning from Livonia, told him that the Russians, leagued with the Esthonians, were threatening the new church of Riga. "Thereupon he solemnly engaged," says a contemporary author, who witnessed the greater part of what he writes, "to pass the following year in Esthonia, as much for the honour of the Virgin Mary as for the remission of his sins."

Motives of this kind give birth to capabilities for the greatest achievements. The king began by rendering the German frontiers safe by leaving there good garrisons in well fortified strongholds. He also ordered that as many ships as possible should be manned for war in every port. Historians of that day tell us that never before was there seen in the North such a large fleet as the one destined for this expedition. It was composed of fourteen hundred vessels of various sizes, but it appears that he used only a thousand, the others remaining in Denmark for the safety of the kingdom. Of these thousand there were five hundred small ones, none of which carried, beside rowers to the number of twelve, more than one cuirassier and one archer. The other five hundred, called long ships, contained each 120 men. From which one may judge that the armament of Valdemar was really the largest that had been seen in any country. A crowd of ecclesiastics and young warriors, illustrious by birth or exploits, hastened to take part in the glory and merit of this holy expedition. Among the number one distinguishes Andrew, archbishop of Lund; Nicholas, bishop of Schleswig; Peter, bishop of Roeskilde; and the chancellor, Theodoric, bishop designate of a country neither yet converted or

[1219 A.D.]

conquered; a Wend prince named Wenceslas or Vitzlas, with a corps of his troops; and many German generals and soldiers.

On their side the Esthonians were able promptly to raise armies as formidable for numbers as for the fury which animated them. Surprised, however, at the sight of so prodigious an armament as that of the Danes, they could not hinder its descent nor prevent the ruin of one of their fortresses, or the erection of another at the same place, which the Danes called Revel, that being the name of the province. The Esthonians even pretended to have no other resource than the clemency of Valdemar, and while reassembling their forces sent their chiefs to sue for peace.

The king, not sufficiently on his guard, granted it joyfully; bishops baptised them; they were sent back loaded with presents: but three days afterwards a swarm of armed horsemen burst on the camp towards nightfall, attacked it at five different points, and drove back the Danes, who were scattered and for the most part disarmed, with such vigour that their defeat seemed inevitable. But Wenceslas, posted farther afield, had time to range his men in battle array and come to their aid. Then the aspect of affairs quickly changed. The Danes rallied, the Germans joined them, and, uniting their efforts, they soon quenched the impetuosity of the Esthonians. These, little accustomed to fight against regular troops, disbanded, and fleeing precipitately left a thousand of their men on the field of battle.

Such are the real facts of a combat concerning which there are many accounts full of exaggeration and marvels. It has been written a thousand times that the Danes, having lost their standard in the thickest of the fight, had begun to give way when there fell from heaven another — red, with a white cross in the centre; and, re-animated at the sight of this wonder, they gained a victory over their enemies. Afterwards a standard was said to have been sent by the pope, as was a custom in religious wars, but neither this deed nor that conjecture is supported by any authority, and an anonymous contemporary who was personally at Esthonia, and gives us all the circumstances of this fight, never mentions it. If then the standard named Dannebrog owes its origin to this war, it was some other event which gave rise to it.¹

After this victory all the province of Revel was subdued. The town of this name had its bishop, the building of the new fortress was finished, and the king departed leaving a strong garrison, generals, and many bishops who were to work in concert to advance his interests and those of the church, in a country whose uncultivated and wild state could not hide natural fertility.

But these Danish designs were too strongly opposed to the bishop of Riga's views for him to allow them to pass without contradiction. This prelate claimed the greater part of Esthonia as a conquest effected by pilgrims devoted to the church, and by the Brothers of the Sword, or Soldiers of Christ, his vassals. He had given the bishopric of Esthonia to his brother, and sent missionaries there, trying to win as many neophytes as he could from his rival, and carrying on the "Danish baptism," by detachments of the Revel garrison. Animosity concerning baptism was carried to such a pitch that an Esthonian chief was hanged by the Danes for receiving baptism from their enemies, and probably the Riga Christians showed no more moderation. The

[¹ Mallet's naïve refutation of the miracle of the Dannebrog needs no addition; but it is interesting to note the further marvel related of this battle, in which legend assigns to Andrew, archbishop of Lund, the part of Moses at Rephidim. Fortune, so ran the story, favoured the Danes, as long as the archbishop held his arms raised, but when from weariness he let them fall, she deserted his countrymen. Finally his companions lent their support in keeping the old man's hands in the attitude of blessing till the victory of Valdemar was complete.]

Esthonian barbarians began to think that the God of the Danes was not that of the Germans.

Albert, bishop of Riga, went personally to Rome to claim protection from the head of the church. But the favor in which Valdemar and his envoys were held by the pope rendered these solicitations useless. It was the same at the court of the emperor Frederick, who was too politic not to keep on good terms with a king who, better than all others, could cross his plans of weakening the Guelfs. So the bishop, seeing that he could receive no help from Germany either, since Valdemar, master of Lübeck, had closed the gates of that city to Livonian crusaders, resolved to yield, and trust to the king's clemency. Thereupon Valdemar, having equipped a large fleet, landed on the isle of Osel, and after defeating and bringing the inhabitants to submission opened a conference at which the bishop of Riga and the master of the Brothers of the Sword assisted. It was there that, touched by the prayers of the bishop, who brought him to see that his claims on Livonia caused trouble and prejudice to religion, the king recognised the prelate's rights over the province. The king also severed portions of the lands he reserved for himself and gave them to the Brothers of the Sword, on condition that they should render him homage and hold themselves always ready to furnish help against the Russians or heathen. Osel was also assigned to the king, but the natives of this island were not yet disposed to leave him in peaceful possession of the conquest.

THE KING'S CAPTIVITY

By all these conquests Valdemar had brought the Danish monarchy to a degree of glory and power it had never yet attained to. There were few kings in Europe who reigned over such a large extent of country, few who had added so many provinces to their heritage and had had such sustained and brilliant success at the head of their armies, or could put fleets so numerous and formidable to sea. But that mysterious power which seems to play with all fixed plans of men, and take pleasure in eternal vicissitude, had marked this high degree of prosperity as the term of a new period wherein we shall see this same kingdom fall from disgrace to disgrace, torn by intestine war, a prey to foreigners, and sometimes touching on total ruin — an event the more striking because it was from the feeblest of her enemies that this powerful monarchy received her rudest blow.

A count of Schwerin, named Henry, cherished in profound secrecy an implacable hatred which became fatal to Valdemar. Schwerin had been constrained to receive his states from the king's hands, and to do him homage for them. In thus investing him, Valdemar had demanded the count's sister for his natural son, named Nicholas, count of northern Halland, with the half of the Schwerin castellany and its dependencies. Probably Henry had refused to fulfil these conditions after the marriage celebrations, and Valdemar, irritated by this refusal, had forcibly compelled him to be faithful to his engagements, and had taken away a part of his states to give to Nicholas.

Henry, in desperation, had recourse to the vengeance of the weak. He went to Valdemar's court and sought to regain his confidence by an appearance of great zeal. The king, too generous not to show favour to so submissive and repentant a subject, allowed him great familiarity. One day, when they had both been hunting in a little isle named Lyö on the southern coast of Fünen, the king invited Henry to sup with himself, his son, and a small number of courtiers, passing the evening without precaution or fear. Soon

[1223-1225 A.D.]

the fumes of wine, joined to the fatigues of hunting, plunged the king into a deep sleep. The count, who had waited impatiently for this, called his people, who were posted at some distance, seized Valdemar and his son, loaded them with chains, took them forcibly into a forest near the sea, and finally carried them on board a vessel with which he sailed through manifold dangers, and took them to the opposite coast of Mecklenburg. His illustrious and unhappy prisoners were first taken to the castle of his ally, the count of Danneberg, then to his Schwerin castle, where they were condemned to remain in irons.

All Europe experienced the greatest surprise on hearing of an insult committed with so much audacity on the person of so great a king, and that by one of his weakest vassals. But this news, which plunged Denmark herself into extreme consternation, roused the hopes of her enemies and armed those whom fear alone had held in obedience. The first care of the senate at this juncture was to have recourse to the emperor's good offices. But sentiments quite opposed to compassion and justice animated Frederick II. Although he maintained a firm aspect, it was plain that in spite of the lapse of years he wished Germany to see renewed the drama of Leopold of Austria and Richard king of England.

The pope himself, who seemed to have taken Valdemar's cause in hand with a zeal worthy of the head of Christendom, yet demanded a high price for his services. He said in his letter to the archbishop of Cologne that he was obliged to take Valdemar's part, among other reasons because Denmark was tributary to the papacy. This new claim opposed itself to that of the emperor, but both were equally without foundation. What could be thought of a Roman emperor who had been driven from Rome, and a bishop of Rome, rarely master of that city, who thus disputed at the other end of Europe as to who had bestowed a crown or counted kings among his vassals?

However, day by day the kingdom felt the disadvantage of being deprived of its head. The rumour of the king's captivity was no sooner spread in Livonia than the Brothers of the Sword and the bishop of Riga seized a part of Esthonia and the isle of Ösel, whilst for his part, William of Savoy, bishop of Sabine and papal legate in these northern regions, adjudged to the holy see lands which were in litigation between the Danes and Germans, thus conquering by ecclesiastical warnings and censures that which the others had bought at the price of much bloodshed. In the other conquests of the king a like defection seemed near.

In Denmark itself reigned distrust and discouragement. Count Adolf the Younger, supported by all the princes of the north of Germany, returned to Holstein and took possession of his paternal estates. Bishop Valdemar himself, now eighty years old, left the solitude of the cloister as soon as he heard of the king's captivity, and crossed the frontiers of Denmark to slake his hatred against the king. Finally the brave Albert of Orlamunde, who had been appointed regent, collected an army; but he wished first to see what he could obtain by negotiations. The enemy demanded that Valdemar should pay 50,000 marks of silver for his ransom, that he should abandon his Slav and Wend possessions and what he had conquered south of the Elbe, that Holstein should be ceded to Albert of Orlamunde as a fief of Germany, and that Valdemar should acknowledge himself the emperor's vassal for Denmark. Although these terms were advantageous to the regent he rejected them as dishonouring to the king and country. The difference could be settled only by the sword. Unfortunately Albert lost the battle of Molln (January, 1225), after a fight which lasted from dawn to nightfall; the conquered general went to

join his sovereign, not as liberator but as a companion in captivity. The city of Hamburg then submitted to Adolf, and Lübeck gave herself up to Germany. Valdemar was compelled to submit to the hard conditions which his enemies imposed on him.^e

PEACE IS BOUGHT AT A HIGH PRICE

In a convention which still exists, Valdemar promised to pay the count, for his own and his son's ransom, 45,000 fine silver marks, all the gold the queen used in her ornaments excepting her crown, and complete habiliments for a hundred knights.

When he left prison he was to be replaced by forty Danes chosen by the court, among which number were to be included two of Valdemar's sons, to remain as hostages until the entire fulfilment of the treaty (1225). Valdemar ceded to the empire all he possessed between the Elbe and the Eider, and all the Wend countries, except the principality of Rügen. He had also to swear not to aid Count Orlamünde, his nephew, in recovering Nordalbingia, with which he had invested him. The king had also to cede to Count Adolf of Holstein the fortress of Rendsburg and to hold the count of Schwerin free and exempt from all rights he had had over him.

These were the most important articles of the convention. The king, the princes his sons, the bishops, and the chief gentlemen of Denmark had to swear to observe them faithfully. Of the release of the count of Orlamünde there is no mention in the treaty, which confirms what we learn elsewhere about the count of Schwerin and his allies not being willing to let him go at any price, doubtless fearing that he would only too well aid and abet the king in a plan to reconquer the provinces he had held in fief. Such were the conditions in which the king and his son found themselves at the end of their captivity — a captivity as singular in its accomplishment as it was rigorous during the three years it lasted, and whose long and miserable consequences were fatal to the nation. It has been said that one hardly knows what to wonder at most, in these events — the audacity of the plot formed by the count of Schwerin, or the courage and success with which he carried it out, or the feebleness of the efforts made by the Danes to avenge their king.

On his return to his realm the king's first care was to send ambassadors to Pope Honorius III, begging him to summon the count of Schwerin to return the hostages and free him from the extorted oath. The pope did not think success impossible, and a private motive, moreover, urged him to lend his intervention. Valdemar had given him to understand that if he could recover the hostages without paying the rest of the stipulated sum he would himself lead an army to help the crusaders. In this hope the pope wrote threatening letters to the count and charged the bishop of Verden to summon Henry under pain of excommunication to restore Valdemar his hostages and release him from all other engagements. Results show how the count answered these letters. He returned neither money nor hostages, save Prince Valdemar, who, according to the terms of the convention, was to be set free a short time after his father. But although three of his sons and other hostages were still in his enemy's power, Valdemar did not fear to recommence war, to enter fully armed into Nordalbingia, surprise Rendsburg, and to reduce Ditmarsh, in spite of resistance from the inhabitants.

On his side Count Schwerin was still aided by his accomplices in usurpation — Adolf of Schauenburg, newly possessed of Holstein, the heritage of his ancestors; the archbishop of Bremen; the town of Lübeck; Albert,

[1225-1241 A.D.]

duke of Saxony; and Henry Burwin, prince of Werle. These confederates, having learned of the irruption of Valdemar into Holstein and the progress he was making there, went to meet him and encountered him near Bornhöved at some distance from Segeberg. The two armies did not face each other long before having recourse to arms. Animated by the remembrance of a grand past, by insults and losses, and embittered by the presence of his perfidious enemy, Valdemar marched towards him impetuously and fought him with most obstinate valour. But all his efforts were useless. The Ditmarshians who composed a part of his army vilely betrayed him in a moment when bravery could have given victory to his side. They turned their arms against the Danes, who, seeing themselves assailed on all sides, gave up hope after a long resistance. The king lost an eye in this fight, was thrown off his horse, and barely escaped from the enemy. Many Danes were made prisoners, among them three bishops and the king's nephew.

We have observed that the people of Lübeck had part in this victory. Already they had profited from the downfall of Valdemar to regain their liberty. The preceding year they had secretly bought the favour and protection of the emperor, who liberally promised them favours and gave them privileges. Their confidence increased with the king's misfortunes, and they soon dared to seize the citadel which that prince had built to hold them in check. A stratagem made them masters of it, and thenceforth, supported by Denmark's enemies, favoured by their situation, animated by the courage and ardour inspired by growing liberty, they asserted their independence and formed the first and most powerful of the Hanse Towns, soon seeing themselves able to rule the northern seas by their numerous fleets. While all this was passing, the count of Orlamünde, losing all hope of being succoured by the king or escaping from the chains in which the count of Schwerin still held him, was at last obliged to yield as his ransom the important fortress of Lixemburg, which Valdemar in happier times had given him for his own as the best gift with which a warrior's services could be rewarded.

So unhappy a war, far from restoring the kingdom to its early splendour, only served to increase its weakness and make the decline every day more apparent. Finally Valdemar showed some desire to be reconciled to his enemies. The celebration of the wedding of his son Valdemar having drawn many foreign lords to Ribe, an effort was made through their intervention to conclude a treaty between the king and the count of Holstein. It was agreed that the count should keep the states which his father had possessed north of the Elbe, and which he had reconquered, that is Holstein, Stormarn, and Wagrien. Then the king was reconciled with Albert, duke of Saxony, who took the title of lord of Nordalbingia; and Valdemar after that did not touch it. The same duke obliged Quncelin, count of Schwerin, his new vassal, to set the king's sons, Eric, Abel, and Christopher, at liberty, along with the remaining hostages; also to take 7,000 silver marks, instead of the 17,000 which remained to be paid, as ransom for the king and his eldest son.

Such was the price by which the Danes bought a long-absent peace and which for that reason alone seemed advantageous. In reality they lost by these treaties Holstein, Mecklenburg, and the towns of Hamburg and Lübeck. Of all the conquests under former reigns there remained to them besides the principality of Rugen only some parts of Mecklenburg, Prussia, and Esthonia, together with the title of King of the Wends.

During the rest of his life, the unfortunate Valdemar prudently applied himself to the internal administration of the affairs of his kingdom. He died in 1241 A.D.

RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE AND ITS POWER IN THE BALTIC

Amongst the misfortunes of the reign of Valdemar the Victorious, the separation of Lubeck from Denmark was wide reaching in its consequences. She was now free to devote all her force and enterprise to strengthening and developing the formidable organisation of which she became the head.^a

About the middle of the thirteenth century there began to form upon the southern shores of the Baltic a power which was a true scourge for Denmark. The Valdemars had put an end to the bloody incursions of the Wends, but the latter were replaced by the invasions, usually more pacific but none the less harmful, of the Hanse Towns. The great Hanseatic League which came to play so important a rôle, not only in Denmark but in all history, had very modest beginnings. At first it included but a few north German towns which united to carry out great commercial enterprises in concert or to arm, at the common expense, ships of war to protect their merchant fleets against the pirates who, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages infested the northern seas. During the thirteenth century the allied towns numbered but ten or twelve, and their sole aim was peaceful commerce. They were not yet seeking ruling power — only toleration. Their number increased little by little by the accession of new towns, and the somewhat loose union developed in time into a closely woven society which was subject to its own laws and tribunals, and in its assemblies took decisions that were binding upon all the towns. Nearly a century passed, however, before the league became fully conscious of its strength; but once aroused it went forward with giant strides. The united towns were now about eighty in number, and they dominated the seas with a power of which no other example can be found except in England's maritime empire of our own day. Their envoys were received like kings; they laid down the law to nations and decided war and peace. The North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean were covered with their fleets and even England had to bend before them. But the principal seat of their power was the Baltic where they appropriated, to the exclusion of all other maritime nations, the commerce of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia.

In order to explain how a handful of German merchants could thus make themselves masters of the North, it must be remembered that the formation of the Hanseatic League falls just between 1240 and 1340 — a period in which Denmark was afflicted with almost all the misfortunes and reverses that any country could experience — and that at the end of it she was not far from complete dissolution. While Denmark's strength was being consumed in deadly contests between royalty, the clergy, nobility and peasantry, in the eternal struggles with the dukes of Schleswig and the counts of Holstein, and in the maritime wars with Norway, during which half the towns in the country were destroyed, neither was Sweden spared, and Norway's power was undermined by internal civil war. Moreover, in consequence of the change in the manner of conducting war, the king occupied themselves only with the land armies and let their fleets fall into ruin, whereas the Hanse Towns kept up their sea power, which gave them a decided advantage in their wars with the northern kingdoms. To which must be added the statement that the kings of that day were lacking in the simplest notions with regard to commerce, did not trouble themselves whether trade was in the hands of their subjects or of foreigners, and often granted the Hanse Towns the most ruinous privileges in return for some temporary advantage.

What most attracted the merchants of these towns to Denmark were the important herring fisheries off the coast of Skåne. This fish at one time

[1241 A.D.]

abounded off the shores of Rügen, but migrated to Skåne about the beginning of the thirteenth century. The herring must then, according to an old account, have quitted the Sound at the beginning of the fifteenth century (1425) and found its habitat on the coasts of Norway, Scotland, and England; but it is also certain that the herring fishery in the Sound was still extraordinarily abundant and lucrative in the first part of the sixteenth century. Trade followed the migrations of the herring. In the early years of the thirteenth century, even before the Hanseatic League was formed, vessels from the north of Germany, and especially from Lübeck, came in large numbers into the Sound to fish for herring. At the same time Lübeck became a Danish city through Valdemar II's conquests, and that monarch sought to conciliate his new subjects by granting them important privileges (1203). They not only obtained the right to the fisheries without any other restriction than the obligation of paying the ordinary duties, but landing places were given them on the coast where they could prepare and salt their herring. The fish was then sent to all the markets of Europe, and the Skånian herring was preferred to all others on account of its superior quality.

The merchants had, moreover, the right of choosing a syndic from among their compatriots to settle their differences, and no Dane could establish himself or ply a trade in their marts without consent. No foreigner was ever allowed to engage in retail trade in Denmark, but the Lübeckers could no longer be considered aliens, and therefore they could import, sell cloth, linen, and everything that could be measured by the yard, as well as everything that could be weighed by the pound. Later, when they ceased to be subjects of Denmark (1226), they should have lost their privileges; but once established in the country it was difficult to get rid of them, and the dissensions that followed were favourable to their remaining. During the civil wars between Abel and Eric Plovpenning [which we shall treat later] they took side with the former, and on his accession were recompensed by new privileges which were likewise extended to Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, and Hamburg; but Lübeck continued nevertheless to play the principal rôle. These towns with Lüneburg formed a close union within the Hanseatic League and were known as the Six Wend towns. Under Eric Glipping, less than half a century after Valdemar the Victorious, who had been able to put on the sea a fleet of a thousand ships, Denmark found herself reduced to borrowing thirty vessels from the Hanseatic League with which to defend the Sound against Norwegian pirates, and a few years later at the demand of the league she was compelled to forbid her subjects to engage in any trade with Norway. Eric Menved's many expeditions into Mecklenburg and Pomerania favoured the extension of Lübeck's commerce; for, still holding friendly relations with the king, the privilege the merchants had obtained from Valdemar II of carrying on trade at Falsterbo and Skanör was extended to all Danish towns in which they might be pleased to establish themselves.

It stands to reason that a country thus delivered over to the rapacity of foreign merchants must become exhausted and impoverished, and that energy and the spirit of enterprise must disappear from the towns. Denmark, in spite of its fortunate position for trade, had almost no merchant ships or even merchants. The Hanse Towns took advantage of the country to the detriment of the natives; and although the country supplied a quantity of products suitable for manufacture, there were no factories, and the body of artisans was impoverished and discouraged, for the Germans imported almost all the commodities of which the people stood in need. Corn purchased in Denmark came back in the form of flour; Danish beer brewed with sweet gale

(*myrica gale*), which formerly had been the ordinary and preferred drink, had to give way to the strong German beer brewed with hops. Even the simplest and commonest objects, as shoes, clothing, furniture, etc., were imported from Germany. The fisheries, once a most important industry, declined more and more, until the natives had to buy from abroad the fish that abounded on their shores. For not only were other maritime nations excluded from the fisheries of Skåne, but Danish subjects themselves suffered from the power and influence of the Hanseatic League. Even the king of Denmark could permit fishing and salting for his own court on certain days only.

This fatal monopoly of the Hanse Towns makes us realize why the Danish burghers, favoured as they were in many points, played during the Middle Ages only a mediocre rôle in the state. Without trade, without industry, and without capital, they necessarily lost all importance.^e

THE DECLINE OF DENMARK IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

During the thirteenth century the power of Denmark steadily declined. Towards the fifties we find the German army in the heart of the country. Odense was burnt down; Copenhagen, then scarcely built, was rased to the ground by the men of Lubeck, as was also its citadel. The very excess of power which the little country had displayed, carried within itself the germ of decay. In order to have always at command a host of men accustomed to and delighting in war, the institution of a feudal nobility had been encouraged in Denmark. The members of this nobility soon acquired large estates, and gradually robbed the free peasant class, upon which the strength of the country had once been founded, of all political and military significance; and the peasants sought in vain by violent and sanguinary insurrections to repudiate the unwonted oppression and to win back their old status. To this was added another abuse, that of endowing the younger or the natural sons of the king with large appanages, which soon began to assume a hereditary character — a dangerous custom for a country which from of old had been liable to civil dissension and peasant wars, for there was seldom any lack of ambitious kings' sons. It is noteworthy that of Valdemar's sons and grandsons not one died a natural death. Conflicts with the grasping archbishops and clergy, extending over long periods, still further increased the civil disorder.

The most important factor in Denmark's development during this century was, however, the duchy of Schleswig and its gradual separation from the united kingdom. It had long been the custom to hand over the government of this particular portion of the country to the younger princes, some of whom — as Knud Lavard — had brought the district under their administration into a very self-reliant attitude. In the year 1232 it was given to Abel, the second surviving son of Valdemar the Conqueror.

"He degraded the kingdom, with the help of the Germans, more than his father ever raised it," said Detmar; and, in fact, his marriage with Mechthild, the daughter of Adolf IV of Holstein, was the cause of Schleswig's remaining in that family for over two hundred years and being finally completely incorporated with Holstein; it was, moreover the cause of the Danish kingdom itself appearing to remain for a time under the influence of Holstein.

It is not entirely without reason that a very patriotic contemporary, the annalist of Rukhloster in Schleswig, dates the misfortunes of Denmark from this circumstance, and from the death of Valdemar the Victorious in 1241.

[1231-1243 A.D.]

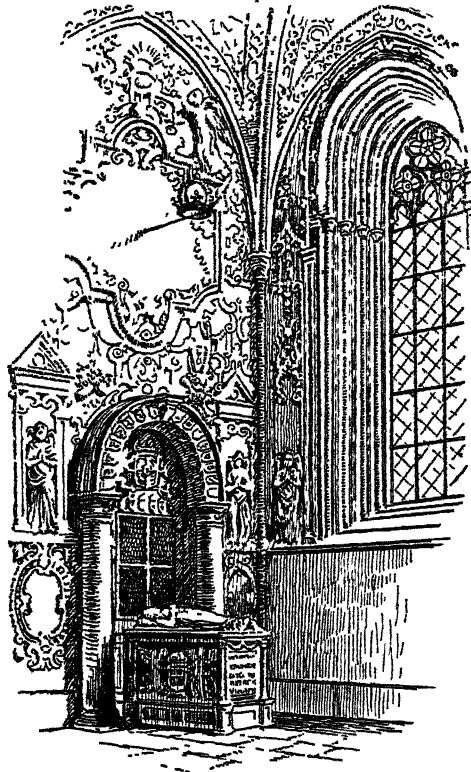
"For, from that day forward, civil war in Denmark between the kings and the dukes never ceased stimulating the counts, who ever sought the destruction of Denmark. With the death of Valdemar the crown fell in fact from the Danish head. For since his time the Danes, having fallen a prey to civil war wherein they mutually destroyed one another, have become a laughing stock to other nations."

The alliance of the dukes of Schleswig with the Holstein counts procured for the latter unflinching assistance in the satisfaction of their lust for independence, and for the former — by dint of extending their borders — a desirable protection against Danish attack. Schleswig inclined more and more to the Holsteiners and the Germans, the bishop of Schleswig allowing himself to be consecrated by the archbishop of Bremen. The fact that the duchy, being partly populated by Germans, was now a country with two languages, gave this proceeding a certain justification; it is, indeed, the only explanation, at all acceptable, of the strength and duration of the tie, at that time quite recent, which bound these provinces to the neighbouring German territory.^h

THE SONS OF VALDEMAR THE VICTORIOUS (1241-1259 A.D.)

Valdemar II had associated with him in the government his eldest son, under the title of Valdemar III; and when that prince was killed in hunting (1231), Eric, duke of Schleswig, the next son, took his place. Eric, therefore, had been crowned, and had had an active share in the government ten years before the death of his father. When he was thus associated in the regal power, he relinquished the duchy of Schleswig in favour of his next brother, Abel, while Christopher and other brothers had extensive domains conferred on them in different parts of the kingdom. Nothing could be more unwise than such feudal concessions: they were sure to engender quarrels, and eventually civil wars.

Scarcely was Eric on the throne, when he had a deadly quarrel with Abel, duke of Schleswig, his next brother. He wished to recover some of the territories which his father had been forced to cede, especially Holstein: Abel, who was the guardian of the count of Holstein's children, resisted, on the specious plea that he was bound to defend their interests; but his real motive, as we shall soon perceive, was a very different one. The two brothers flew to arms; but an apparent reconciliation was effected between them through



UPSALA CATHEDRAL

the interference of German and Danish friends. Abel resigned the guardianship, and therefore ceased to be responsible for the result. But he evidently nursed a vindictive feeling towards Eric, and could not long refrain from exhibiting it. He refused to do homage for Holstein, which he determined to hold in full sovereignty. Again the sword was drawn; and though it was for a time returned to the scabbard, the feeling of hatred rankled in the duke's heart. During this short suspension of hostilities, Eric endeavoured to regain Lübeck, and sent an armament into the river Trave; but a fleet from Sweden, which country had a great interest in the protection of that city, compelled him to raise the siege. The coasts of his kingdom were now ravaged by the combined Swedes and citizens; and at the same time, through the influence of his perverse brother, the count of Holstein and the archbishop of Bremen became his open enemies. Allured by the successful example of Abel, the other brothers also refused to do homage. Seeing that the very existence of the monarchy was at stake, Eric took the field. Numerous as were his enemies, he created more, and those more formidable than the rest — his own bishops, who naturally threw themselves into the party of Abel. The ravages committed in the fraternal war were dreadful. At length, the city of Schleswig being taken by surprise, Abel fled to his allies; and when he could effect nothing by arms, had recourse to stratagem. He received with eagerness the proposals of a pacification from the duke of Saxony and the markgraf of Brandenburg, who were connected with the regal family of Denmark. The brothers met, swore friendship, and separated.

Freed from that dreadful scourge, civil war, Eric now projected an expedition into Livonia, to recover the territories which his father had ceded. To defray the expenses, a tax of a silver penny was laid on every plough in the kingdom [whence Eric's surname of Plovpenning, or Plough-penny]. With much difficulty he obtained the sanction of the estates to this impost; with still more difficulty it was collected, at least in Skåne. The inhabitants of that province were fond of rebellion: they rebelled on the present occasion; but as usual they were subdued, punished, and made to contribute like the rest of the Danes. The expedition arrived in Esthonia, but its details are very imperfectly recorded in the national chronicles. They merely tell us that the Teutonic knights acknowledged the king's right to what he held, and to what he might hereafter conquer from the pagans. He certainly made no conquests; and probably his troops were defeated by St. Alexander Nevski, governor of Novgorod.

Eric, on his return, engaged in war with the count of Holstein, who, conjointly with the archbishop of Bremen and the bishop of Paderborn, laid siege to Rendsburg. To relieve it, the king advanced at the head of a considerable force. But his doom was at hand. Near Schleswig he was met by Abel, who treated him with the utmost deference, with the most obsequious respect; and so disarmed him, that in the joy of his heart he accepted an invitation to one of the duke's country palaces, in the immediate vicinity of Schleswig. From that palace he was forcibly dragged on board a boat in the Schlei, taken to a solitary part of that river, landed, allowed to make his confession, and beheaded. Heavy chains were then fastened to his corpse, and it was thrown into the deepest part of the river. The news was spread that he had perished by accident in the river; but the monks who had administered to him the last offices of religion declared that he had been murdered — by whose contrivance was unknown. The body, which was afterwards found by some fishermen, confirmed that declaration. It was buried in the church of the monastery (1250). The brethren even asserted that miracles

[1250-1252 A.D.]

were wrought at his tomb, and they were believed. Some years after his death he was canonised; and is the fifth Danish prince who has been thus deified.

Abel, the Fratricide, is Murdered

To obtain the reward of this fratricide, Abel sent his creatures to the assembly of the estates, convoked for the election of a new king. As there was only suspicion, he was permitted to purge himself by his own oath, and by the oath of twenty-four nobles, that he was innocent of the deed. That he could find this number of men to take such an oath, may surprise us; but we must remember that the tenor of it was that "to the best of their belief" the accused party was not guilty of the crime. He was therefore elected and crowned by the archbishop. By lavish gifts to the clergy and to the nobles who adhered to him, and by confirming his brethren (from whom he had the most to fear) in their respective fiefs, he stifled all murmurs. To avert war, too, which he well knew would lead to his ruin, he surrendered to the count of Holstein the domains which his brother had occupied, and to the Teutonic knights most of what he yet held in Livonia. These concessions did no harm to Denmark; and some of his other measures were decidedly good. He restored the wisest parts of the Danish constitution, especially the annual meeting of the estates; he improved the laws; and began to redeem the crown lands, which during the late reigns had been pledged. In short, like all usurpers, he sacrificed to popularity, and succeeded so well that he was enabled to raise an extraordinary impost to complete his work of redemption. In the western parts of Schleswig, however, the collectors met with opposition, and Abel marched with a body of troops to punish the disobedience. He penetrated into a country always marshy, and now rendered more so by the rains. Surprised by a strong party of the inhabitants, he fled, and fell into a morass, from which the weight of his armour made it impossible for him to emerge. In this helpless situation he was discovered and slain.

The mutilated corpse of Abel was left in the marsh where it remained for some time, and, if tradition be true, to the great annoyance of the whole country. Abel was too great a sinner to lie peacefully in his grave. He became a wandering spirit. Supernatural voices had so terrified the people that they were glad to deliver the corpse to the canons of Bremen, who honoured it with the rites of sepulture. But they too had soon reason to regret the contiguity of the vampire. He was frequently seen out of his tomb; and at length the corpse was disinterred, and buried in a solitary marsh a few leagues from Gottorp. Still there was no respite; and the inhabitants nearest to the place removed to a distance. To this day the superstition has been perpetuated that the murderer may sometimes be seen on a dingy horse, followed by demon hounds, amidst the echoing of the magic horn.

Abel left three sons, the eldest of whom, Valdemar, was designed to be his successor; but the young prince, returning from the university of Paris, was seized by the archbishop of Cologne, and detained in prison until a ransom of 6000 silver marks was paid. Probably this act was done at the instigation of Christopher, a brother of the late king, who knew that he alone was to be dreaded, since he had been already recognised by the estates and his brothers were too young for the duties of government. Besides, the dislike of Abel's posterity was general; and Christopher might well aspire to a throne which, after their exclusion, became his of right. Nor was he disappointed: he was immediately elected by the estates.

CHRISTOPHER I AND ERIC GLIPPING

The reign of this prince was even more troubled than that of his predecessors. Fearing a popular reaction in favour of Abel's sons, who were minors, he claimed the guardianship. The claim was resisted by the house of Holstein; and to decide the contest both parties resorted to arms. The king was defeated; and though he soon collected a larger force, he found the number of his enemies increased. The people of Lubeck, always hostile to Denmark, as we have seen, and for that same reason always the allies of the counts of Holstein, ravaged the coasts, while those nobles reduced Schleswig. The two markgrafs of Brandenburg also complained that one of them had not received the dowry promised with his wife, Sophia, daughter of Valdemar II; and they joined the common league.

Nor was this all: during Abel's reign there had been some disputes with Sweden and Norway; and to allay them a conference had been covenanted between the three kings. The death of Abel had prevented the pacification; and Christopher, engrossed by other troubles, was unable to give them the satisfaction required. In revenge, the Norwegians arrived with a great armament, while five thousand Swedes penetrated into the heart of the country. Never had the situation of Denmark appeared so critical; but strange to say, its safety lay in the number of its enemies, who became jealous of one another, and of the advantages which each might secure. In this disposition, the offer of mediators was accepted, and conditions of peace between Christopher and his nephews were at length sanctioned. He agreed to invest these nephews, on their reaching their majority, with the duchy of Schleswig; and they, in return, were to renounce all pretensions to the crown. In conformity with this treaty, Valdemar, the eldest son of Abel, was released from prison at Cologne, and invested with the government of the duchy. The markgraf of Brandenburg was appeased by the pledge of two fortresses until the dowry could be paid. Thus there remained only Norway and Sweden to be pacified; and though hostilities existed for some time, they were desultory and were terminated by a reconciliation. An interview with Birger, regent of Sweden, easily led to that result; and when Hakon of Norway, who had again arrived with a formidable armament, saw that Christopher was sincerely desirous of satisfying him, he accepted the will for the deed, and became the friend of the monarch.

But the chief troubles of Christopher arose from his own prelates. Jacob Erlandsen, bishop of Roeskilde, a personal friend of Innocent IV, had imbibed the highest notions of clerical privileges. He condemned the influence of the crown in the election of bishops, which was certainly an evil, since royal favourites only were appointed to the rich sees. Acting on his own principle, that bishops had no earthly superior except the pope, he refused, when elected by the chapter of Lund to the primacy, either to allow royal influence any weight in the election, or to accept of confirmation at the royal hands. He next condemned some of the provisions in the ecclesiastical law which Valdemar I had promulgated in Skåne; and when opposed by the king he intrigued with the royal enemies. Erlandsen was summoned before the estates at Viborg. In reply he convoked a national council to be held at Veile, a town in the diocese of Ribe in Jutland. In that assembly it was decreed that if any Danish bishop were taken and mutilated, or afflicted with any other atrocious injury, by the order or with the connivance of the king or any noble, the kingdom should be laid under an interdict and the divine service suspended. If the same violence were committed by any foreign prince or noble, and there

[1257-1259 A.D.]

were reason to infer that it was done at the instigation of the king or any of his council, in the diocese of that bishop there should be a *cessatio a divinis*, and the king during a month should be bound to see justice done: if he refused, the interdict was to be extended over the whole kingdom. After it was laid, no ecclesiastic, under pain of excommunication, was to celebrate any office of religion in the royal presence. The decree was sent to Rome, and confirmed by the pope in October, 1257.

The wrath of the king and of his nobles was roused by this bold act. But the primate was of an intrepid temper and quite prepared to share, if necessary, the fate of Thomas à Becket. In the next diet a number of frivolous and two or three substantial charges were made against him; and he begged time until the next meeting of the estates to prepare his answers. In the interim efforts were made to reconcile the two; and they sometimes met. But Erlandsen, by excommunicating a lady of Skåne, a favourite of the king, rekindled the half-smothered wrath of Christopher. Repairing to Lund, the latter held his tribunal, invited all who had any complaint against the archbishop to appear before him, and summoned the archbishop himself to appear and answer whatever might be urged against him. As ecclesiastics were, by a regulation of some standing, amenable to their own laws alone, the churchman denied the competency of the tribunal. In revenge the king revoked the concessions of privileges, immunities, and even of domains, made by his ancestors to the cathedral of Lund. The officer who served the act of revocation was excommunicated by the primate, who had the people also on his side. Two or three of the bishops were gained by the court; the rest adhered to their spiritual head. Every day widened the breach between the two chief personages in the nation. The estates being convoked at Odense to swear allegiance to Eric, eldest son of the king, Erlandsen refused to appear, and commanded his suffragans also to refuse. The rage of the king was unbounded. From the estates, which he now convoked at Copenhagen, he obtained permission to seize the primate with the other bishops and imprison them. A brother of the primate's was the instrument of his apprehension, and he was conveyed to a fortress in Funen. The dean and archdeacon of Lund, with the bishop of Ribe, were next secured; but the two spiritual peers of Odense and Roeskilde had time to flee from the realm.

In his captivity the primate was treated with much rigour. What his proud spirit could least bear was insult: if it be true that he was forced to wear a cap made from a fox's skin, we may smile at what called forth the bitter resentment of himself and the pope. The king was soon made to repent his violence. In virtue of the ordinance of the national council at Veile, the fugitive bishops laid an interdict on the kingdom; the pope espoused the cause of his church; and Jarimar, prince of Rügen, to whose hospitality the bishop of Roeskilde had fled, was persuaded by both to arm in behalf of the altar. Great was the wrath of Christopher to see the interdict so well observed, and to hear the murmurs of his people. How could he, alone, resist a power which had proved fatal to so many emperors and so many kings, and compared with which his was that of the meanest vassal in his dominions? He appealed to Rome. Yet at the same time he endeavoured to dispose his royal neighbours of Sweden and Norway in his favour. They, too, had bishops, and the cause of one was the cause of all: it was a struggle, he observed, between the rights of kings and the insolence of their subjects. They promised to assist him in this war alike on the pope and on his own clergy, whom he was about to deprive of their temporalities; and had already

powerful armaments in motion when intelligence reached them that he was no more.

Whether this monarch died naturally, or through poison, is doubtful. The evidence, however, is rather indicative of a tragical end, though the causes and the circumstances must forever rest a mystery.

Eric, the eldest son of the king, was elected by the estates; and as he was only ten years of age at his father's death, the regency devolved on his mother, Margaret, daughter of Sambir, duke of Pomerania. That princess had great courage and great prudence, and both were required in the peculiarly difficult circumstances in which she was placed. Some of the bishops were exiles, some in prison, but all protected by the pope and venerated by the people. Eric, the son of Abel, supported by the counts of Holstein, by the prince of Rügen, and by the exiled prelates, aspired to the throne. The interdict still remained, and consequently the discontent of the people. And now Jarimar, prince of Rugen, and the duke of Schleswig, accompanied by the bishop of Roeskilde, made a descent on the coast of Zealand with a formidable army. Margaret collected what troops she could, and hastened to meet the enemy. The battle was disastrous to the royal party, ten thousand being left on the field.

The consequences were still more disastrous — the occupation of Zealand and the destruction of several towns (among others Copenhagen, which had recently been invested with municipal rights) by the victors. Bornholm was next reduced, then Skåne, which remembered its primate with gratitude; and the whole kingdom must have been subjugated by the Slav prince had not a tragical death arrested him in his career. This was a heavy loss to the ecclesiastical party; but the bishop of Roeskilde confirmed the censure and denied Christian burial to the dead of the royal party. Jutland only remained faithful to the latter. Yet Margaret was not dismayed: notwithstanding the interdict and the absolute prohibition issued alike by the primate and the bishop of Roeskilde, she caused her son to be crowned. To soothe in some degree the animosity of the former, she released him and all the churchmen; but he would not compromise what he deemed his duty; he refused all overtures from her, and retired into Sweden to await the decision of Rome.

Urban IV [who became pope in 1261], took cognizance of the cause. He condemned the primate, and ordered him to resign his archbishopric into the hands of two ecclesiastical commissioners whom he nominated for that purpose. Erlandsen obeyed; but, hearing that Clement IV had succeeded to Urban (1264), he hastened to Rome to plead for himself. Clement did not confirm the judgment of his predecessor; he took up the case *de novo*, and sent a legate to examine on the spot into the circumstances of the dispute. Erecting his tribunal at Schleswig, the papal functionary cited the king and the queen-mother to appear before him; but they refused on the plea that Schleswig was unfavourable to them. Apprehensive for their safety in a city which depended on the king, the legate and the bishops repaired to Lubeck, whence they excommunicated Eric, his mother, and all who had refused to obey the citation. The primate retired to Rome, where he remained about seven years; and during that period the interdict remained in full force.

While these events were passing, others occurred of still greater moment to the queen and her son. On the death (1257) of Valdemar, eldest son of Abel, without issue, the succession was claimed by Eric, the next brother. Christopher, who then reigned, had refused to invest him, and he had therefore thrown himself into the arms of his kinsmen, the counts of Holstein, and by their aid had entered on the administration of the duchy. Unable to dispos-

[1163-1286 A.D.]

sess him, Margaret proposed to recognise him, provided he would acknowledge that he held the fief by the pure favour of the crown, and not by any right of inheritance. But Eric refused, and to chastise him, the queen and her son marched towards the south; but on the plains of Schleswig they were signally defeated. Flight did not save them from the power of their enemies: they were overtaken and consigned to imprisonment. There both might have remained to the close of life had not Albert of Anhalt, who had married the princess Mechtilda, sister of the king, interfered in their behalf. The queen was soon released (1263), and enabled to resume the administration: the king was confided to the guardianship of John, markgraf of Brandenburg, also connected by ties of blood with the royal family. It was at length agreed that he should be released, on the condition of his marrying Agnes, daughter of the markgraf, whose dowry 6,000 marks, was to be placed against his ransom. Returning to his capital (1264), he was now old enough to assume the reins of government.

In 1272 Eric, duke of Schleswig, died — an event which again disturbed the tranquillity of the country. He left two sons, Valdemar and Eric, both minors. To the guardianship a claim was put in by the king, and another by the counts of Holstein. Both parties flew to arms, and at first the counts had the advantage; but seeing the royal forces augmented, they consented to resign the trust into the royal hands, on the condition of the king's investing the eldest, when arrived at due age, with the duchy. Eric now celebrated his marriage with Agnes of Brandenburg; and he had also the satisfaction to see the convocation of a general council (that of Lyons, 1274), destined to remove the interdict from his kingdom. He was, however, enjoined not merely to receive the primate into his friendship, but to pay him 15,000 marks by way of indemnification. The following year (1275), a national council held at Lund finished the work of reconciling the king with the church.

But if Eric was thus at peace with his spiritual, he was often in dispute with his temporal, barons, on whose rights he was always ready to encroach. Notwithstanding his treaty with the counts of Holstein, he endeavoured to evade the investiture of Schleswig in favour of Valdemar. Both parties, however, were equally to blame; for when Valdemar was invested he claimed other domains. When these were refused, he leagued himself with the enemies of Denmark; the plot was discovered, and he was imprisoned. But his detention was of short duration; and at the intercession of his allies, he was released, after subscribing some conditions which more clearly established the authority of the crown over the fief. Still, if one enemy was vanquished, others remained, and to some of them, or rather to his own vices, the king fell a victim. To the count of Halland he had been oppressive: he had deprived him of his domains, and if report is true, dishonoured the wife during the husband's absence. Revenge was sworn, and the oath was kept. One night, after hunting, he was murdered while asleep at a rural village in Jutland. The king's chamberlain was privy to the design, and it was he who guided the assassins (all in masks) to the bed.

Thus ended a reign of troubles, most of which cannot with any justice be imputed to the monarch. Yet his own vices added greatly to his misfortunes. After his peace with the church, when moderation might have been expected from him, he frequently seized the church tithes, and applied to his own use the produce arising from the monastic domains. With his nobles he was no less severe; and more than once (especially in 1262) he was in danger of being driven from the realm by their united arms. Eric promulgated the code called *Birkerett*.

THE DISINTEGRATION OF DENMARK

At his father's death, Eric surnamed Menved,¹ was only twelve years of age. A guardian and regent was therefore necessary; and the post was demanded by Valdemar, duke of Schleswig, the nearest male kinsman of Eric. The queen-mother, Agnes of Brandenburg, unwilling but afraid to refuse, at length recognised his claim. There could not have been a better choice: he forgot the wrongs of his family in his new duties. In the first assembly which he convoked he called for vengeance on the murderers of the late king. They were in alarm; and to escape the consequences, they entered into a plot, the object of which was to seize the young king, and detain him as a hostage until their pardon should be declared by the estates. That plot did not escape the vigilance of the regent, who took measures to disconcert it, and at the same time caused a commission to be appointed, with power to inquire into the circumstances of Eric Glipping's death. That commission consisted of Otto of Brandenburg, brother of the queen-mother, of the prince of Rügen, the counts of Holstein, and twenty-seven Danish nobles. The result was a verdict of wilful murder against James, count of Halland, Stig, marshal of the court, and seven others.

Condemned to perpetual banishment, they repaired to the court of the Norwegian king, then at war with Denmark, by whom they were hospitably received. Assisted by him they were enabled to visit the northern parts of their fief, and to commit, during many years, considerable depredations. That the Norwegian monarch should thus become the ally of murderers — the murderers, too, of a brother king — might surprise us, if we did not remember that he and his father had long applied, but applied in vain, for satisfaction on points the justice of which had never been denied. One of them was that the dowry of his mother, Ingeborg, a Danish princess, had never been paid. At the head of a considerable fleet, he himself soon followed the regicides, and devastated the coasts. He would listen to no proposals of peace unless the regicides were pardoned — for such was his engagement with them. This war raged until 1308, when peace was restored in the Treaty of Copenhagen. The chief condition was that, in compensation for his mother's dowry, the Norwegian monarch should hold northern Halland as a fief from Eric of Denmark. In regard to the regicides, it was stipulated that some should be allowed to return and enjoy their property, but that the more guilty should never revisit the realm. Yet, even to them a permission during three years was given to dispose of their lands and personal substance.

This long war was not Eric's only trouble. Like his two predecessors, he was embroiled with the church. To Grandt, a dignitary of Roeskilde, he was hostile, apparently for reasons which had no foundation. When that dignitary was elected to the see of Lund, he refused, like Erlandsen, either to solicit or to accept the royal confirmation; and he hastened to Rome to obtain that of the pope. On his return he was arrested by Christopher, the king's brother, and treated with remarkable severity. His property was seized; he was made to exchange his pontifical robes for the meanest rags; he was fastened to the back of a worn-out horse; and in this state led, amidst the jeers of the royal dependants, to the fortress of Helsingborg. He was soon transferred to the castle of Soeburg, where an unwholesome dungeon, heavy fetters, and meagre fare awaited him. The same treatment was inflicted on Lange, another dignitary of Lund; but he had the good fortune to escape and to

¹ So called from his frequent use of the word *mæn* — certainly.

[1295-1319 A.D.]

reach Boniface VIII at Avignon (1295). Some time afterwards, Grandt himself was so lucky as to escape and repair to Bornholm, where he was received as a martyr. He too arrived at Avignon, and was welcomed by the pope, who observed, with much truth, that there were many saints who had suffered less for the church than archbishop Grandt. The dispute between the king and the church was examined at Rome, by a commission of cardinals. The award was a severe one for the king: it sentenced him to pay the archbishop, by way of indemnification, 49,000 silver marks; and until the money was paid, not only was his kingdom to remain under an interdict (it had been subject to one ever since the archbishop was seized), but the king himself was to be excommunicated, and also his brother Christopher, the instrument of that arrest. When the king evinced no disposition to pay the money, the papal legate who had been dispatched to Denmark for the occasion, sequestered a portion of the royal revenues in Skåne. This measure Eric could feel; and he threw himself on the mercy of the pope. Boniface so far relaxed from his severity as to allow the archbishop to resign his see of Lund, and to abate the indemnification to 10,000 marks. Grandt subsequently became archbishop of Bremen, while the papal legate succeeded to the primacy of Denmark.

But the whole of Eric's reign was not disastrous. Lübeck and the baron of Rostock sued for his protection, and paid him for it: he obtained from the latter some augmentation of his territory, and from other German powers a large sum of money. Tranquillity, however, for any long period, he was not to enjoy. One of his worst domestic enemies was his brother Christopher, who leagued himself with the kings of Sweden and Norway, and other enemies of the realm. As a punishment, seeing that leniency had no result, Eric occupied his brother's domains. Christopher fled to Wratislaw, duke of Pomerania, who espoused his cause; so did the counts of Holstein and some other princes. In 1317 peace was made, but Christopher was not restored. Two years afterwards the king paid the debt of nature, leaving his kingdom plunged in debt occasioned by his efforts to contend with his misfortunes. He had more discernment than some of his predecessors. He encouraged the rising municipalities, to some of which he granted charters analogous to those which existed in Germany. To commerce he was a benefactor; and he was useful to the judicial administration by the compilation of a code (in six books), called the *Law of Zealand*. He did more; he made a collection [*Congesta Menedi*] of such public acts as might throw light on the national history. Of his offspring none survived him; one at least, on whom his hopes were placed, met a tragical but accidental death; and grief led his queen to the cloister, where she died a few months before him. There was nobody, therefore, to succeed him but his turbulent brother Christopher, then in Sweden, whom he advised the estates to remove from the succession.

But Christopher was not to be so easily deprived of what he regarded as his birthright; and when he heard that he should have a rival in Eric, duke of Schleswig, he commenced his intrigues and pushed his warlike preparations with a vigour that showed his determination to attain his object. The promises which he made to the nobles, the clergy, and the municipalities, were exceedingly lavish, and they answered his purpose, for he was elected by the estates, and at the same time his eldest son Eric was joined with him in the government.

Though Christopher was thus placed on the throne, he soon found that to maintain himself on it, while an active rival was striving to unseat him, was no easy matter. He therefore began to lavish grants on his nobles so as to plunge the crown in new difficulties and to threaten the dismemberment

of the monarchy. To the church he showed great deference: he bore, without complaint, the postponement of his coronation until it suited the convenience of the primate to return from abroad; and he engaged never to violate the privileges which had been usurped.

But he had also need of foreign allies, and to procure them he evinced the same disregard of the public interests. To Wratislaw of Rugen he confirmed the investiture of that fief, with some other domains. To Henry of Mecklenburg, who held Rostock in pledge, in consideration of money advanced to the late king, he granted that territory in perpetuity, as a fief of the Danish crown. With Gerhard [or Geert] count of Holstein (then count of Rendsburg), he entered into a closer treaty, by which each engaged to assist the other, whenever required, with all the disposable force at his command. The cession of so many fiefs within and without Denmark proper, could not but have fatal consequences. Not less fatal was the custom of assigning, until payment was made, whole islands and provinces, in return either for personal services or advances of money.

What all men might have foreseen soon arrived. Though Christopher was never to impose any tax without the consent of the nobles, and never, in any circumstances, to require a tax from the church, his necessities were so great that he soon laid a new and extraordinary impost on both orders. The nobles were to pay one tenth of their annual revenues; the clergy in an equal proportion; the people still more. Suddenly one universal cry of resistance arose from every part of the kingdom. The archbishop boldly declared that he would resist to the last; that if the king did not keep the promises made at his accession, no more would the church or the nobles keep theirs; and that they should consider themselves absolved from their allegiance. Christopher bent to the influence which he could not resist; but he had already exasperated his people, and his relinquishment of the impost did not restore them to good humour. His next measure was to recover by force of arms the islands, provinces, and domains, which had been pledged, without paying any portion of the debt. The whole of Skåne, nearly one third of the kingdom, was thus held by one noble. The creditors thus deprived of their rights naturally combined to obtain justice by force. They were aided by all that were discontented, and by not a few who had no cause for dissatisfaction, but who hoped to benefit by a change. Skåne and Zealand were laid waste by fire and sword. From two of his enemies, the archbishop of Lund and Eric duke of Schleswig, he was released by death; but the latter event, from which he expected so much advantage, had baneful consequences. Eric left a young son, Valdemar. Who was to be the guardian? To obtain the post, Christopher invaded Schleswig. But he found a competitor in the very ally on whom he had so much relied, Gerhard of Holstein, who has been styled the Great, and who, as the maternal uncle of Valdemar, had equal right to the trust. In the midst of his successes, after reducing most of the duchy, he was defeated by this count and compelled to retire.

Many of Christopher's disaffected subjects had been silent through fear; now that he was vanquished, he was assailed by one universal complaint. The nobles demanded their fiefs, the creditors their money, the people a removal of taxation, and all bitterly complained of his breach of faith. Revolt became general; and when the estates met he was solemnly deposed, the reason assigned for this measure being "the intolerable abuse which he had made of his authority." When Christopher received this intelligence he was in Zealand with his son; at the same time he learned that Count Gerhard was advancing. Eric marched with the disposable troops to repel the invader;

[1326-1330 A.D.]

but he was defeated, betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and consigned to a dungeon. With the loss of that son, his colleague on the throne, Christopher lost all hope of present resistance; and with two younger sons he precipitately left the kingdom. At Rostock he procured aid from Henry of Mecklenburg and some Wend princes, and returned to struggle for his rights. He reduced a fortress, but this success did not render the estates more favourable; they persisted in their resolution to elect another sovereign. Besieged and taken by Gerhard, he was allowed to retire into Germany. He made another attempt, with equal want of success, was again taken, and again set free, on the condition of his retiring to Rostock.

The estates assembled at Nyborg to elect a king made choice of Valdemar, duke of Schleswig, still a minor — the chief cause, no doubt, of his election, since there must be a regency and the most powerful might hope to participate in the public spoils. Gerhard was the head of the regency; half a dozen other nobles were joined with him, and all were eager to derive the utmost advantage from a tenure of dignity which must evidently be brief. Gerhard obtained the duchy of Schleswig in perpetuity. Count John of Holstein was invested with the islands of Laaland, Falster, and Femern. Knud Porse, who by Christopher had been created duke of North Halland, and who yet had been one of the first to desert that unfortunate king, was confirmed in the fief in addition to South Halland: it was no longer to be revocable, but to descend to his posterity. The archbishop of Lund obtained Bornholm; another noble had Kolding and Ribe; a third, Langeland and Ærøe; in short, the whole country was parcelled out into petty principalities, which, though feudally subject to the crown, would be virtually so many sovereignties. These measures could not fail to displease all who had any love for their country: a dozen tyrants were more tyrannical, more rapacious, than one; and pity began to be felt for the absent Christopher. That prince was not inactive in his retirement at Rostock. By the most lavish promises he obtained succours of men and money from some of his allies; and many of his own nobles, among whom were the primate and the bishops, engaged to join him as soon as he landed in Denmark. He did land, and was joined by the bishops of Aarhus and Ribe and by many nobles, and was enabled to obtain some advantages over the regents. But he had not learned wisdom by adversity. One of his allies, Count John of Holstein, he converted into a deadly enemy; and he offended the church by arresting the bishop of Borglum. The prelate escaped by corrupting his guard, and hastened to Rome to add the pope to the other enemies of Christopher. The kingdom was immediately placed under an interdict.

In this emergency Christopher endeavoured to prevent his expulsion from the realm by resorting to the same means of bribery that he had before adopted. To pacify Count John, he ceded to him Zealand and part of Skåne, in addition to Laaland and Falster, which he still held. By grants equally prodigal and equally ruinous to the state, he endeavoured to secure the aid of other nobles. So well did he succeed that Gerhard, abandoned by many supporters, sued for peace. The articles were signed at Ribe in 1330. Valdemar was sent back to Schleswig; but the reversion to the duchy was secured to Gerhard in the event of Valdemar's dying without heirs male. As this was merely a future and contingent advantage, Fünen was placed in his hands until Schleswig should become his by inheritance; and for that island he was to become the vassal of the Danish crown. Nor was this all: he was to hold the whole of Jutland by way of pledge until reimbursed for the expenses of the war, which he estimated at forty thousand marks.

[1330-1340 A.D.]

This tranquillity was of short duration. The two counts, Gerhard and John, quarrelled; and Christopher, instead of remaining neuter, espoused the cause of the latter. He was defeated by Gerhard, and the greater part of Jutland withdrew from him to swell the cause of the victor. His only resource was now to throw himself on the generosity of the other, who professed his willingness to make peace in return for one hundred thousand marks; and until that sum (immense for those days) was paid, he was to hold Jutland. The two counts also treated with each other, John surrendering to Gerhard one half of the debt on Fünen; and they agreed to guarantee each other in the acquisitions which they had made, that is, in the dismemberment of the realm.

At the same time Skåne escaped for a season from the sceptre of the Danish kings. That province had passed into the hands of John, count of Holstein, through the inability of the crown to discharge the loans which had been borrowed on it. Holstein collectors therefore overran it, to collect the revenues claimed by the representative of the creditors. They were even more unpopular than those of the king had been; and the natives not unfrequently arose to massacre them. Three hundred were at one time put to death in the cathedral of Lund. To escape chastisement the inhabitants looked, not to Christopher, who was helpless as an infant, and whom they distrusted, but to Magnus king of Sweden. Him they proposed to recognise as their sovereign, on the condition of his defending them against the counts of Holstein. It is almost needless to add that Magnus joyfully availed himself of the opportunity of obtaining a province which was geographically within the limits of his kingdom, and which had always been an object of desire to his predecessors. He received the homage of the whole country, and sent forces to defend it. Instead of drawing the sword to recover it, John sold his interest in it and all claim to its government or revenues, for thirty-four thousand marks — a sum which Magnus readily paid him. The latter had now a double right to the province — that of voluntary submission and that of purchase.

In the last year of Christopher's life two of his nobles, with the view of obtaining the favour of the Holstein family, entered into a plot for his assassination. They set fire to his house, seized him as he was escaping, and bore him to a fortress in the isle of Laaland, which belonged to Count John. That nobleman, however, no longer feared a prince who had fallen into universal contempt, and whose cause was hopeless. He therefore ordered him to be released. The following year Christopher died a natural death, after the most disastrous reign in the annals of the kingdom.

By his wife Euphemia, daughter of Bogislaw, duke of Pomerania, he had three sons and three daughters. Eric, the eldest, preceded him to the tomb; Otto ultimately became a knight of the Teutonic order; Valdemar, after a short interregnum, succeeded him. Of his daughters two died in youth; but the eldest, Margaret, was married to Ludwig of Brandenburg, son of the emperor Ludwig of Bavaria.

The two counts of Holstein, who had thus partitioned the kingdom between them, consulted how they might perpetuate their usurpation. The best mode was to delay as long as possible the election of a new monarch; to exclude the two sons of the late king from the succession; and, when an election could no longer be avoided, to procure the union of the suffrages in favour of some prince whom they might control. In any case, as their sway might and probably must be brief, their interest lay in deriving the utmost advantage in the shortest possible time from their posi-

[1340 A.D.]

tion. Hence their rapacity, which their armies enabled them to exercise with impunity.

Under no circumstances would the domination of strangers have been long borne without execration: that of rapacious strangers was doubly galling. The murmurs which arose on every side emboldened the two sons of Christopher to strive for his inheritance. But they entered the field before their preparations were sufficiently matured. Otto, with a handful of troops supplied by his brother-in-law the markgraf of Brandenburg, landed in Jutland. He was vanquished and committed to close confinement. To avert another invasion by excluding the sons from all hope of succession, Gerhard turned towards Valdemar, duke of Schleswig, who had been placed on the throne during Christopher's exile. If the duke succeeded, the duchy became the inheritance of Count Gerhard; but he would not wait for probabilities. In return for his promised aid, Valdemar, in a solemn treaty, agreed to surrender that province immediately; and if he did not obtain the object of his ambition, he was to receive Jutland in lieu of it. The rights of Gerhard over that peninsula, in virtue of the one hundred thousand marks which he claimed from the crown, have been mentioned: these rights therefore he might transfer. In the midst of the negotiation Prince Valdemar prepared to return and conquer, or to share the fate of his brother Otto. The people were almost universally favourable to him; and his arrival was expected with impatience. When the Jutlanders heard of the treaty which consigned them to Valdemar of Schleswig, they no longer waited for their prince, but openly revolted. Gerhard was compelled to retreat, but only to return with ten thousand German auxiliaries; and with these he laid waste the peninsula. His fate, however, was at hand. A Jutland noble, with fifty accomplices only, resolved to rid his country of a tyrant. Hastening to Randers, where the count lay with four thousand men, at midnight, he disarmed the guard, penetrated into the bedchamber of the regent, murdered him, and escaped before the army was aware of the deed (1340).

Thus perished Gerhard, surnamed the Great, a prince of great talents and of greater ambition. With him perished the grandeur of his house. His sons had not his personal qualities, and they could not maintain themselves in the position in which he left them. Emboldened by the event, the estates met, and declared the absent Valdemar, the third son of Christopher (Otto was still in confinement), heir to the throne. The act of election was sent to that prince in spite of the care taken by the counts of Holstein to prevent all intercourse between the country and the exile. Valdemar received it at the court of the emperor Ludwig of Bavaria. Under the imperial sanction there was a conference at Spandau. It was there agreed that Otto should receive his liberty on the condition of his resigning all claims to the crown. The new king engaged to marry Hedwige, sister of Valdemar, duke of Schleswig, whose dowry of 24,000 marks was to be deducted from the 100,000 claimed by the sons of Count Gerhard. Until the rest was paid, Fünen and a part of Jutland were to remain in the hands of the counts. The king was not to protect the murderers of the late count. There were some other conditions of much less moment — all dictated by the necessity of sacrificing much to obtain a greater advantage.^b

VALDEMAR ATTERDAG, THE RESTORER OF THE KINGDOM (1340-1375 A.D.)

When the most important questions had been settled in this manner Valdemar proceeded to Jutland and was solemnly pronounced king in the

[1340-1350 A.D.]

assembly of Viborg (1340), after which he promulgated, in place of capitulation, an act of armistice towards all those who had passed through the disaster of the preceding years.

The end of all his efforts was to bring together the scattered portions of the Danish Kingdom, but this was not accomplished until after many cruel years, filled with hardships, struggles, and perils. He was, moreover, none too scrupulous in the choice of means, and did not hesitate to regain by trickery what had been taken from him by force. He began with Zealand, and — now by purchase and treaty, now by violence and bloody struggles in which he was assisted by the exasperated inhabitants who attacked and massacred the Holsteiners whenever they could be found — he succeeded at last, but only after five years of effort, in recovering the whole of that important division of the kingdom. Laaland and Falster came next, and he purchased at this time, or shortly after, a large part of north Jutland. He then turned his attention to the island of Funen, which the Holsteiners were holding as guaranty for a debt of 41,000 marks. By making a skilful use of circumstances and by resorting to the sword where prudence and diplomacy failed, he succeeded in obtaining from the courts of Holstein, by the Treaty of Nebbegaard (1348), half of Funen, and at the same time in getting other favourable conditions which gave him the hope of shortly recovering the other half of that island. But questions arose later as to the interpretation of these conditions, and the remainder of Funen was the cause of a bloody conflict, in which the king was sometimes beaten but again won brilliant victories, as at the battle fought near the castle of Gamborg in the northwest district of the island.

The great expenditures which Valdemar had to make, both in prosecuting the war and in buying up fiefs and castles, compelled him to levy heavy contributions from his subjects; and to forestall popular discontent, he called all the orders of the kingdom to a diet at Ringsted (1349), when he gave account of all the money he had received. The people, recognising the good use of the public funds, were all the more ready to make new sacrifices. Another means which he employed to procure necessary funds was to sell Esthonia. This he disposed of to the Teutonic Knights for 19,000 marks which went to redeem more important parts of the kingdom. His most ardent desire was to recover the Skånian provinces, but as circumstances at the beginning of his reign did not favour this plan, he deferred it for a time and confirmed even the grant made to Magnus Smek, who in return paid Valdemar a sum of money. But he never lost sight of his plan, and always kept one eye on affairs in Sweden, where things were in very bad shape and gave this prudent monarch hope of finding an opportunity of fulfilling his ambitions with even more advantage.

The reconstitution of the realm would have been accomplished with more rapidity if his subjects had been loyal, which was not always the case. Intelligent and thoughtful men well understood that Valdemar rightly deserved the throne, but there remained many malcontents, especially in the nobility, and notably among that of Jutland. During the preceding period of disorganisation the aristocracy had grown accustomed to violence and arbitrary action, but it could not so easily accommodate itself to the rigorous equity with which Valdemar the Restorer applied the law to high and low. He was accused of tyranny because he reunited to the crown and applied to the good of the country the numerous domains which the nobility had appropriated during the troubles. In many localities the peasants joined the rebellious nobles because they found insupportable the taxes and

[1350-1360 A.D.]

duties exacted by the king. They came to forget, little by little, the disasters from which Valdemar had delivered the realm, and felt only the weight of the actual burden which was the necessary consequence of preceding misfortunes.

After several years of strife, generally victorious, the king finished by concluding a peace with his foreign enemies (1360), and at the same time an arrangement with his subjects which held for some years. The latter was confirmed at the diet of Kallundborg (1360), where an ordinance was adopted with a view to defining the rights of the king and his subjects and establishing peace and order in the land. In this document the king promised to maintain the ancient laws and customs as well as the recognised rights of the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasantry. All present agreed to pursue the brigands and incendiaries who were harassing the country, and to do their best to ensure that crimes against the king and crown of Denmark should be judged and punished. When the king or his officers prosecuted law-breakers, resentment was not to be cherished against them as though they pursued this course through personal hatred or enmity; on the other hand, the king was not to hold in abhorrence or persecute those who sought in the law a protection against injustices committed by him or his officials. The ordinance has been called a capitulation, and if it must be so regarded, it is to be wished that all capitulations were conceived in the same spirit; for it prescribed the duties not only of the king but of the orders as well, and did not, like preceding and subsequent documents, contain a particular enumeration of the privileges of nobles and clergy, but only a general confirmation of these rights, together with those of the burghers and peasants. In consequence of its character, it was not only signed by the king, but by all the bishops; and a large proportion of the nobles present were obliged, by hand and seal, to endorse its terms. This is one great proof of the prudence and strength with which Valdemar the Restorer, in difficult and troublesome times, knew how to maintain the royal prerogatives, as well as the rights of the weaker orders, against the clergy and powerful nobility.

THE REUNION OF THE SKÅNIAN PROVINCES

Valdemar was getting nearer and nearer to the end he had long been seeking — the reunion of the Skånian provinces to the Danish crown. King Magnus Smek was in constant strife with the unruly nobles of his realm, including his own son and co-ruler, Eric. In his need he asked help of the king of Denmark, who showed himself disposed to give it, but only for a large return from the simple Magnus Smek. The latter, in company with Queen Blanca and his son Hakon, visited Valdemar at Copenhagen (1359), where he had to promise to release the Skånian provinces before Valdemar would assist him against his rebellious subjects and son. The malicious Blanca hated her son Eric, and sought Valdemar's protection for her favourite, Bengt Algotsson. It was she especially who managed all the negotiations. The alliance of the two kings was sealed by the betrothal of Valdemar's seven-year old daughter Margaret to Magnus' son Hakon, then twenty years of age, and as pliant and docile to his father as his brother Eric was headstrong and hostile.

The following year (1360), Valdemar passed into Skåne, occupied the whole country, and forced Magnus Smek to surrender the documents which attested Sweden's right to the provinces — Count John's deed of purchase

[1360-1363 A.D.]

and the homage which the inhabitants of Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge had given the Swedish crown. According to a tale scarcely worthy of credit, Valdemar was no sooner in possession of these documents than he hastened to burn them. After succeeding so well in Skåne, the Danish king armed himself for an expedition to Visby, in the island of Gotland—one of the richest cities in all Europe and the principal trading station of the Hanseatic League on the Baltic. As excuse for this attack on Visby, some satirical songs about the king, which the inhabitants had sung, are usually alleged; but it is more probable that the king was seeking opportunity to deal a blow to the commerce of the Hanse Towns and to make himself master of Visby's wealth. The town was taken, the walls rased, and an immense booty seized (1361). From this day Visby's fame declined. A portion of its trade betook itself to the henceforth flourishing Copenhagen, and it remained but the spectre of its former greatness.

VALDEMAR'S REIGN CLOSES IN LOSSES

After the conquest of Gotland, Valdemar took the title "king of the Goths" (*de Götters Konge*), but the destruction of Visby and the occupation of the Skånian provinces woke to action all his former enemies. The Swedish nation compelled Magnus Smek to break the marriage agreement between his son and Margaret and to declare war against Valdemar. The counts of Holstein, whose sister Elizabeth, daughter of Gerhard the Great, was now promised to Hakon; the duke Valdemar of Schleswig; and a little later Duke Albert the Elder of Mecklenburg, allied themselves with the Hanse Towns against Valdemar the Restorer. Seventy-seven of these towns sent at one time as many declarations of war, but the king laughed at their number, comparing them to a flock of cackling geese; and before long, as much by force as by ruse, he destroyed the powerful coalition. In the naval war which broke out, we hear for the first time after a long period of silence of a Danish fleet; and it fought with glory against that of the Hanse Towns, so long accustomed to victory.

The latter met such great reverses that its admiral, a Lübeck burgomaster, was put to death on his return home. After these disasters, some of the Hanse Towns first of all, sought an armistice with Denmark, which determined the others to conclude one of those so-called perpetual peaces. While these events were taking place, the princess Elizabeth left Holstein, late in the autumn, to marry King Hakon in Norway, but was wrecked in a storm on the Danish coast. Valdemar received her with the greatest courtesy, but under various pretexts and an appearance of solicitude for her safety, he would not allow her to set out on the sea in so stormy a season. Meantime he sent messages to Hakon and Magnus Smek, who came at once; and the marriage of Hakon and Margaret was celebrated (1363), although the latter had not yet completed her eleventh year. When, a short time after, Valdemar's son Christopher died of wounds received in battle with the Hanse fleet, this marriage assumed a special importance in opening a way for a union between Denmark and Norway, over which Hakon was king. The unfortunate princess of Holstein exchanged the throne to which she had been destined for a cloister cell.

If Valdemar's enemies had been thoroughly exasperated with him, they were now all the more so on account of this transaction. The Swedes excluded Prince Hakon from the succession, deposed Magnus Smek, and made his nephew Albert of Mecklenburg, son of Albert the Elder, king; and, indeed, a

[1363-1375 A.D.]

short time after the arrangement of the above-mentioned "perpetual peace," the Hanse Towns made a new alliance with Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Sweden. For some years Valdemar succeeded in controlling his own destiny, and forced several of his enemies to peace; but in 1368 a large number of the most powerful noble families of Jutland revolted and entered into formal alliance with the foreign enemies of the realm, and the king was forced to leave his country and seek help abroad. The situation in Denmark became terrible; the counts of Holstein invaded Jutland; Albert attacked Skåne; the Hanse Towns ravaged the shores and islands—the allies, in fact, made such progress that they were beginning to think of dividing the Danish provinces among themselves. However, the able Henning Podbusk, whom Valdemar had left as regent in his absence, succeeded in detaching his most dangerous enemies, the Hanse Towns, from the coalition, though at enormous sacrifice. By the Treaty of Stralsund (1370) the Hanseatic League obtained the right to trade, wholesale and retail, throughout the whole of Denmark, the right to establish all sorts of foreign workmen in the cities granted to it, and to import, free of duty, whatever material they needed. The Sound dues were entirely abolished on fish, and reduced to almost nothing on ships and articles of merchandise. Finally all the maritime towns of Skåne, with the townships and cantons dependent on them, were leased to the league for fifteen years. Henning Podbusk and the other members of the royal council had to assent to another demand of the haughty merchants; namely, that after Valdemar's death, the Hanse Towns should have a voice in the election of the king, and that Valdemar should not re-enter the kingdom without ratifying the treaty.

After much hesitation, Valdemar accepted this peace, and returned, in 1372, to his country, where the results of thirty years' work had been almost totally destroyed. The king succeeded, however, during the last three years of his life, thanks to his great skill and indefatigable energy, in re-establishing order in the kingdom and healing the most grievous wounds of the war. He had enough strength left in 1374 to invade North Friesland and chastise the inhabitants, who refused to pay their taxes. By coming to terms with one after another of the factions in Schleswig, he worked unceasingly to reunite that country to the kingdom; and when in 1375 Duke Henry, the last of the house of Abel, died childless, the outlook seemed brighter than ever. Just before or immediately after this death, the king had taken prudent measures to assure himself of the possession of Schleswig by occupying Hadersleben, Apenrade, Tondern, and Alsen with Sonderburg and Norburg, and placing royal officials in these towns and castles. But the counts of Holstein, who after the treaty of Rube (1330) thought themselves entitled to some claim on Schleswig, armed themselves, and a serious war seemed on the point of breaking out, when Valdemar was surprised by death, that same year 1375, at the castle of Gurre.

Valdemar III has received the surname Atterdag (New Day Restorer) — perhaps because, owing to his great qualities, under his reign daylight began to pierce the gloom in which Denmark had long been plunged; or perhaps, as others explain it, because he loved to repeat the proverb, *I Morgen er det Atter Dag* (Daylight will reappear to-morrow), when his plans met with unexpected obstacles and, instead of giving them up, he postponed them for a more favourable occasion. His ungrateful people called him Valdemar Onde (the Bad), because this prince, strict himself in the performance of his royal duties, exacted work and sacrifices from his subjects, and because the situation of the kingdom forced him to impose heavy taxes

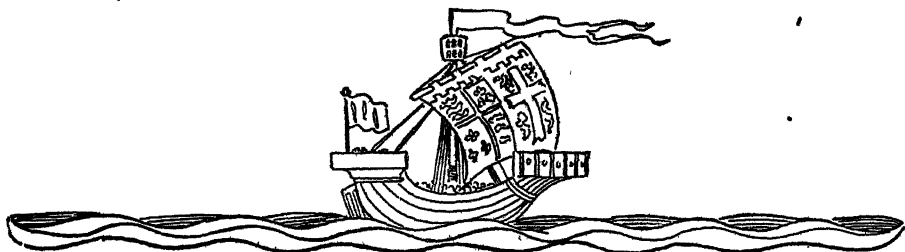
[1375 A.D.]

on them.¹ Some old annals written by a contemporary ecclesiastic complain bitterly of this monarch's severity.

"In Valdemar's day," we may read in them, "the good customs were abolished in Denmark; nor soldier, nor burgher, nor merchant had any rest; no one had time to eat, sleep, or rest, but all were forced to ceaseless weary labour, under pain of incurring the king's displeasure." Nevertheless, Denmark has had few kings who so well deserved to rule the country as Valdemar Atterdag. With his huge task of reconstructing the state entirely afresh and ceaselessly combating rebellious subjects and enemies abroad, he found time to undertake the internal improvement of the country. He built roads, dug canals, cultivated wasted districts, built dykes, erected water-mills and a large number of castles and fortresses. He was constantly travelling over the whole kingdom, rendering justice in the assemblies and looking to the execution of the law. He lifted the Danish fleet from its decline, and employed a certain number of professional sailors who were lodged at Vordingborg. A proof of this great king's energy is that, without neglecting the administration of his kingdom, he made a number of journeys to foreign parts, where he was always well received on account of his rare talents as negotiator and mediator. He went several times to Germany, visited the pope in the south of France, and even made a rapid pilgrimage to distant Palestine.

Under the reign of Valdemar Atterdag, there raged in Denmark that deadly epidemic known as the Black Death (*den Sorte Død*). It made such havoc in neighbouring districts that in Lübeck, for example, it was said to have carried off two thousand five hundred people in twenty-four hours, and ninety thousand in a single summer, but the latter figure must be much exaggerated. In Denmark also, whither it was brought by a crewless ship which came ashore in the Vendsyssel, it was so violent a scourge that according to some reports, perhaps exaggerated, there did not remain, in some localities, one inhabitant out of a hundred.²

[¹ In tradition Valdemar Atterdag figures as the flying huntsman who was compelled to ride nightly accompanied by his dogs, from Burre to Gurre, in punishment for having declared that God might keep heaven so he might only hunt in Gurre wood.]





CHAPTER VI

SWEDEN TO THE UNION OF KALMAR

[1036-1389 A.D.]

IN Swedish history the chronological difficulties of which we have already had so much reason to complain, are scarcely fewer even in the eleventh century. Most writers give different lists of kings down to the twelfth century. The reason of this difference is two-fold: there were sometimes two kings reigning at the same time, the one over the Goths, the other over the Swedes; and sometimes each of these peoples had two. On the death of Edmund Slemme in 1056, the Swedes and the Goths, who were often hostile to each other, disagreed about the succession and, as we saw in a former chapter, the Swedes raised Stenkil to the throne, while the Goths chose Hakon the Red as their king. Thus there were two kingdoms, two courts—the one reigning over the eastern, the other over the western and southern provinces.

The Goths and the Swedes had never perfectly amalgamated, from the period when Odin had led the latter into Sweden and driven the former from the coast into the interior of the country. But, on the other hand, experience had taught both of them the destructive effects of disunion; and on the present occasion, now that Christianity had made so considerable a progress among them (more however in Sweden than in Gothland), they felt more sensibly the impolicy of their conduct. The heads of the two peoples met together, and agreed that Hakon should continue to rule over the Goths, but that on his death his kingdom should cease to have a separate existence and be re-merged into that of Sweden. We shall, however, see that the same moderation did not always govern the two parties; and that double elections continued to agitate the common-weal long after this period. But this circumstance does not detract from the merit of the men who sanctioned the present agreement. In thirteen years Hakon paid the debt of nature, and in conformity with the agreement his crown reverted to the prince of the Swedes.

Of Stenkil the national historians speak with praise. Of gigantic size, unrivalled strength, and indomitable courage, he was yet one of the mildest

princes of his age. Over Svend II, king of Denmark, he is said by the Swedish historians to have frequently triumphed; but of such triumphs we have no record in the historians of the rival nation. Equal honour is accorded to his successor Inge I, surnamed the Good. In his wars this prince is said to have exhibited great valour; but he was more distinguished for his attachment to Christianity, and for the zeal with which he extirpated paganism. In this great work he probably evinced more ardour than discretion, if it be true that he was murdered in his bed by his idolatrous subjects. Halstan, the brother and successor of Inge, if indeed they did not reign conjointly over different parts of the kingdom, had the same mild virtues. Philip and Inge II were equally worthy of the diadem. Distinguished alike for his piety and for the rigour with which he punished the banditti who infested his western provinces, and the pirates who ravaged his coasts, Inge, in particular, reigned in the hearts of his people, except those whose ill deeds he punished. To the hatred of a faction he became a victim. That faction raised to the throne Rognerald, a chief of gigantic dimensions and of fiercer qualities. His yoke was soon felt to be intolerable: he was removed by violence; and a double election followed — the Swedes choosing a chieftain named Kol; the Goths, Magnus, son of Niels king of Denmark. The former soon perished in battle; the latter, a great tyrant, reigned seven years only (1148), when the suffrages of the people fell on one who had neither birth nor connections to recommend him, but who had the great qualities becoming the dignity. This was Swerker I. It is worthy of remark that Hakon the Red and Rognerald, and Kol and Magnus, are not usually classed amongst the Swedish kings — at least by modern historians.

The reign of Swerker was pacific and admirably adapted to the interests of the kingdom. He was a wise and patriotic monarch. But he had one grievous fault — blindness to the vices of his son. Never, if contemporary chroniclers are to be credited, did a youth so richly merit the curses of the people. At the head of a licentious gang, he violated the persons of the noblest virgins and matrons; he was addicted to every species of riot; and the insolence of his manners gave a more odious shade to his vices. In vain were remonstrances made to the father, whose first duty, as the people thought, was to insist that his own family should set the first example of obedience to the laws. Indignant at this guilty toleration, the people arose and murdered the prince. Swerker's own end was tragical; but whether he died through the influence of the same conspirators, or through the avarice of a domestic, is doubtful.

On his death (1155), the same ruinous division took place as in the preceding century: the Goths elected Charles, another son of Swerker; the Swedes made choice of St. Eric, who had married the daughter of Inge the Good — a name dear to the people. As civil war was so much to be deprecated, the heads of both parties met and agreed to this compromise — that Eric I should retain both crowns during his life, and on his death both should be inherited by Charles. But what was to become of the rights of their children? To prevent future disputes, the descendants of each were to rule alternately, without prejudice, however, to the elective suffrage of the people. It would have been impossible to devise any expedient better adapted to produce the contrary of what was intended.

The reign of Eric was one of vigour. The Finns, who had declared themselves independent, he reduced to subjection; and he also forced them, we are told, to forsake idolatry for Christianity. We may, however, doubt whether his efforts in this respect were so general as the chroniclers would have

[1155-1195 A.D.]

us believe; certainly, they were not very permanent. Probably they did as most barbarians do in similar circumstances — they submitted while the victor was near them, but reverted to their ancient superstitions when he had left. That he had idolaters nearer to him than Finland, and more immediately subject to his sway, is evident from the distinction he was accused of making between the worshippers of Odin and those of Christ. The former he deprived of the rights which the law conferred upon them. For this conduct he naturally incurred their indignation, and he also made enemies of another party — the licentious, the disturbers of the public tranquillity, who were scarcely less numerous. Both conspired against him; and as their own strength was inadequate to the object, they invoked the aid of the Danish king, offering, as it appears, the crown of Sweden to the son of that monarch. A Danish army arrived, and being joined by the malcontents marched towards Upsala. They were soon met by Eric, who, though he performed prodigies of valour, was defeated and slain (1160). His tragical death was one of the causes that led to his canonisation. Another was the zeal which he showed in the extirpation of idolaters, whom he pursued with fire and sword. Add that he was the founder of monasteries and churches, and we have reasons enough for his deification. By most readers he will be valued, less for his unenlightened devotion than for his compilation of a code of laws — *St. Eric's Lag*. Yet the provisions which it contains are deeply impressed by his dominant characteristics. Against pagans they are sanguinary; and they visit offences against the Christian religion and the Christian worship with stern severity.

Charles, the son of Swerker, was now monarch of the whole country. But he had some difficulty in expelling the invaders, who had proclaimed the son of the Danish king. He, too, was much attached to the church, to which he was more generous than even his predecessor. If tradition be true (there is no contemporary authority for the statement), he embarrassed his affairs by his immoderate liberality. As he obtained from the pope the erection of an archbishopric — that of Upsala — he was expected to endow it. From his munificence in this respect may have originated the report in question. His reign was not exempt from trouble. The adherents of the rival dynasty were his enemies, from a suspicion (apparently ill-founded) that he had been one of the conspirators against St. Eric. Though in conformity with the agreement which we have mentioned he nominated Knud, the son of Eric, his successor, that prince would not remain in the kingdom, under the pretence that his life was in danger. In a few years he returned into Sweden, at the head of a considerable Norwegian force, was joined by the partisans of his house, and enabled to triumph over his rival, whom he captured and beheaded. This act he justified by appealing to the untimely end of his father, which he represented as the work of Charles.

The reign of Knud was disturbed by two invasions: the first by the Danes, who had armed to revenge the death of the late king, or rather under that plea to profit by the disasters of a rival country (the Goths, who loved the memory of Charles, immediately joined it, but the king was victorious); the second was an irruption of the Esthonian pirates, who laid Sigtuna in ashes, slew the archbishop of Upsala, and carried away many prisoners before the king could overtake them.

Swerker II, the son of Charles, was the next king (1195-1210), in virtue of the compact between the Goths and the Swedes. But every day more clearly evinced the dangers resulting from that compact: it daily widened the breach, not merely between the two royal families but between the two

great tribes which constituted the nation. Blood had been openly or treacherously spilt by both parties; and the deadly feud had descended to the chiefs of both. It was, from the first, the object of Swerker to exterminate the family of his rival; but one prince — Eric, the only son of the late king — escaped into Norway. For some years he governed with moderation, but when he became tyrannical, the people of Upland invited the exile to return. Eric obeyed the call, was joined by most of the nobles, and enabled to triumph over Swerker, though the latter was supported by a Danish army. The king was expelled, and though he subsequently twice returned to renew the contest, twice he was defeated, and on the latter occasion his own corpse was among the slain.

The reign of Eric II (1210-1220) commenced more judiciously than could have been anticipated from preceding events. To pacify the rival faction, he declared Prince John, the son of Swerker, his successor. To conciliate the Danes, who had so warmly espoused the cause of his rivals, he obtained the hand of a Danish princess, the sister of Valdemar II. His reign was pacific, but too short for the interests of his people. John I (1220-1222) ascended without opposition the united thrones of the Swedes and the Goths; but his reign was still shorter — a misfortune the more keenly felt from his admirable conduct. If he was less fortunate in two or three military expeditions (so obscure, however, as scarcely to deserve notice) than was hoped from the justice of his cause, his civil government was one of great success. He was succeeded without opposition by the son of his predecessor, Eric II, named after the father.

Eric III, surnamed the Halt and the Lisper (1222-1250), had a reign less peaceful than those which immediately preceded it. There was a family in the realm too powerful for obedience — that of the Folkungar — the chiefs of which, by their wealth and their numerous connections, evidently aspired to the throne. To bind them to his interests, he married two of his sisters to nobles of that house, while he himself took to wife a lady of that family. But these alliances, as might indeed have been expected, only gave a new impulse to ambition. To wrest the crown from him, the whole family or tribe, the chiefs of which must have been connected with the royal line of either the Goths or the Swedes, broke out into rebellion — one noble only, the jarl Birger, remaining faithful to him. In the first battle Eric was defeated and compelled to flee; but he raised an army in Denmark, returned to Sweden, vanquished the usurper Svend, and was again acknowledged by the whole realm. In the last year of his reign, he sent an expedition against the Finns, who had reverted to idolatry. It was commanded by Birger Jarl, on whom he had conferred the hand of his youngest sister. The cruelty of the general, who probably acted in obedience to the royal orders, equalled that of the former military apostle, St. Eric.

VALDEMAR I BEGINS A NEW DYNASTY

The death of Eric the Lisper (1250) was followed by a violation of the compact which had established the alternate order of succession. The Folkungar nobles no longer concealed their intention of aspiring to the throne. Through the intrigues of a dependent, when the diet met for a new election the choice fell on Valdemar I, the son of Birger Jarl by the sister of the late king. On the part of the electors, this was an attempt to combine the interests of two great families. But Birger was dissatisfied: he had expected the crown himself; and he objected to the impolicy of choosing a child like his son. His design was to obtain the regency, and he succeeded (1251).

[1251-1276 A.D.]

However censurable the means by which Birger arrived at power, he had qualities worthy of the post. He founded Stockholm, which he also fortified: he revised and greatly improved the *Landslag*, or written laws of the kingdom; he conferred on the cities and towns privileges similar to those contained in the charters of later ages; he improved the internal administration in other respects, while he defended the coasts against the ravages of the pirates. Such indeed was the prosperity which he introduced that the diet requested the king to confer on him the ducal title — a title previously unknown in Sweden. But the success of his administration and the power held by his family incurred first the jealousy and soon the hatred of a faction, or rather of several factions who united to oppose him. A civil war followed, which was indecisive; and it was ended by a pacification, but a pacification dictated by deceit. After Birger had solemnly sworn to it, and the heads of the other party repaired in unsuspecting confidence to his camp, he caused them to be put to death. One noble only escaped — Charles, who fled to the Teutonic knights, became a member of the order, and left a heroic name behind him. This perfidious act is a sad stain on the glory of his regency. Another was his excessive love of power, which induced him to retain the reins of government long after his son had arrived at manhood, and even after that son had married Sophia, daughter of Eric Plovpenning, king of Denmark. Death alone caused him to release his grasp (1266).

The reign of Valdemar was one of trouble. Whether through the persuasion of the diet, or through fraternal attachment, he tolerated if he did not himself establish the independence of his brothers. Magnus duke of Södermanland, Eric prince of Småland, and Benvit duke of Finland, had separate courts, and exercised a sovereign authority in their respective jurisdictions. Magnus, the eldest, was formed for a monarch. He was learned, courteous, generous, and highly accomplished in all military sciences. So popular did he become that his palace was more frequented than the king's. Of his popularity Valdemar soon became jealous; yet he could do no other than leave the regency to Magnus during his pilgrimage to Rome. The motive of this pilgrimage was to expiate a criminal connection, of many years' standing, with Jutta, sister of his queen. The severity of the penance was owing to the fact of Jutta's being a nun, who had precipitately fled from the convent of Roeskilde, and the pope would not give him absolution until he had visited the Holy Land. Jutta was condemned to perpetual seclusion.

In 1276, after an absence of nearly three years, the royal penitent returned and accused Magnus of intriguing for the throne. Whether there was any truth in the charge cannot well be ascertained; but that suspicion should arise in his mind was inevitable. He was jealous, not of Magnus only, but of all his brothers. On this occasion, Benvit, the youngest, exhibited a proof of magnanimity which may well obtain the praise of history: to consolidate the royal power, he resigned his duchy, took holy orders, and subsequently became bishop of Linköping. The elder brothers, far from imitating the example, united themselves closely with the Danes, and a civil war followed. Valdemar was surprised, pursued, and captured. To end these disorders, the diet met and divided the kingdom between the two brothers. To Valdemar were conceded the two Gothlands (East and West) with Småland and Dalecarlia: the rest fell to Magnus.

This peace was of short continuance. Magnus did not pay his Danish auxiliaries, by whose aid he had triumphed. In revenge the Danish king [Eric Glipping] ravaged the Swedish provinces, and entered into a treaty with Valdemar to restore him to the undivided throne. At the head of a Danish

[1276-1290 A.D.]

army, Valdemar marched against Magnus, but was defeated. To repair this disaster, Eric of Denmark took the field with a large army — so large that Magnus would not risk an action. But the Swedish prince obtained by policy the advantage which arms could not give him. He drew the invaders into the heart of the kingdom; cut off all supplies; and awaited the approach of winter to effect their destruction. But through the mediation of the chiefs on both sides peace was restored. As Magnus had not the money due to Eric, he pledged one of his maritime towns. In return, he obtained not merely a friend but his recognition as monarch of Sweden. Valdemar, thus sacrificed, was made to renounce his claim to the whole country, and to pass the remainder of his days in Denmark, on one of the domains which he had received with his queen.

(1) Magnus I at his accession (1279) assumed the title "king of the Swedes and the Goths," to denote his superiority over the whole kingdom. But the title was more pompous than the power. He was soon accused of undue partiality towards the people of Holstein, who in virtue of his marriage with Hedwige, daughter of the count Gerhard, flocked to Sweden in great numbers. The remonstrance did not weaken his attachment to these foreigners, whom he loaded with honours. To the great families, especially that of the Folkungar, this preference was gall; and a conspiracy was formed to extirpate the odious strangers. An opportunity for the execution of this plot soon arrived. Escorted by a considerable number of Holsteiners, the queen proceeded to Skara, a town of Gothland, to meet her father. The conspirators followed, and massacred the guard, including even the brother-in-law of the king. Nor was this all: they threw the count of Holstein into a dungeon; and they certainly would have laid their hands on the queen, had she not contrived to escape to a monastery. Knowing the power of the family which had instigated these excesses, and fearing that they were supported by foreign alliances, the king dissimulated, and made use of the most conciliating language, until he had obtained the release of the count. He then summoned a diet, charged the unsuspicious Folkungar with high treason, sent them to Stockholm, and beheaded all of them except one, who was allowed to be ransomed. From this time that ambitious family ceased to have much influence over the realm. To establish his throne still more solidly, he entered into a double matrimonial alliance with Denmark. His son Birger, still a child, was affianced to a daughter of the Danish king, and as she too was a child, she was taken, in conformity with the custom of the times, to the Swedish court to be educated. And soon afterwards Ingeborg, daughter of Magnus, became the wife of Eric Menved.

The tranquillity obtained through these measures enabled Magnus to devote his whole time to the internal administration. Prior to his reign, the local nobles had not hesitated to levy contributions on the peasants. He decreed that whoever took anything from a poor man without paying the value should be visited with rigorous penalties [and thus he earned the name of Ladu-laas, or Barnlock, because he protected the contents of the peasant's barn]. From his brother Valdemar he sustained some trouble; but he crushed the seeds of rebellion by imprisoning that restless prince. To support with greater magnificence, the regal state, he obtained, from the gratitude of his people, a considerable augmentation of his resources. This augmentation consisted in certain returns from the mines and from the great lakes of Sweden. Well did he merit this liberality; for never had the country a greater king.

Birger, the son of Magnus, being only eleven years old at his father's death,

[1290-1307 A D]

the regency devolved on Torkel, a noble Swede. Nothing can better illustrate the merit of Magnus than this choice. At home and abroad Torkel evinced his talents and his patriotism. His expeditions against the Finns, the Karelians, and the Ingrians were crowned with success. But his great object was to render the people happy. [He introduced a law prohibiting the sale of slaves, and in 1295 a codification amendment of the law of Upland was made.] Having reason to fear the interruption of the social tranquillity, Torkel arrested the sons of the late king Valdemar, who could not forget their claims to the throne. But as Birger grew to manhood, he had still more cause of apprehension from Eric and Valdemar, brothers of the sovereign. Both evidently aspired to distinct governments. To strengthen his interests, the former married Ingeborg, daughter of Hakon VI, king of Norway. Seeing that he and Valdemar were acting more openly in pursuit of their treasonable object, yet unwilling to adopt extreme measures, Birger, with the advice of his minister, obtained from them a written pledge never to leave the kingdom, or approach the royal residence without permission; never to conspire against the government; never to maintain more than a given number of armed men; and always to obey the commands of their sovereign.

The princes still continued to plot; and to escape imprisonment, they fled into Denmark. The Danish king, however, being persuaded to abandon them, they took refuge in Norway, were hospitably received by Hakon, and enabled, from their new fiefs of Nydborg and Konghella, to lay waste the neighbouring provinces with fire and sword. A body of troops sent by Birger to repulse them was defeated. A second army was raised, and the king marched in person to chastise his brothers. They were, however, at the head of a large force, not of their own partisans merely but of the Norwegians; and to avoid the effusion of blood a pacification was recommended. They were received into favour on the condition of their swearing obedience to the king; in return he conferred on Duke Eric the fief of Varberg. The next feature of this transaction was the sacrifice of the able and patriotic Torkel. The brothers could not forgive him for thwarting them in their rebellion; and Birger was made to believe the vilest calumnies respecting him. The aged minister was sent to Stockholm and beheaded (1306). At the same time his daughter, the wife of Valdemar, was repudiated. Thus was a long course of public service rewarded.

By this criminal weakness, Birger was righteously left to the intrigues of his brothers. By them he was surprised and made prisoner, together with his wife and children, and forced to resign the crown in favour of Eric. His eldest son, Magnus, escaped, and fled to Denmark, the king of which armed for the restoration of his sister's husband. From this period to the close of Birger's reign there was war, alternated by hollow peace. In 1307 he obtained his liberty, on the condition of his kingdom being dismembered in favour of his brother. To revoke this dangerous act he renewed his alliance with Denmark, and again obtained help; but his proceedings were not decisive, and a new pacification followed, on conditions similar to the preceding, except that Birger was now regarded as the liege superior of his brothers, who did homage to him for their fiefs. Unable to reduce them by force, he had recourse to the usual acts of the base. He pretended great affection for them, and sent them many presents. At length, alluring them to his court at Nyköping, he arrested them in bed, and consigned them to dungeons, with expression of triumphant insult more galling than the perfidy itself. One died of the wounds which he had received in the effort to escape: the other was starved to death.

But from this deed of blood the king derived no advantage. The bodies of the murdered princes, being exposed to the public, roused the wrath of the very numerous party hostile to his government. The civil war was now renewed by Mats Ketilmundsson in behalf of Duke Eric's son. Since the death of Torkel the king had become rapacious, tyrannical, and consequently unpopular. The people, who lamented the fate of the murdered princes, favoured the cause which Ketilmundsson had espoused: the fortresses that still held for the king were soon reduced: Magnus, his son, was made prisoner; and he himself was compelled to seek a refuge in Denmark, where he was coldly received.

Fate had not yet done its worst for this exiled prince. A diet was assembled to choose a successor. Such was the hatred borne towards him and his line that his son Magnus was beheaded. The suffrages of the electors united in favour of Duke Eric's son, a child three years old. Grief the following year (1320) brought Birger to the tomb. Whatever good signalised his reign must be attributed to his able and virtuous minister: his own conduct was dictated by odious vices.

During the long minority of Magnus II, the regency was exercised, by Ketilmundsson, who had contributed so largely to the expulsion of Birger and the execution of the blameless Magnus, the son of Birger. His administration, which continued eighteen years, is mentioned with respect; but it was signalised by no great exploit deserving the attention of history. Both his policy and that of his sovereign, in respect to Skåne, has been related. In the administration of justice and the maintenance of the public tranquillity he was successful. On his demise, Magnus assumed the reins of government; but did not give so much satisfaction as his minister. He undertook an expedition against the western provinces of Russia (then subject to their own princes), influenced only by a wild ambition. The result was not glorious. The taxes which he levied on the people for its support gave rise to complaint. The pope, too, complained that he had appropriated to his own use the money which, in virtue of Olaf the Lap-King's act, should have gone to the Roman treasury. Still his necessities increased: the purchase of Skåne was another channel of expenditure; and though he pledged some of the royal domains, he had still to exact more from his people, including the clergy, than their patience would support. For this cause he was excommunicated by the pope.

Regardless of murmurs, he proceeded in his course: he was distinguished alike for rashness, feebleness, and irresolution. Governed by young favourites, and still more by his queen, who persuaded him that he might do whatever he pleased with impunity, and anxious to place a third crown on his brow (he had inherited Norway in right of his mother), he exhibited at once his silly ambition and his incapacity by embroiling himself with Denmark. So far from obtaining that crown, he lost his own. The diet insisted that he should resign Norway to Hakon, and Sweden to Eric, his two sons. He fled into Skåne; implored the aid of Valdemar Atterdag, and in return ceded that province to the Danish crown. He was enabled by this means and by the support of a party, to carry on a war with Eric. Its ravages were deeply felt; its issue was dubious; and a diet was convoked at Jonköping to avert by a pacification the ruin of the monarchy. Under the mediation of two princes connected with the royal family, it was decreed that the country should be divided between the father and the son: to the former were assigned Upland, the two Gothlands, Vermland, Dalecarlia, with the northern portion of Halland and the isle of Öland; to the latter, Finland, Småland, the southern portion of Halland, and Skåne.

[1350-1365 A.D.]

The indiscretions of Magnus had lost him the hearts of his people, which turned with ardour to Eric IV. This circumstance roused his jealousy and that of his queen, and they are said to have conspired against the life of Eric. Whether he was removed by poison administered to him by his mother, or by the violence of conspirators, or by lawless banditti, or, finally, by natural causes, must forever rest unknown, since ancient annals say nothing on the subject. The only fact that is certain is that Eric died, and that Magnus profited by the event, since it restored him to the monarchy.

It was impossible for this weak and unscrupulous prince to win the esteem of the Swedes. He hated them because they had deposed him; and to be revenged on them he entered into a close alliance with Valdemar of Denmark. Valdemar, to whom he ceded Skåne, became, as we have before related, the willing instrument of that vengeance in the sack of Visby and in other depredations. This was not the way to acquire popularity: he and the whole Danish nation were soon detested; nor was the feeling diminished when the secret transpired of a projected union between the king's son, Hakon, of Norway, and Margaret, the daughter of Valdemar. To prevent this obnoxious alliance, the nobles arose, imprisoned Magnus in the fortress of Kalmar, called on Hakon to assume the administration, and made him promise not only that he would renounce all connection with Denmark but that he would marry Elizabeth, sister of Henry, count of Holstein. Though Hakon II (the sixth of Norway) engaged to fulfil the wishes of the diet, neither he nor his father, who was soon released, had the least intention of doing so. On the contrary, they renewed their connection still more closely with the obnoxious Valdemar. The manner in which Elizabeth was deluded by that monarch, until the marriage of his daughter with Hakon was celebrated, has been already described.

Nothing could exceed the anger of the Swedes, or rather of a considerable faction (for the majority were passive) when they heard of this marriage. Determined to exclude both father and son they invited Henry of Holstein, who was connected with the royal line, to ascend the throne. But Henry was an old man; and he would not risk his tranquillity for an object that he could not long enjoy. He recommended the electors to make choice of Albert duke of Mecklenburg, whose mother was the sister of Magnus. But the duke had no wish to rule a divided, turbulent people; nor did he wish his eldest son to undertake the perilous charge. He had, however, a second son, also named Albert, who had nothing to lose, and whom he recommended to the suffrages of the electors.

Albert arrived at Stockholm early in 1364. That city was in the interests of Magnus, and for a time it resisted; but he forced or persuaded it to capitulate. There he was joined by most of the nobles who were discontented with Magnus. Their first act was to renew the deposition of the one; their next, to confirm the election of the other. Hakon, then in Norway, prepared to invade the kingdom; and Magnus, who had still a party, effected a junction with him. Their army being augmented by a considerable number of Danes, they penetrated into Upland. But Albert, on his side, hastened to oppose them, and in a battle of some magnitude, victory the most decisive inclined to his standard: Magnus was taken prisoner; Hakon was wounded and compelled to retreat with expedition into his own kingdom (1365). The fortresses which held for the two princes were next reduced; two or three of them only made a vigorous defence. But Valdemar of Denmark, whose interests lay in disturbing the kingdom, sent, from time to time, supplies of troops, which harassed the king.

[1365-1386 A.D.]

Peace with that formidable rival was felt to be necessary for the repose of the realm, and it was purchased by the cession of some domains. Among them was the isle of Gothland with Visby the capital. That these cessions were unwillingly made may be easily conceived; and to procure their restoration Albert entered into a close league with the enemies of Denmark. The war was consequently renewed. While his allies assailed other parts of Denmark, he invaded Skåne, a portion of which he reduced. But little time was left him for exultation. Hakon of Norway invaded Sweden, defeated him, and compelled him to throw himself into Stockholm, which was closely invested. In this extremity he proposed an interview, in which the conditions of peace were agreed on. Magnus was enlarged for a ransom of 12,000 marks; and in return for his cession of the Swedish crown, he received as fiefs

Vestergötland, Vermland, and Dalecarlia (1371). He was, however, to have no share in the administration of these provinces, but merely to receive the revenues with the title of governor; and the rest of his days he was to pass in Norway. Lest he should break this, with as much levity as he had broken all his former engagements, sixty gentlemen of his party were to surrender themselves prisoners to Albert if he should again disturb the peace of the realm. He did not disturb it, because he was soon afterwards drowned in crossing a ford (1374).



QUEEN MARGARET OF DENMARK, NORWAY,
AND SWEDEN
(1353-1412)

For some years after this pacification Albert enjoyed comparative security. But he was not popular: he brought over many Germans to share in the spoils of the kingdom; and exhibited in their favour a partiality so gross as much to indispose the nation against him. Insecure as was his possession of Sweden, he raised troops to support

the claims of his nephew, Albert of Mecklenburg, to the Danish throne, in opposition to Olaf, the son of Margaret and Hakon. The enterprise failed: the armament that was sent against the Danes was mostly destroyed by a storm; and there was no disposition to renew the contest.

The gross partiality of Albert for his foreign mercenaries was not the only fault he committed. Having a high notion of the kingly prerogative, he endeavoured to rule without the control of the diet. For his attempt to restrain the privileges of the nobles he would deserve our praise, were not his motives of the most selfish character. The people had still more reason to complain. Not only were they subject to a tyranny odious as that of the nobles, but they were ground to the earth by new imposts, and, what was still more mortifying, for the enrichment of avaricious foreigners. In this state of the public mind, he convoked a diet at Stockholm (1386) and demanded an augmentation of his income. It was not, he observed, adequate to the decent support of royalty; and he solicited one third of the whole revenue, civil and ecclesiastical. Nothing could equal the indignant surprise of the diet at this extraordinary demand. They replied that former kings had

[1370-1389 A.D.]

found the usual revenues enough, not merely for comfort but for splendour; and intimated that if he was straitened the cause lay in the number of foreigners whom he enriched. This intimation might have been expected to produce some good effect; but it had none on this imprudent king except to exasperate him, and to make him resolve that he would wrest by force what had been refused to his solicitations and plunge the kingdom into a ruinous civil war.

SWEDEN, NORWAY AND DENMARK ARE UNITED UNDER MARGARET

At this time Margaret, who had succeeded her son Olaf (1387), was sovereign of Denmark and Norway. To her the malcontents applied for aid, which she would not afford them, unless they acknowledged her for their queen. The condition was accepted: an army of Danes marched into Sweden and was immediately joined by many of the nobles and clergy. The lower classes of the population were indifferent to the result, or if they had any bias it was in favour of Albert — not from any attachment to him but from dislike of the nobles. At Falkoping, in Västergötland, however, a good stand was made by his army, consisting not merely of Swedes but of Germans and many adventurers whom the offer of large pay and the hope of plunder had drawn to his standard. But after a desperate conflict, he was defeated and captured, together with his son (1389). Both were committed to a fortress, where, notwithstanding the efforts of their German allies and those of their own party, they remained above six years; nor did they obtain their release without a solemn renunciation of the Swedish crown. With Margaret, sovereign of three kingdoms, begins a new era in northern history.^b

ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN

Amongst the conspicuous figures belonging to the age which had just closed, a character widely different from most of those which have passed before us claims attention — both from its intrinsic interest and its widespread influence in Europe, and from the fact that the monastic order which was the starting-point of that influence played an important part in the life of Sweden for two hundred years. The fame and influence of St. Bridget of Sweden extended far beyond her own country and century. A typical mediæval saint in the ecstatic simplicity of her faith and her belief in her own visions, she was equally distinguished for benevolence towards her fellows that found a practical vent in the charities which were continued by the order she founded. Vadstena, the chief convent of that order, became the centre of a whole cycle of legendary and historic story, and its history is closely interwoven with that of the Swedish nation. The following brief epitome of Bridget's life is by a Catholic historian:^a

In the month of July (1370) St. Bridget of Sweden came to Montefiascone to present herself to the pope. She was born about 1302 of one of the noblest families of Sweden, and was named Birgitta (Bridget). She was married at thirteen to a young nobleman named Ulf Gudmarson, by whom she had eight children. They made together the pilgrimage to the shrine of Sant Jago in Galicia, and on their return home both resolved to enter religion. Ulf died before he could carry out his plan. Bridget, finding herself a widow, redoubled her austerities and her charities, and a short time after, that is to say about the year 1344, she founded a monastery for sixty nuns and twenty-five brothers of the order of St. Augustine, at Vadstena, in the diocese of

Linköping. She made certain provisions for it, and named it the monastery of the Holy Saviour.

Such was Bridget when she came to seek Pope Urban V and ask his approval of her work. This she obtained. Then she sent word to the pope by Count Nicholas of Nole that if he retired he would commit a great folly and would not finish his journey. Furthermore she declared to Cardinal Beaufort, afterwards pope, in the presence of Alfonso, bishop of Jaen, that when she was at Rome the Holy Virgin revealed to her the following message: "It is God's will that the pope should not leave Italy, but that he should remain until his death at Rome or elsewhere. But if he return to Avignon he will die at once, and render an account to God of his conduct. Bridget told the cardinal of this revelation so that he might send it secretly to the pope in writing; but the cardinal dared not do this, and the sainted widow gave it herself to the pope, written in Alfonso's hand." [The incident gave Bridget the reputation of a prophetess, for Urban returned to Avignon two months later and died in December of the same year.]

After St. Bridget had obtained the confirmation of her order from the pope, she went on to Naples and then to Sicily. On returning to Rome she believed herself to have had a revelation to go to Jerusalem, and although sixty-nine years old she set out with her daughter Catherine. Arriving in the Holy Land she visited all the holy places, among which was always reckoned that of the Annunciation, the house at Nazareth. Bridget returned to Rome and died there in the odour of sanctity, July 23rd, 1373, at the convent of the nuns of St. Clara. The following year her body was taken back to Sweden through her daughter's efforts, and placed in the monastery of Vadstena which Bridget had founded.^c

Bridget's name is attached to various writings of a religious character, the principal of which are her *Uppenbarelser* or *Revelations*, which reflect the ecstatic mysticism of her religious standpoint, while the practical side of her character is represented by the recognition voiced in them of the urgent need of reformation in the church. This book was denounced by the French theologian Gerson, a younger contemporary of Bridget, but was recognised by the council of Bâle, forty years after her formal canonisation.^a

Spread of the Order of Saint Bridget; Vadstena Convent

The order of St. Bridget soon spread itself throughout all the countries of Europe, until finally there were about seventy convents of the order, in which day and night brothers and sisters sang the praises of the immaculate Virgin. The Reformation and freedom of spirit at the end of the preceding and beginning of this century reduced the Birgittine order in number; and of the once widely ramified order there now exist only the religious houses of Altomünster in Upper Bavaria, the "Refuge of Mary" and "Mary's Heart" in the Netherlands, and the "Lion House" at Spetisbury in England. None of these four religious houses has any longer priests of the order.

That which chiefly gave importance to the order was the religious awakening it called forth among the nobles of the North — the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Danes. Bridget understood how to evoke enthusiasm in her equals in station. Even princesses and members of the imperial council let themselves be initiated and were glad to serve as sisters or brothers in the convents. Vadstena and the other Birgittine convents worked beneficially in the three northern kingdoms, by their care of the poor, by scientific research, and by encouraging upright conduct among the inhabitants. The revival of

[1889-1490 A.D.]

mental life is reflected in many books which proceeded from the silence of the convents. The convent of Vadstena was a small highschool. Partly by buying, partly by diligent copying, and partly by presents the library there increased, and in the year 1490 the monks set up a printing press. Theology was the principal study; but philosophy, history, geography, astronomy, medicine, music, painting, and sculpture also received attention. Sisters as well as brothers studied Latin, and also the use of the mother tongue. Many of the brothers sought to extend their education by travelling abroad, especially in Rome, so as later to become teachers in the Vadstena schools. As in Vadstena so in all the Birgittine convents there reigned an active literary life. But Vadstena remained the most important among them. For two centuries it formed the centre of religious life in Sweden.

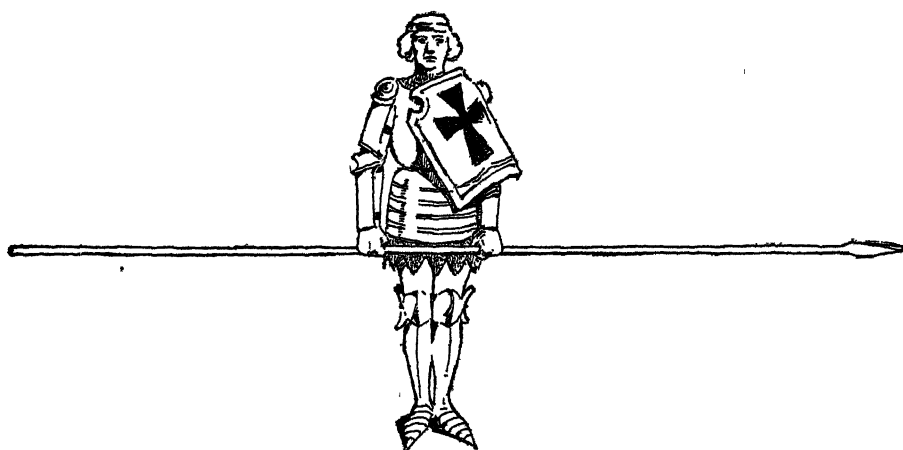
King Albert of Mecklenburg spent great sums in endowing the convents. In them the children and grandchildren of St. Bridget also found their last resting place. The relics of the great saint were held in high honour as long as the Catholic faith blossomed. In 1403 a costly reliquary was made in Stockholm, for which alone 420 marks of pure silver were used; and there was no place of pilgrimage throughout the whole North that could compare with the Birgittine convent, where the most distinguished of every nation contended with foreign pilgrims in showing honour to Bridget. In the year 1403 Queen Margaret knelt at the tomb of the saint, and the year 1406 saw a Scotch bishop of Skeninge come to Vadstena through ell-deep snow. Queen Margaret joined the Birgittine sisterhood; she was followed by the high nobles of the North, who considered it a blessing to hold spiritual relations with the brothers and sisters of St. Bridget.

The old convent church still stands, with its wide porch, its high columns, its five arches gray with age as they were built at the end of the fourteenth century. It is built of Omberger chalkstone, and in the north is known under the name of "Bluestone church." In Catholic times the inside of the church was furnished with thirteen altars for the thirteen priests, of which the high altar, contrary to custom, lay to the west. It had three doors — "the door of forgiveness," by which the faithful entered the church, the "door of atonement" by which the brethren entered, and the "door of mercy" by which the sisters went into the choir. The chief building of the nuns was towards the north and extended from east to west; the monks lived on the south side of the church. Rich donations fell to the convent. Free from taxation and burdens, richly endowed by all the Swedish provinces south of the Dal-Elf, the foundation enjoyed a considerable income. One residence after the other arose around the convent, so that soon there was an entire city. Among the inhabitants of the convent, besides learned men, there were architects, mechanicians, painters, sculptors, and artisans of every kind. Of its monks one became an archbishop, another a bishop.



ENTRANCE TO VADSTENA CHURCH (1568)

The fame of the convent rose to its highest when, after the canonisation of Bridget's daughter Catherine, her remains, which until then had rested in consecrated ground, were raised. The celebration took place in 1489. With all honour the sacred treasure was raised and placed on the altar where it remained till the beginning of the Reformation. The convent was at its zenith, and this day was one of the last great days it witnessed. In 1513 the shrine of St. Catherine was almost completed; the work was, however, never finished, as King Gustavus Vasa used the silver of which it was to be made, and robbed the monks of much more for the needs of the country. It was the first step towards the destruction of the convent of St. Bridget. The year afterward the nuns received an order from King Gustavus to send some monks to Lapland, to convert the people to the Christian faith; in reality he wished to weaken the convent. From 1528 to 1541 we find no entries noted in the records of Vadstena; it was desired that the convent of itself should cease to exist through a want of brothers and sisters. In 1540 the Catholic service was done away with in Vadstena, the archives of the convent and the treasures were removed, and in 1543 the monks were forbidden to wear the dress of the order. At the diet of Soderköping in 1593 the suppression of the time-honoured convent was decreed. The costly shrines containing the remains of St. Bridget and St. Catherine, as well as of St. Eric, were torn down from the altars, and the relics of the saints buried in an unknown place. The nuns were no longer allowed to dwell there; for some time the convent had had no monks. Then the last abbess, Carin Olofsdotter, with seven of her faithful sisters, fled to the convent of their order in Poland. Thus fell this monastery, an honour to the country, and the northern church, the residence of true piety and knowledge; after a famous existence of 240 years the work of the great Saint of Scandinavia was destroyed.^e





CHAPTER VII

THE UNION OF KALMAR

[1397-1523 A.D.]

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE KALMAR UNION

MARGARET possessed masculine keenness of intellect, and subtlety tempered with kindness, together with all the accomplishments of her sex. She was of a dark complexion and masculine in appearance, but pleasing withal, and as well disposed to love as to ambition. She gladly availed herself of any means to weaken the powerful nobility, at the same time ingratiating herself with the clergy by that liberality which has ever been the road to absolute power. She loved Denmark better than Sweden, as the sequel will abundantly show. But she nevertheless strove anxiously to lay the foundations of her power more firmly in this kingdom—the more so as she saw her rule thereby extended over the whole North, from Ladoga and Russia to the northern islands hard by Scotland, and from the uttermost pole southwards to Holstein. In the year 1389, being then in Malmö, she issued, at the request of both archbishops, an admonitory letter to the Laplanders, exhorting them to be converted to the Christian faith, whereof the principal articles were enumerated in the same letter. The abbey of Vadstena had been reduced to ashes in the troublous days of the war. The queen, who had loved the abbess from her childhood up, took the abbey under her protection, and thereafter bestowed many benefits upon it. In temporal matters she proved herself no less vigilant, but in all such things she had at first very great difficulties to contend with.^b

The Scandinavian union, usually called after the place where it was instituted the “Kalmar Union,” owes its existence to the following causes:

When in 1375 King Valdemar of Denmark died without leaving any male

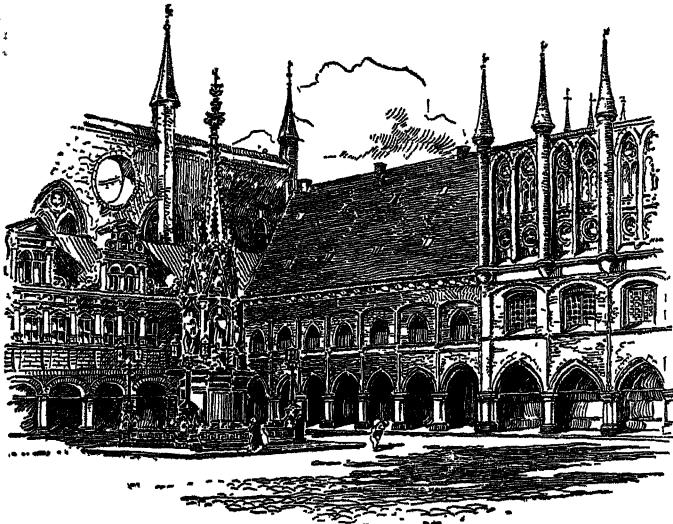
[1376-1385 A.D.]

heirs to the throne, his son-in-law Hakon VII ruled in Norway. His wife was Princess Margaret of Denmark, at that time twenty-two years of age, who four years earlier presented him with a son, Olaf. Clever Queen Margaret successfully used the controversy about votes which soon after raged in Denmark to get Prince Olaf acknowledged king, as early as 1376, and herself appointed his guardian during the time of his minority. Olaf died in his twelfth year, however, and as meanwhile Hakon had also died, Queen Margaret found herself in possession of both the Danish and Norwegian royal crowns.

In all these proceedings the young and enterprising princess had discovered a most active co-operator in the Hansa—the burgomaster of Lubeck, Heinrich Westhof, was her steadfast admirer—and Lubeck had at that

time very considerable influence in all decisions upon northern affairs. The great influence which, since the Peace of the Hanse Towns, Stralsund had possessed over the Danish crown had in 1376 been turned to considerable account in Margaret's interests in the following manner:

Olaf was, as we have stated, acknowledged king by the Hansa, in pursu-



LÜBECK TOWNHALL

ance of the old right to the franchise, and therefore the election (at the beginning very uncertain) was decided according to the wishes of his mother. The Hansa proved itself not less useful when it was a question of checking the plague of the Baltic pirates, who again had been long troubling all the waters of the Baltic Sea. Margaret had applied to the Hansa in this difficulty; and in 1384 made a pilgrimage on foot to Stralsund, and received from the Hanse Towns a promise of strong measures against the pirates, whilst she and the leaders in her kingdom could only pledge themselves to provide nine weakly-manned vessels. In the spring of the same year, about Whitsuntide, the ships of the Hansa engaged the pirates and frightened them away from their haunts, so that trade on the Baltic could be carried on the summer through without fear of disturbance. This was no doubt greatly to the advantage of the whole northern world of commerce, but particularly to Denmark, and was not accomplished without a serious sacrifice on the part of the Hansa. Accordingly, when in 1385 the treaty expired which for fifty years had controlled and protected the north German towns, King Olaf received his own possession, and Denmark thus once more held the key to the Sound.

So far all had gone well for Queen Margaret. But from another direction,

[1263-1289 A.D.]

she incurred, by the further pursuit of her designs, a dangerous opposition. After uniting upon her own head the crowns of Denmark and Norway, she further intended to win for herself supremacy over Sweden; and by this she opened the door to lengthy and burdensome complications.

Since the year 1263, King Albert of the Mecklenburg ducal line had [as we have seen], reigned in Sweden. He had been raised to this eminence in the midst of the Danish Hanse feud, by the influence of the north German towns. This prince Margaret desired to push from his throne; which seemed to her the easier as Albert was little loved by the Swedes and, moreover, because the majority of the more distinguished nobility of his kingdom had declared themselves in her favour. In the year 1289, Margaret opened hostilities.

Not far from Falköping there was an encounter on February 24th, which ended most unhappily for Albert. In a swamp in which his horse had stuck, he was taken prisoner, and was brought thence in fetters to Lindholm. Immediately the whole country declared for Margaret; the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries came over to her side, and all the castles in the kingdom opened their gates to the victor.

THE CONSUMMATION OF THE UNION

Stockholm alone prepared itself for a valorous resistance. In this city, the Germans—drawn thither partly by the attractions of trade, partly in the train of King Albert—formed the majority of the population. For a long time past they had enjoyed extraordinary privileges, probably taking even at that time a very important position in municipal affairs, and they showed no inclination to abandon the cause of their princes and landowners without further reason. They shortly received very powerful foreign aid; when in 1291 Margaret decided to besiege the town, a universal sympathy was aroused throughout Mecklenburg for the oppressed inhabitants of Stockholm and for the fate of the unhappy king. Duke John, Albert's uncle, placed himself at the head of a squadron, to free his nephew from imprisonment. Numerous cruisers were fitted out to attack the Danes. The towns of Wismar and Rostock issued a proclamation, inviting all those "who at their own expense were desirous of buccaneering in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, there to plunder, rob, or burn," to come forward and receive so-called "thieving" or pirating letters of marque; and declaring that Wismar and Rostock harbours were open to them, to receive their plunder and sell it according to their desires. At the same time, Duke John made an announcement that his harbour of Ribnitz would also be open as a refuge to these freebooters. Thus, from all parts, there assembled in Wismar and Rostock a crowd of adventurers who called themselves the Society of Victualling Brothers—a band of roystering pirates, who at first had no other purpose than to carry provisions to the inhabitants of Stockholm, but who soon after made common cause with the other Baltic pirates, took possession of Gotland, and thence continued their plundering expeditions on the sea and along the neighbouring coasts.

The active sympathy which the allied towns Rostock and Wismar showed in these circumstances, placed the Hansa in a curious position. On the one hand, the federation was unwilling to take up arms against Margaret, and was therefore obliged to condemn strongly the action of both towns; on the other, it knew very well that the freedom of King Albert, for which the Mecklenburgers busied themselves assiduously, was the only hope of peace in the

North. Meanwhile Stockholm languished under its third year of siege, nor was there any prospect of the Danes being able to force the town into capitulation. Moreover, the Victualling Brothers acted with such vehemence towards both friend and foe that even the German towns found themselves obliged for three years to give up their expeditions to Skåne, thus leaving the fishery stations on the Sound empty; and "herring became very dear."

At last, in 1394, the Hansa prepared to take decided steps, in order that peace might again reign in the North. To the consternation of the united Victuallers, who had just attacked Malmö and set it on fire, a municipal fleet appeared in the Sound and — Margaret herself having in the meantime opened the way to a treaty of peace — deputies from the Hansa went during Whitsuntide of the following year to Skåne, with the injunction to lay the utmost stress on the release of King Albert. The fact that this embassy was joined by two plenipotentiaries of the Teutonic order could only exercise a most favourable influence on the contemplated negotiations, for the grand master of the order stood in the friendliest relations not only with the Hansa, but also with Queen Margaret herself. Already in 1395 a treaty for an armed truce was signed on the feast of Corpus Christi, after which King Albert was given provisional freedom, and Stockholm was included in the Hansa. During the truce the regulation of other conditions of war was preserved. At the same time, the Hanse Towns engaged themselves, after the three years had elapsed, either to redeliver the king into Margaret's hands, or to pay a ransom fixed at 60,000 marks of fine silver, or to quit Stockholm finally. The treaty comprising all these conditions was to be concluded at Michaelmas, 1398.

The three years elapsed. Directly after he was set at liberty, Albert went to Mecklenburg. Here, as well as in Prussia, he in vain endeavoured to raise the necessary sum for his ransom. Since August 1st, 1395, there had been a powerful Hanse garrison in Stockholm, in readiness for the moment when either Queen Margaret or Albert should try to assume possession of the town. The insolence of the Baltic Victuallers was at length crushed since the Teutonic order had taken Gotland and scattered their bands.

Meantime Margaret had pursued her ends with untiring zeal. First, in order to secure the hereditary succession to Norway and Denmark in her house, the queen, now childless, sent for Eric, son of Duke Wratislaw of Stolpe in Pomerania, her own grand-nephew. By the advice of the council, she pronounced him heir to the united crowns of Denmark and Norway. A similar ceremony followed in Sweden: on the 11th of July, 1396, Margaret's foster-son, according to the native custom, was proclaimed future king on the Mora stone. After such happy results, the queen no longer hesitated to undertake the most ambitious of her schemes — the public proclamation of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden as a united kingdom. The main grounds upon which this political union was to rest were briefly as follows:

The three kingdoms were to be in future under one sovereign; in each of the three a council should take part in the government as before; should the sovereign die without issue, the councillors were empowered to elect a successor. In the event of one of the three states being entangled in a foreign war, the other two pledged themselves to assist. Each of the three was to keep its own laws and privileges; no feud between the three states would be lawful; treaties with foreign princes and towns would have a binding effect upon all three states.

These points were embodied in an act, and at Kalmar, in June of the year 1397, Eric was proclaimed king over Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

[1397-1423 A.D.]

The queen, on her birthday, some four weeks later, issued the document which was to seal the perpetual union of the three kingdoms.

While everything thus conspired to favour Margaret's plans, King Albert saw one hope after another disappear. The ransom could not be raised. Michaelmas, 1398, came ever nearer and nearer. The Hansa pressed him for a decision. At last the burgomaster of Stralsund was sent to interview the king and to bring back from him a definite statement of his intentions as to the Lindholm Treaty. As Albert still replied in an evasive fashion, the towns ceased to interest themselves in his behalf. Accordingly, Stockholm was evacuated and handed over to Margaret; and thus King Albert lost his kingdom.

The decided attitude which the Hansa had maintained throughout these negotiations, and which had not been without its effect in influencing the completion of the Scandinavian Union, was essentially instrumental in at once assuring the increase of friendly relations between the northern royal house and the German seaport towns.

THE HOLSTEIN WAR

Since 1409, Denmark and Holstein had maintained an almost uninterrupted feud. The duchy of Schleswig was the cause of this contention. As early as 1404, when Duke Gerhard of Holstein was engaged in warfare against the Ditmarshians, the crown of Denmark and the counts of Holstein were already contending for the duchy of Schleswig. Two years later, thanks to Margaret's discretion and foresight, a truce was arranged during which the dispute should have been adjusted. But her death, which followed in 1412, leaving the sole government of the kingdom's affairs in the hands of the passionate king Eric, closed the doors against all chance of a peaceable conclusion.

Only two years later, the Ditmarshians, close adherents of the Danish king, declared hostilities against young Duke Henry, Gerhard's eldest son. In 1415, Eric himself appeared at the head of a force—to which Sweden, according to the Treaty of Union, had added troops—and took possession of the entire duchy, with the exception of Schleswig itself, which was strongly fortified. At this crisis, urged by necessity, the Holsteiners seized upon a valuable expedient. They called to their aid the Victualling Brothers, who had long given up the Baltic and withdrawn to the western seas. Letters of marque to the Scandinavian Kingdom were issued, all harbours of Holstein were thrown open to the bold pirates, and in a short time the southern waters of the Baltic were swarming as in former days. It was thus possible for the Holsteiners to engage the enemy with great success both by sea and by land. In the summer of 1416, King Eric was compelled to return to Denmark, all his endeavours to snatch the town of Schleswig from the Holsteiners having been unavailing.^c

During the campaigns of 1417 and 1418, he did not reduce a single fortress (he was too powerful to be openly met in the field), while he lost several, and had even the mortification to see the isle of Femern in the power of his enemies. In 1419, indeed, he recovered that island, and signalled his success by a horrible carnage; but this was his only advantage: reverse after reverse befell both his land and sea armaments. In 1423, he applied to the emperor, the lord paramount of the province, for a confirmation of the judicial sentence which his own chancellor had pronounced. In Sigismund he found one sufficiently disposed to favour him; and a final decision was given that

[1428-1435 A.D.]

the counts had forfeited all right to the duchy. In this decision they would not acquiesce; but the truce which followed enabled him to visit Jerusalem, by way of penance for the massacre which he had perpetrated in Femern. On his return, he found Schleswig and Gottorpeh and the other fortresses still in the power of the counts. The imperial sentence, therefore, had been of no service; and for any tangible advantage, he must trust only to his own resources. With another large army, the equipment of which occasioned no little murmuring in all his kingdoms, especially in Sweden, he invested Schleswig and Gottorpeh. But all his enterprises were destined to be unfortunate.

Scarcely had he opened his trenches, when he received from the Hanseatic League a declaration of war, in terms so absolute as to evince both their self-confidence and their contempt for his power. The blow, though it could scarcely have been unexpected, stunned him so much that he precipitately left the field. He foresaw that his own dominions would soon be invaded. That very year, he had the mortification to see Femern retaken; but, on the other hand, his enemies failed against Flensburg, and he had the good fortune to defeat them at sea, near the entrance of the Sound. Still they were not discouraged; they had evidently resolved on the reduction of Copenhagen — the possession of which enabled Eric to levy a tax on every vessel that passed through the Sound. That tax they felt to be obnoxious: it might be increased *ad libitum* or their vessels might even be excluded altogether from their lucrative traffic in Norway.

In 1428, Copenhagen was again invested by a powerful armament, which the league placed under the command of Count Gerhard of Holstein; and it would have fallen, but for the heroism of the queen Philippa, a daughter of Henry IV of England. She threw herself into it, and by her exhortations, no less than by her example, inspired the garrison with so much zeal that the assailants were at length compelled to retire. Elated by this success, while her husband was raising new supplies in Sweden, she determined to carry the war into the dominions of her enemies; and, with a fleet of seventy-five sail, she invested Stralsund. But on this occasion fortune was not propitious: her squadron was almost entirely destroyed in a long-contested action. In Eric's estimation, this disaster more than counterbalanced her successful defence of Copenhagen; and, without reflecting on his own martial reverses, which had been greater and more numerous than had befallen any general of his age, he yielded to his anger so far as to strike her. This brutality was not to be borne; and the high-spirited queen retired to Vadstena Convent, where she soon after ended her days. Her fate commanded the pity of the Northmen, who had reason to esteem her for her many virtues, especially for the success with which she had so frequently inclined her cruel and capricious husband to mercy.

After her death, new disasters awaited Eric. In 1430, one of his vessels, laden with specie, was captured; the following year, Flensburg capitulated to the count of Holstein; and in 1435, he was glad to make peace with both those nobles and the cities of the League, on such conditions as they pleased to dictate to him. During twenty-six years of war, he had gained nothing; on the contrary, he had lost several of his fortresses; and though these were restored, who was to repay him and his people for the losses which had been inflicted on their commerce — for the perpetual ravaging of their coasts — for the heavy ransom which had been paid for so many captives — for the waste of the national resources — for the dishonour of the Scandinavian arms?

[1432-1435 A.D.]

THE UNION IS SHAKEN ; ERIC RESIGNS HIS CROWN

Internally, the administration of this monarch was no less disastrous. Three or four years before the peace of Vordingborg, many of his people murmured at his oppressive levies of money and troops—the more so, as they were levied only for dishonour. On every occasion, the Swedes, whose detestation of everything Danish was not less than it is at present, distinguished themselves by the loudness of their tone. In addition, they complained that the most lucrative and the most honourable posts were given to the Danes, while themselves were overlooked; that these civil functionaries were universally rapacious; and that the national commerce was ruined by the wanton measures of their king, whose wars had not even the pretext of Swedish good for their object.^d

On Midsummer Day of 1433, the peasants of the Dalecarlian valleys, formerly the Swedish iron country, rose under the leadership of a miner, Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson, against the tyrannous rule of their Danish governor. The complaints of the Swedes against the harshness of the foreign governors sent by King Eric into their country, were of long standing. The whole nation had found heavy the price it paid for the union with the Danish Empire; for the extortions of money and soldiery which Eric considered necessary to his campaign against Holstein seemed endless.

Indignant at this oppression, the Dalecarlians had already in 1432 made complaints through Engelbrechtsson to their king, but their position had not improved. The following year the insurrection broke out. Armed with steel bows and pikes, the Dalecarlians marched through the neighbouring country to storm the castles and drive away the king's bailiffs. Soon the entire provinces of Upland, Vermland, and Södermanland were in revolt. The Swedish council still tried, from dread of the terrors of anarchy, to support Eric; but the nation was no longer to be controlled. On August 16th, 1434, a letter of defiance was despatched from Vadstena to the Danish king. At the beginning of the following year, a council, called at Arboga, declared Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson administrator of the country. Norway and the Hanse Towns received pressing invitations to make common cause with Sweden against Denmark. Eric's position was for the moment very grave. But his good fortune did not yet desert him. In order to throw a sop, in the first place, to the Hanse Towns, which in fact had already threatened to side with Sweden, he hastily concluded the peace of Vordingborg. Then he went to Stockholm, knowing well that he could still count upon the adherence of a not inconsiderable number of Swedish nobles in the council, who would decline to recognise the new order of things and the governorship of Engelbrechtsson. In October, 1435, Eric and the council were already in negotiation, with the result that the union between Denmark and Sweden was re-established, and the king reinstated, with few limitations, in his former position. Engelbrechtsson was now quickly discredited: he was believed to have been bought off by the concession of the fief of Örebro. The office of royal administrator, which had combined in one person the chief civil and military power, was abrogated, and by unanimous decision of king and council, the offices of a high bailiff and a marshal substituted. The first was given to an old friend of King Eric, Christer Nilsson Vasa. But for commander of both the sea and land forces they chose Charles Knutsson Bondé, at that time twenty-seven years of age—a scion of one of the richest aristocratic Swedish families, with a temperament so imbued with the ardent enthusiasm of youth, and so fired with personal ambition, that from that moment he

knew no rest until time and his own exertions had raised him to the topmost pinnacle of power.

The king had left Stockholm in November, to return to Denmark. During the voyage, he was often forced by autumn storms and bad weather to land on the Swedish coast, and had then quietly permitted the crew of his ship to behave as, in war-time, during an invasion — to take by force from the inhabitants cattle for food, and other means of subsistence. This created



COSTUME OF SCANDINAVIAN KING
OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

a universal feeling of bitterness. Besides this, the king had appointed Danish bailiffs in Stockholm, Kalmar, and Nyköping, which caused the old complaints to resound through the land. Suddenly the popular excitement, which had been temporarily allayed, turned the scales and once more allegiance to the king was renounced. In Stockholm, thirty members of the council met to choose an administrator for the kingdom, and this time Charles Knutsson was elected to the post, by a majority of twenty-five votes to five. Thus young Bondé found himself thrust nearer and nearer the goal of his desires. For a time, it is true, he was obliged to share the government with the popular favourite, Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson, who had, with some foresight, been elected joint governor, in order that his numerous admirers should have no cause for discontent. But this association, so irksome to Charles Knutsson, did not last long. On the 27th of April, 1436, Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson was assassinated by a Swedish nobleman on an island in the Hjellmar Lake; and the administrator had now a free hand.

These events in Sweden made the deepest impression on King Eric, ageing as he now was. Too weak and undecided to venture upon a serious attempt to reinstate himself, he gradually lost all hold on the government and all interest in it. Finally, when dangerous outbreaks threatened among the Danish peasantry, he resigned his crowns and kingdoms, and in 1439 took ship for Gotland, never again to return to Denmark. He died in the year 1459, at the age of seventy-four, at Rugenwalde in Pomerania.

THE THREE COUNTRIES ACCEPT CHRISTOPHER (1442 A.D.)

Eric died childless, and immediately upon his deposition the Danish council met to choose a new prince. It was decided that Duke Christopher of Bavaria, a nephew of Eric, should be offered the government. Before the king's deposition, in 1439, Christopher had gone to Lübeck, in compliance with an invitation from the Danish council, which met there. Here the immediate future of Denmark had been discussed. King Eric's rule was declared detrimental to the kingdom. Christopher, in the first place elected to the post of administrator, or manager, only received in the following year the royal Danish crown.

Scarcely had the new king planted his foot firmly in Denmark before he began to covet the land on the farther side of the Sound, where Margaret's work, the Kalmar Union — although much shaken, particularly in Sweden, by the events of the last years — could with prompt assistance still be maintained. At Jönköping there had been, in 1439, a gathering of the Danish and Swedish delegates of the church, to assure Christopher of their allegiance and devotion to the Union. It soon became evident that the influence of the bishops and other church dignitaries was decisive in this matter, and their efforts resulted in Charles Knutsson's being persuaded to resign his office. It may well be that Charles had for a time cherished a vague hope of wearing the kingly crown himself. By the prophecy of a holy nun, whose words were carried from mouth to mouth among the people, he was designated as the future king. In the church at Vadstena a young child declared it saw a shining crown suspended over Charles' head. But a feeling of rectitude seems to have restrained him from stretching out his hand towards that dignity, since the will of the church outweighed the wishes of the laity. Accordingly, after Finland had been assured to him for his lifetime, and the island of Öland mortgaged to him, he resigned his office of administrator, and so left the way to the Swedish throne clear for the Danish king. On October 4th, 1440, the council elected Christopher king. Charles Knutsson remained for a while longer in Sweden, and then betook himself to Finland. He went, to be sure, but not forever. In Norway, where Eric's following was still very considerable, the difficulties were serious, and under better leadership it might well have become formidable. The pendulum, nevertheless, gradually swung round in that country too; and in 1442 Christopher was proclaimed king of Norway, at Opslo (Christiania).

After nearly fifty years of war and tumult the longed-for peace appeared likely once more to descend upon the northern seas. In the Scandinavian kingdom, calm and outward security reigned everywhere. Charles Knutsson lived far from the Swedish capital, in his self-elected and distinguished banishment at Viborg in Finland; and an insurrection which broke out among the peasantry in Zealand and Jutland, about 1444, was quickly suppressed.

Norway remained loyal to its king; and Christopher, proud of the title, had ever since 1442 signed himself King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and Lord of Gotland and Wendland. The sea-robberies of the Victualling Brothers had been put down in 1434, by the exertions of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. The leaders of the antagonistic robber-bands were either put to flight or securely imprisoned. On the Swedish coast, feeble attempts at plunder by a few pirates were occasionally heard of. These pirates were sent by King Eric from his rocky castle of Visby on Gotland, to supplement his means of livelihood: to do lasting harm was no longer in his power. Industry and commerce received a new impetus, and fleets of merchant ships once more sailed peacefully back and forth on their accustomed voyages on the high seas.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK SEPARATE UNDER CHRISTOPHER'S SUCCESSOR, CHARLES KNUTSSON

This calm however was not of long duration. There were constantly marvellous reports of a great conspiracy of princes against the head of the Hanscatic federation, and of plans, which King Christopher was maturing in secret, against Lübeck and the other seaport towns, with a view to their ruin. It is certain that after the year 1441 there was a marked difference in the

[1444-1448 A.D.]

king's behaviour to the Hansa. Whereas formerly he made use of its help against the Dutch, he now ranged himself suddenly on the side of the latter, gave them the most important privileges in trade, and in every way treated them with unmistakeable partiality. All this was merely to put an end to the renewed influence, threatening to become more powerful than ever, which the Hansa exercised throughout the Scandinavian kingdom. As these means were not successful, King Christopher hit upon another policy. An attack upon Lübeck was prepared; the requisite funds had already been collected in secret, and several Bavarian and other princes had been won over to the plan, which was to be carried out in 1448. But at the commencement of this year, Christopher died suddenly. "His death," wrote the Lübeck chronicler, "defeated the wicked project of humiliating and destroying the Hanse Towns."

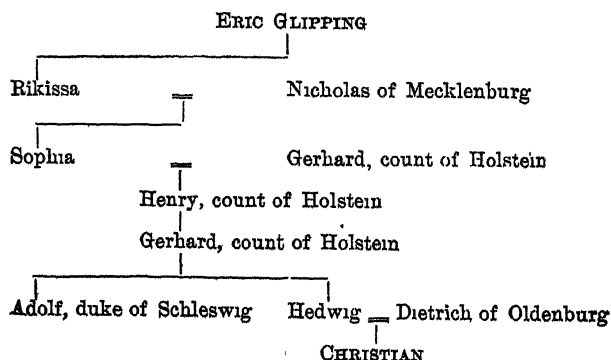
But other consequences linked themselves to Christopher's death. The continuance of the Scandinavian union was now again in question, and once more dark clouds gathered from all sides over the northern heavens. Scarcely four months had elapsed since Christopher's death, when Charles Knutsson re-appeared in Stockholm. He considered that the moment had arrived when the royal crown must fall to his share; and he was not mistaken. A council hurriedly summoned, elected him to the throne by an overpowering majority; and he was crowned in June of the same year, the separation of Sweden from Denmark being announced at the same time.

Meanwhile, Christopher having left no heirs, a German prince was once more called to the Danish throne — Count Christian of Oldenburg, a nephew of Duke Adolf of Holstein. On the 28th of September, 1448, he was formally acknowledged, and thus the foundation of the royal house still reigning in Denmark was laid.¹

UNDER CHRISTIAN THE THREE KINGDOMS ARE AGAIN UNITED

The question was now only whether Norway would henceforward be subject to one of the two kingdoms, or whether it would choose a sovereign for itself. For the last contingency, a by no means inconsiderable party in the north had already declared itself, at the same time alluding in unmistakeable fashion to the deposed king Eric, whom it might possibly be desirable to receive again as king. Meantime, another opinion quickly claimed attention, according to which the welfare of the country would best be served by uniting Norway with Sweden and acknowledging Charles Knutsson as the liege lord

¹ Descent of Christian I of Denmark.



[1440-1457 A.D.]

of both countries. This view finally prevailed, and before the end of that year (1449), the Norwegian crown was entrusted to the king of Sweden.

In the general uncertainty of the situation, such a settlement could not last. Soon a strong party sprang up in Norway for Christian of Denmark, which actually succeeded, in the following year, in declaring Charles' election null and void and handing over the crown to Christian. The young king received the news with delight; but a whole world of hope must have opened out for him when he learned, almost simultaneously, that in Sweden, too, the strength of Charles' position was declining. Without hesitation, he now raised the banner of the union, and prepared to reinstate the old Scandinavian federation, after the fashion of his predecessors, at the point of the sword.

The war now kindled between the two monarchs lasted, with slight interruptions, until the year 1457. Charles was at first stubbornly resolved against yielding, though the ground resounded more and more hollow beneath his feet and treachery and disloyalty surrounded him. At last he gave way. The hatred with which he was pursued by the archbishop Oxenstierna and the clergy sapped the last of his strength. He forsook his kingdom, and fled at night, on the 24th of February. A ship laden with gold and silver took him to Dantzic, where his safety was guaranteed, and where he remained seven years. Four months after Charles' departure, Christian received the royal crown in the cathedral at Upsala. The three kingdoms were thus once more united.

It was then exactly sixty years since the foundation of the Kalmar Union. In June, 1397, Eric, the first king of the union, was crowned; in June, 1457, the coronation feast of Christian was celebrated. What changes had there not been throughout Europe within this period! What disastrous wars the lust of power in Margaret's successor had forced on every country between Finmarken and the Eider! They were all fought for the sake of that scheme of union which sprang from the heroic mind of the young queen, but which, manipulated by her with wise deliberation, changed its character after the time when her foster son Eric seized upon it with his undisciplined zeal, and continued to change, until finally there was little left of it but its mere outer husk. The deeper feelings which should have desired coherence for reasons of state policy never awoke in the minds of the generality of the Scandinavian peoples; instead of the anticipated union, that unquiet party spirit ensued, which through its resultant—the constant change of those in power—as well as through the ebb and flow of public opinion, would have inoculated with poison the character of any nation, no matter how sound or healthy by nature.

These Scandinavian convulsions had scarcely exercised any influence over the neighbouring countries. The relations of England to Norway were of a purely commercial order, exclusive of political interests. At Novgorod, the old border quarrels still continued, which now and again gave an incentive to the Swedes for invading Russian territory—without any definite result, however. Finally, the Teutonic order had since the beginning of the fifteenth century been too busy with its own affairs to be able to take more than a very slight part in those of the far North.^c

The capitulation which Christian I had signed on his election may afford us some idea of the limits within which, by the constitution, the royal authority was confined. Christian recognised the crown to be purely elective. Unless he had direct issue, none of his heirs could lay claim to any portion of his property, personal or real. He engaged never to call any foreign prince into Denmark, and never to pension one, without the express consent of the

[1448 A.D.]

rigsraad, or council of the kingdom. Without that consent he was not to undertake any war, or make peace, or impose any tax, or confer the government of any fortress: nay, by the advice of that body he was to regulate his court. Other regulations of the same nature would have converted the government into what it was meant to be—a pure aristocracy, or rather oligarchy—had such compacts been of much avail. But they were always violated by the crown, for the plain reason that they were inconsistent with the existence of an executive.

The power thus arrogated by the rigsraad, of electing a sovereign without the consent of the nobles, prelates, and people—that is, without the inter-



ARISTOCRATS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(After an old print)

vention of a diet—is not the least striking illustration of the progress made towards an oligarchy in Denmark. If there was one custom more ancient and more obligatory than another, it was this, that without the concurrence of deputies from all the orders of the state—the church, the nobles, the rural gentry, and even the peasantry (the municipal corporations were of more recent admission)—there could be no election. This custom, indeed, had existed in full vigour down to the Union of Kalmar. As a whole multitude could not leave the country, necessity demanded that the suffrage should be confided to a few deputies (never exceeding thirty), who were to meet other deputies from Sweden and Norway at Halmstad, or some other place, where all might conveniently assemble. The trust was soon claimed as a right; the precedent was appealed to when there was no concurrence of other states; and, unfortunately for the liberties of the people, the claim was not resisted when the circumstances which had led to the trust no longer existed. Thus, when Eric of Pomerania fled to the isle of Gotland, the rigsraad assumed the right of offering the crown to Christopher of Bavaria; nor do we read that the assumption was condemned by the rest of the nation. On the present occasion, when that assumption was so much more glaring, there was still the

[1457-1468 A.D.]

same silence. In subsequent elections, down to the reign of Frederick III — after the union had ceased to exist, and both Sweden and Denmark elected, as before, three separate rulers — the four orders of the state, indeed, were present by their deputies, but they were present as spectators merely; the rigsråd performed the real business of the election. A similar innovation had been introduced into all the countries, except Poland, where popular suffrage once existed. Thus, the great dignitaries of Germany — the seven or eight hereditary officers of the imperial household — had usurped the right of the nobles and freemen. Thus, also, in Spain, the immediate descendants of Pelayo, originally chosen by all the assembled warriors, were soon chosen by a few. In Denmark, the multitude present at an election had, perhaps, for ages, or at least prior to the reign of Christopher the Bavarian, done little more than approve the choice made by the leading nobles.

In 1457 the three northern crowns were again on the same brow; but the wearer soon found one of them too heavy for his ease. Christian VI made the most ample concessions to the Swedish clergy. In return, they were the chief means of instituting a process against Charles, whose possessions, on his non-appearance to the citation, were forfeited to the actual monarch. By revoking some of the grants which Charles had made to his creatures, Christian suddenly found himself in possession of ample revenues. The exiled prince endeavoured by alliances to open a way for his return; but the victor, too, could make allies, even in the regions where Charles had sought refuge — among the Livonian and Teutonic knights. It was not from foreign aid, but from the acts of Christian himself, and, above all, from the natural inconsistency of the Swedes, that the exile could hope for a change. Different circumstances tended to embroil the reigning king with the church. In the first place, he had a long and angry dispute with the pope respecting the presentation to the see of Trondhjem. The chapter, under his influence, elected one churchman; the pope nominated another; and, though the dispute was carried on for many years, the holy see triumphed. Next, Christian did not show to the papal legate, who was sent into the north to raise money by the sale of indulgences, the respect due to so confidential a messenger of the pontiff; on the contrary, he insisted on participating in the profits of the traffic, and to a certain extent attained his object. Again, he laid forcible hands on some money held by the Dominicans of Stockholm, on the pretext that it belonged to the fugitive Charles. Next, on very slight suspicion, he put some innocent men to the torture, on the charge of corresponding with the exile. He imposed taxes, apparently without the sanction of a diet; but had he obtained its sanction a hundred times, the collection would not have rendered him the less unpopular. Even the excellent police regulations which he published gave offence, and properly so, since they issued not from Stockholm, or any Swedish city where a diet was held, but from Copenhagen. But what most operated to his disadvantage, was his disputes with the very man who had raised him to the throne — the archbishop of Upsala. He went so far as to commit that princely churchman to a prison in Copenhagen. The clergy took fire at what they termed a bold invasion of their rights, and the pope menaced him with excommunication if he did not liberate his prisoner. He persisted, however, and with as much injustice as impolicy, refused to take sureties for the appearance of the prelate to answer any charge that might be urged against him.

Seeing that nothing was to be obtained from the justice of Christian, Ketil Carlsson, bishop of Linköping and nephew of the primate, published a manifesto in which he denounced the conduct of the king, who, as he had

little difficulty in proving, had in some respects broken his compact with the Swedes. The bishop, therefore, released them from their oath of allegiance, and still further imitated his uncle's example by a recourse to arms. At the outset he was defeated and compelled to flee into the wilds of Dalecarlia; but being pursued thither by the royal troops, his knowledge of the localities enabled him to triumph in his turn, to follow the king to Stockholm, and besiege him there. As the sea was open, Christian, leaving a garrison in the citadel, returned to Copenhagen. By the victorious, or, as they called themselves, the national party, Charles Knutsson was recalled and restored to the throne, while the Danish garrison was so vigorously pressed as to be compelled to surrender.

THE LAST CONFLICTS OF CHRISTIAN'S REIGN

It was now that Christian perceived the error which he had committed, in quarrelling with the only man who could maintain him on the throne.



FIFTEENTH CENTURY ARCHERS

From this moment he determined to smother his resentments, and to act with policy. He therefore sought a reconciliation with his prisoner, the archbishop of Upsala, who, as the price of liberty, readily entered into his views, and preserved no angry feeling for the indignities which he had sustained. Retiring to Sweden, he declared openly against Charles, whom he charged with all the troubles of the country. Fortunately for his views, his nephew Ketil had already quarreled with the restored monarch, and was anxious to send him a second time into exile. The union of temporal with spiritual arms soon effected the object. Charles, frequently defeated, was compelled to renounce the Swedish crown; but in one respect he was more fortunate than on the former occasion — he received for his support the government of Finland, with the castle of Rosenberg for a residence.

The primate now became the real sovereign of the country, and he ruled it with a vigour that no king had attempted. This vigour was hateful to the

[1466-1470 A.D.]

nobles, who could not bear a master: they began to murmur; but none was bold enough to assail the formidable churchman, until Nils Boson Sture, one of the leading magnates, ventured to arraign the conduct of the administrator. To escape the vengeance which he had provoked, he withdrew to Viborg, of which his friend Eric Axelsson, a member of the great family of Tott, was governor. There the two concerted the means of humbling the man to whom Christian had entirely abandoned the exercise of power. In the next diet, held at Vadstena (1466), the adherents of both talked so freely that the primate, in alarm, sought the aid of Christian, who had quietly watched the progress of events, in the hope of benefiting by the distraction of the hostile parties. Deputies from the diet met those of the Danish king, and, as before, a resolution was taken to maintain inviolate "the ancient and precious union of Kalmar." No effort, however, was made to recall Christian, through the opposition of another member of the Tott family, Ivar Axelsson, who, having quarreled with him, married a daughter of the exiled Charles, and threw all the weight of his party into the national scale. Its great heads, the Stures and the Axelssons, declared that they would not hear of a Danish connection; that they would obey only Charles, or some administrator elected by the voice of the diet. Through their opposition, the primate was compelled to resign that dignity to Eric Axelsson. From this moment his influence was at an end. He proceeded, indeed, to Copenhagen, and obtained troops; but his operations proving disastrous, he retired to the isle of Öland, where he shortly afterwards terminated his restless life. With him disappeared for a time (in such a country nothing could be permanent) the influence of the Danish party. Charles was invited by Axelsson to reascend the throne; and the invitation was eagerly accepted by the sexagenarian, who proceeded, with all the ardour of former years, to reconstruct the edifice of power which the breath of a moment might overturn.

That Charles should long remain without rebellious subjects, was not to be expected. Eric Nilsson, of the family of Oxenstierna, and Eric Carlsson, of the family of Vasa, refused to acknowledge him, and joined the prelates who were friendly to the Danish connection. After some fruitless attempts at negotiation, both parties took the field. For some time the arms of Charles were unfortunate, and no doubt was entertained that his rival would reascend the throne; but in the chiefs of the Sture family he had generals so able, and resources so ample, that the fortune of the war was changed. The Danish troops were so signally defeated that any open attempt to seize the sovereignty would have been treated as wild. Recourse was therefore had to negotiation; but it failed, through the influence of the Stures, who, perceiving how necessary they were to the reigning king, exercised a larger degree of power than himself. The death of Charles, in 1470, did not diminish it. In his last will, he left to Sten Sture the high post of administrator. The choice of course, required confirmation by the diet; and some nobles, among whom was Eric Carlsson, endeavoured to prevent it. But, though he placed himself at the head of a considerable body of Danish troops and of as many natives as were favourable to the union, he could effect nothing against the Stures, aided as they were by the Axelssons and by the new archbishop of Upsala. Both Ivar and Eric Axelsson had recently married into the family of the deceased king—the one a daughter, the other a sister—and this alliance, coupled with the lucrative dignities which it brought them, will explain their adherence to the national party. Eric Carlsson was defeated. Equally fruitless were the efforts of Christian to attain by negotiation what could not be attained by arms. In great wrath, he again betook himself to

the physical argument; but, though he had the advantage for a moment, his followers were so roughly treated before Stockholm (October, 1471) that he returned home with the full resolve no more to employ violent means to regain his sovereignty. From 1474 to 1477, he frequently negotiated with the senators; but the rulers of Sweden were too fond of power to resign it into his hands, or into the hands of any other king. In much vexation of spirit, he adopted the wise resolution of interfering no more in the affairs of that kingdom.

These everlasting disputes with Sweden were not the only bitterness which Christian was destined to swallow. He found rivals as troublesome as Charles Knutsson in his own family. Adolf, duke of Schleswig and count of Holstein, uncle of King Christian, died in 1459. As he left no issue and had no kinsmen—for with him the great family branch to which he belonged was extinct—the important question arose, Who shall inherit these fiefs? The question involved some great principles of feudal law. Schleswig, as a Danish fief, would indisputably have reverted to the crown had not the last instrument of investiture declared it hereditary and transmissible to heirs general, with the concurrence of the principal estates, however. In regard to Holstein, there were not wanting legists who declared that it was a masculine fief; that it could only follow the Salic law of inheritance; that Christian and his brothers, being sons of Hedwig, the sister of Adolf, therefore had no claim; and that the inheritance devolved on Otto, count of Shauenburg, who descended in a right line from the original counts of Holstein. There can be no doubt that, by the feudal law of Germany, this argument was valid; but that law had never been fully recognised in these provinces, the local constitution of which left much to the decision of the estates.

Otto was not slow to urge the claim. The best course, perhaps, would have been for Christian to enter into possession of the duchy, and either leave the countship to Otto for some equivalent, or purchase the claims of that prince to the latter province. But the matter, in itself sufficiently jarring, was complicated by two circumstances. In the first place, Christian himself, before his accession to the crown, had, to tranquillise the people of Schleswig, agreed that the province should never be united with Denmark. Next, the two states, which had so much influence in the choice of a ruler, believing that, from their proximity, union would be their best policy, agreed, in an assembly at Rendsburg, never to follow separate interests, but in all things to act as if they were component parts of the same political system. Whatever justice the claims of Otto might possess, he could not hope to succeed against so powerful a rival, still less could he indulge the vision of inheriting both provinces. Christian lost not a moment in urging his claim as the proximate heir of Adolf; and, with the view at once of flattering the estates, and of preventing the cause from being taken before the imperial tribunal, which he well knew would be adverse to him, he left the decision entirely to them. He did more: he consented, in the event of his election, to conditions which virtually rendered these provinces independent of any ruler. The result was no longer doubtful: in March, 1460, he was elected duke of Schleswig and count of Holstein.

Some of the conditions to which we have just alluded may surprise the reader. The king acknowledged that he had been elected duke of Schleswig and count of Holstein by the free choice of the estates, not as king of Denmark, but purely through the good will of the electors. He agreed that his descendants could only succeed in virtue of a similar election, and that the estates should forever enjoy the right of choosing their princes. He prom-

[1460-1473 A.D.]

ised to levy no tax without the sanction of the estates, nor to compel any inhabitant to follow his banner beyond the confines of the two provinces. Whenever he should come into the country, he engaged to pay for whatever his suite might consume. He engaged to ratify whatever the grand bailiff of Schleswig and the marshal of Holstein, in concurrence with the senate of either province, might do during his absence. He exempted from custom the commodities which the clergy and nobles might require for their own use. These and other conditions he not only swore to observe, but, on the requisition of the estates, caused some of his most distinguished subjects to guarantee that observance.

Yet, with all these restrictions, there was some advantage in the possession of these provinces. They formed a natural bulwark, on the German side, to the Danish monarchy. An enemy advancing in that direction would be sure to be assailed by two warlike peoples, whose fortresses could not be reduced before aid was brought from the Danish provinces. Through them, a passage would always be open to the Danish troops, whenever they took the field against a southern enemy. For these reasons, Christian was extremely anxious to make this acquisition secure. He persuaded Count Otto to renounce all claim to the succession for a considerable sum of money, and for the possession of three bailiwicks in Holstein. This arrangement was approved by the emperor Sigismund. As his two brothers, Gerhard and Maurice, might also trouble him or his descendants, he prevailed on them to renounce their claim, in consideration of 40,000 florins, and of his ceding to them the domains which he inherited conjointly with them in the lordship of Oldenburg. Having received the investiture from the hands of the bishop of Lubeck—a see which had enjoyed that privilege about thirty years, in virtue of an imperial grant—he called on the city of Hamburg to do him homage as count of Holstein; and the call was promptly obeyed.

But these measures, secure as the monarch deemed them, contained the germs of future strife. First, his two brothers disagreed about the limits of their respective domains in Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. Victory declared for Gerhard; and the peace of 1463 gave the former territory to him and the latter to Maurice. When Maurice died, the guardianship of his infant son, and the administration of Delmenhorst, fell to Gerhard, who soon proved himself one of the most restless spirits of the age. His resources being thus augmented, he demanded that portion of the 40,000 florins which yet remained unpaid; and when, from the royal necessities, it could not promptly be paid, he seized some castles in Holstein. Christian was then embarrassed with the Swedish war; and to satisfy his importunate brother, he ceded to him, in 1467, the revenues of Schleswig and Holstein for four years, with the government of those provinces. Gerhard, therefore, assumed the title of administrator of both; but his sway was so rapacious, so tyrannical, so faithless to the interests of the sovereign, that the latter was compelled to seize his person, and to regain by force of arms the fortresses which had been seduced from their allegiance. In other respects Christian took no advantage of his brother, whom he paid in full, and released when sureties had been given that the latter would not again molest him, his allies, or his subjects. The prince, however, had not been long at liberty before he resumed his intrigues; and, in 1473, he entered Schleswig at the head of an armed force. But the appearance of the king sufficed to disperse his troops; some of the chief rebels were punished, but he himself contrived to escape. Placed under the ban of the empire, he offered his services to one of a kindred spirit, Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. On the fall of that prince, he served with honour in the

was between England and France, and ended his days in a manner characteristic of the age — on a pilgrimage to Compostella.

Christian himself was not, in this respect, above his age. Early in 1474, he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, to procure absolution from a vow which he had made to visit the Holy Land. Assuming the black habit of pilgrimage, with cross and staff, and accompanied by some bishops, nobles, and knights, he proceeded on his journey, and was everywhere nobly entertained. The emperor of Germany, the archduke of Austria, the duke of Milan, and the pope, vied with each other in doing honour to the monarch of Scandinavia. This journey was not without its uses. In the first place, he had the good fortune to reconcile the duke of Milan with the emperor Frederick. From the latter monarch he obtained the cession, or rather the confirmation, of Ditmarsh (since it had been ceded to Denmark early in the thirteenth century, to Valdemar II by the emperor Frederick II), a region bordering on Holstein and Stormarn, and hitherto, from its inaccessible situation, enjoying perfect independence. If the gift itself was of no great value, since the people could not become his subjects until they were subdued, the ducal title which he received, with the honours and privileges of prince of the empire, were not to be despised. But the greatest boon was one for which two, at least, of his predecessors had applied in vain — permission from the pope to found a university in his dominions. The “mundane sciences,” as they were termed, might have been taught without the papal sanction; but for theology, a formal bull was requisite. The archbishop of Lund was ordered to prepare the statutes; and the establishment was opened with great pomp in June, 1477. It was honoured with many important privileges, but was not well endowed before the reign of Christian III. Its benefits were soon apparent: Danish youths were no longer sent to Cologne, or Paris, or Bologna; and the influx of foreign students, from Iceland to north Germany, not only diffused money in the capital, but greatly refined the manners of the people.

Christian was not inattentive to foreign alliances. In 1456, he signed the first treaty with France. His object was to obtain support against the apprehended hostilities of England, the commerce of which both he and his predecessors were anxious to annihilate in the north of Europe. The alliance with France was so far useful that the interference of that power more than once saved him from hostilities. Thus, in regard to Scotland, the annual contribution of 100 marks which Alexander III had agreed to pay the kings of Norway for the possession of the Hebrides, had never been punctually sent. When Christian ascended the throne, he found the arrears considerable enough to justify negotiation on the subject. The Scottish king, James III, having neither the inclination nor the power to pay the arrears, war would have been inevitable but for the interference of the French king, who negotiated a marriage between James and Margaret, daughter of Christian. The dowry of the princess was to be 60,000 Rhenish florins, besides a total cancelling of the arrears. The position of the two monarchs was thenceforth changed, the Dane becoming the debtor of the Scot — 2,000 florins only were paid; and for the rest, the Orkney and Shetland isles were given in pledge. From that time (1469), both possessions remained with the Scottish crown.

This monarch died in 1481. By his queen, Dorothea, widow of his predecessor, Christopher III, he had issue — besides the princess Margaret, four sons, two of whom preceded him to the tomb. The third, Hans or John, was recognised as his successor while a child. In 1478, this prince had been married to Christina, daughter of Ernest, duke of Saxony. The fourth son,

[1481-1497 A.D.]

Frederick, who was created duke of Schleswig and Holstein, succeeded Hans on the thrones of Denmark and Norway.

THE STORMY REIGN OF HANS

Hans ascended, without opposition, the throne of Denmark, but not those of Norway and Sweden, though by the estates of both kingdoms he had been solemnly recognised as the successor of his father. Two years elapsed before he could prevail on the Norwegian deputies to elect him. The grounds of this reluctance may be sought in the wish of the nobles and landowners to obtain for themselves as many new privileges as they could from a monarch eager to govern them, and still more in the intrigues of Sten Sture, the administrator of Sweden, who, not satisfied with the government of one country, aspired to that of Norway. When, by promises and bribes Hans did attain the crown, he obtained but little power. The conditions, or, as they were called, the capitulation, which he was compelled to sign, left the administration and the revenues of the country in the hands of the aristocracy.

In regard to Sweden, sixteen years of intrigues, of negotiation, and of secret or open hostilities, were necessary before he could secure the crown; and we shall soon perceive that, when he did obtain it, his possession of it was brief. Sten Sture had tasted the sweets of power, and he would not surrender them without compulsion. Such compulsion was long difficult, for though the church, or rather her dignitaries, were generally in favour of the Danish connection, there was a strong native party which detested everything Danish and everything foreign; and by its aid, no less than by his own talents, which were of a high order, he succeeded, during the long period we have mentioned, in baffling every effort of a great monarch to hurl him from his post. Not that several diets were not friendly to the claims of Hans; that of Kalmar, for instance (1483), elected him, but left to the next diet the confirmation of that election. When that diet met, Sture prevailed on it to insist on the restitution of Gotland, as a necessary preliminary. To this condition Hans was unable to consent; the Danish estates, indeed, would not have permitted it. At another time, the administrator, who had been induced to meet the king, insinuated that, if the isle of Öland were ceded, the Swedish deputies would desist from their views on Gotland, and confirm the election. The credulous king surrendered the island, but found that he was not one step nearer to the object of his ambition. In revenge of what he called the rebellion of the people, he sometimes instigated the Russians to lay waste Finland with fire and sword. By this nefarious policy, he hoped so to embarrass the administrator and the national party that they would be compelled to solicit his interference. In the meantime, his own party, consisting not merely of all who favoured the Union of Kalmar, but of the personal enemies of the administrator's family, endeavoured to place him on the throne. In 1494, the senate decreed that Sweden could no longer remain without a king; but this decree, through the address of Sture, had no effect.

Hans now lost all patience (1496), and prepared to support his claims by force of arms. The opportunity was, in another respect, favourable. The Russians had just desolated Finland; the Swedish generals sent to oppose them, being unprovided with adequate means, loudly condemned Sture, and from that moment passed over to the army of the Danish king. Even one of the administrator's family, Svante Sture, who had zealously supported his kinsman, followed to the same side. In 1497 the senate, being convoked at Stockholm, accused him of governing the state rather for his own advantage

[1497-1501 A.D.]

than for that of the country. The charge, indeed, was baseless, since he was one of the best regents the nation had ever had; but it served the purpose of the members, who passed upon him a sentence of deposition. To that sentence, however, he paid little regard. On the contrary, in a public manifesto, he accused the senate of all the evils which the country had sustained, and declared that, as he had not received his authority from it, but from a general meeting of the estates, so to the estates only should he hold himself responsible for his acts. In revenge, the senate invited the king to wrest the crown from the hands which withheld it. With a powerful armament, Hans reduced Kalmar, where he received the homage of the greater part of that body. At this time Sture was besieging the primate in Upsala; but hearing of the king's advance towards Stockholm, he hastened to that city. Though his losses had been severe, he still found himself at the head of ten thousand men, with the assurance of a far greater reinforcement from Dalecarlia. That reinforcement, however, was defeated by the Danes; a sortie from the citadel of Stockholm had no better success; and Sture, with all his courage, was at length compelled to submit. Yet he obtained honourable terms. He received, by way of fief, the two Bothnias and Finland, with some fortresses. At the coronation, which was celebrated at Upsala with much pomp and amidst much rejoicing, he was invested with the high dignity of grand master of the kingdom; while his kinsman, Svante Sture, was created marshal. In return, he swore unbounded fidelity to Hans; and, like the rest of Sweden, recognised Prince Christian, Hans' eldest son, who had already been recognised by Denmark and Norway, as heir to the Swedish crown.

The administration of Sten Sture had been peculiarly agreeable to the great body of the people, though distasteful to the clergy and the leading nobles. For this reason, Hans treated him, for some time, with marked attention; and to screen him from the vengeance of his enemies, among whom the primate was the most active, guaranteed him from all past responsibility by letters of abolition. Yet, in spite of this instrument, the archbishop obtained the papal authority to proceed against him in the ecclesiastical tribunals; and to secure himself, he hastily withdrew into Finland. The following year Hans returned to Sweden, and endeavoured by gifts and benefits to secure the attachment of all classes and individuals. For a while he was, indeed, eminently popular. His queen was crowned with much splendour at Upsala; and with equal solemnity, the succession of his son Christian was confirmed. But the futility of such acts has been apparent enough in the present chapter, and will be more apparent as the reader proceeds.

The popularity in question was as brief as it was sudden. Conceiving that he had now less need of Sten Sture's support, and instigated by that nobleman's enemies, Christian resumed several of the grants which he had made or confirmed in his behalf. The other quietly surrendered the governments of Åbo, Niflet, and some other domains; but he was not the less determined to wait his day of revenge — a day which the frequent absences of the king would necessarily hasten. He well knew the fickleness of his countrymen; he knew that the great body of them were hostile to the Danish yoke, and that the discontented nobles would comprise all who were excluded from royal grants. Two or three arbitrary acts on the part of the royal officers — one, the execution of a vassal belonging to him, without even the form of a trial — soon converted the loyalty of the people into indifference, or even dislike. The king, too, was taught to distrust the noblest of his new subjects; and it was Swedes who thus instructed him. His conduct naturally produced the same feeling on the other side, and that feeling was disposed to revive

[1501 A. D.]

every rumour unfavourable to him. It was asserted, for instance, that he was still instigating the Russians to devastate Finland — a charge sufficiently absurd. That his suspicions of Swedish fidelity should hourly deepen, was to be expected. That people could never be loyal, even to its own princes; to a foreigner, belonging to a nation always detested, and not unfrequently giving reason for umbrage, it bore a sentiment more unfavourable than want of loyalty. Sten Sture was the man whom, above all others, Hans was led to suspect. He was told that his vassal was intriguing to supplant him; that he was in secret communication with the Dalecarlian peasantry, who were peculiarly hostile to foreign domination; and that he had prepared a strong body of those men, with the determination to intercept and perhaps to kill the monarch.

In this critical position, the king (1501) convoked the estates-general; expressed his unconsciousness of having injured any of his subjects, and his readiness, if he had done so, to make any compensation that arbiters, chosen by the diet itself, might adjudge; and finally accused Sten Sture of treason. The precipitate departure of that noble, without taking leave of the king, had given some colour to the charge — his subsequent conduct deepened it. When required by the deputies to appear and defend himself, though a royal safe-conduct and hostages for his security were sent to him, he appeared with a body of horse formidable enough to alarm the king. Relying on this force, he did not so much vindicate himself as become accuser in his turn. Hans heard his complaints with much coolness, and replied to them with great moderation — so great, indeed, as to command the approbation of the senators, and to draw from many of them new assurances of fidelity. That there was some hypocrisy in this demonstration, may be inferred from the ease with which Sture caused armed bodies of men to approach the capital. The king, more than ever convinced that his life or his liberty was in peril, shut himself up in the citadel, and refused to meet his too powerful vassal in any other place. The other was equally unwilling to trust himself into the royal hands. This mutual distrust, which deepened into hatred, was fatal to the dominion of Hans. By the native party, a confederation of senators and deputies was formed at Vadstena, and one of its avowed objects was to defend the liberties of the country against the tyranny of the Danish king. This meeting was attended by a powerful Norwegian chief, Knud Alfsson, whose connections and whose attachments were Swedish, and who readily undertook to secure for the party the co-operation of many leading nobles. It was also determined that a league should be formed with the Hanse Towns, or at least with Lübeck, which had been the open or secret enemy of Denmark. The appearance of things was so menacing, that Hans sailed privately for Copenhagen, leaving his queen Christina and about a thousand of his adherents to defend the citadel until his return.

Whatever the necessity may have been which dictated this precipitate departure, it was immediately followed by the entire subversion of Hans' authority. A new assembly of deputies and senators at Vadstena sent him not merely a formal renunciation of their allegiance, but a warlike defiance. Hostilities under the direction of Sten Sture showed that the act was not an empty one. Örebro was first reduced, and the Danish officers treated with great severity; Stockholm was next invested; and as the winter season had arrived, there was little hope of its relief, or of a protracted resistance. Christina, indeed, was soon forced to capitulate, but was not allowed to return to Copenhagen — the convent of Vadstena was selected by herself as the most eligible place of imprisonment. Three days after this event, she had the

mortification of learning that a Danish armament had arrived before Stockholm, and that, hearing of her departure, it had promptly returned. Other fortresses were speedily reduced: at the end of the year (1501) Kalmar only on the continent, and Borkholm on the isle of Öland, held out for the Danes. Even the archbishop of Upsala was compelled to join the party of Sture, who was again invested with the high post of administrator. In revenge for the succour which Lubeck had sent to the Swedes, Hans ordered his seamen everywhere to seize the vessels of that city, proceeding with merchandise (arms, ammunition, provisions, etc.) to Stockholm; but the city had ships as well as he; and by these hostilities he gained no advantage, while he augmented the number of his enemies.

While these events were passing in Sweden, others, not less disastrous, agitated Norway. Knud Alfsson did not lose sight of the promise which he made to Sture, and success crowned his efforts. To oppose the rising insurrection, Hans sent the bishop of Roeskilde and one of his senators to Christiania, with instructions, the flagitious tenor of which may be too well inferred from the tragedy that ensued. Arriving off the coast, they proclaimed that they were empowered by their royal master to effect a reconciliation between the disaffected Norwegians and the crown. They consequently invited Knud on board, assured him of their pacific intentions, and sent him a safe-conduct. Unsuspicious of danger, he repaired to the vessel, and was deliberately killed in the midst of some high words which they probably raised for the occasion. This perfidious murder created a deep sensation throughout Norway, especially as not even the shadow of a chastisement was inflicted on its authors. It naturally hastened the effect which it was intended to destroy — the southern provinces immediately confederated with the Swedes. With much difficulty, Hans whose resources were exhausted, collected forces, partly from his nephew, the king of Scotland, and partly from his son-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg. These he placed under the command of his eldest son, Prince Christian, then about twenty years of age; and joined with him the bishop of Hammer, without whose sanction the prince was to undertake nothing of moment. But Christian was not of a temper to submit to restraint. Obstinate in all his purposes, and ferocious by disposition, he soon showed what history would have to record concerning his reign. Having defeated a party of insurgents near Christiania, and taken the leader prisoner, he put him to the torture. Whether, in the hope of saving himself, Herlof Hiddefad accused those who were not guilty — whether the accusations were wrong from him under his intolerable pain — or whether the conspiracy was as universally spread as he asserted — must always remain doubtful; but unfortunately, there is no doubt as to the use which Christian made of the information thus obtained. Herlof was broken on the wheel, and those whom he had deluded were put to death under circumstances of great atrocity. A great portion of the Norwegian nobility is said — perhaps with much exaggeration — to have thus perished. When the bishop of Hammer remonstrated with the prince on this inhuman policy, he was placed under restraint, consigned to a dungeon, and used so ill that in a few years death put an end to his sufferings. These executions had the effect designed: they terrified the nobles and the people, who, seeing with what a stern master they had to deal, universally submitted.

From Norway, Christian proceeded into Sweden, where, by the same conduct, he hoped to secure the same success. He besieged two fortresses in Vestergötland, defeated a body of troops sent by the administrator to relieve them, took them by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. Negotiations

[1503 A.D.]

were now renewed with both the Hanse Towns and the Swedes, but led merely to a short suspension of arms, and to the deliverance of Queen Christina after two years of detention. One of the last acts of Sten Sture was to conduct her to the frontier. He died suddenly — not without suspicion of poison (1503). The loss of so able and so persevering a man afflicted the national party; but little time was lost in procuring him a successor in his kinsman Svante Sture, who had long exercised the office of marshal. The first act of the new administrator was to besiege Kalmar and Borkholm, the only fortresses which held for the king. Against the latter he failed; the former he reduced, but only to lose it again in a few weeks. Enraged that the Swedish deputies did not, as the administrator had promised, meet his own to concert the terms of peace, Hans exercised more than his wonted severity against the Swedish officers whom he had made prisoners at Kalmar. This severity did no service to his cause, and his next proceeding covered him equally with ridicule and contempt. The pretext that all his Swedish subjects were rebels might have been admitted three centuries before, in France, or England, or Spain; but in Scandinavia, the crown of which even in the darkest ages, had been always elective, such a pretext, especially in the sixteenth century, was as ridiculous as it was insulting. Yet the king proceeded to act upon it, and in a way more extraordinary than the pretension itself. He submitted the conduct of the Swedish senators — who, as the representatives of the aristocracy, the rural gentry, and even small landed proprietors, might almost be called the whole Swedish nation — to a judicial tribunal, composed entirely of such Danish and Norwegian senators as had followed him to Kalmar, that is, entirely of his own creatures. The proceedings were gravely opened in presence of envoys from several European powers; the delinquents who had been cited to appear not answering to their names, judgment went by default — Svante Sture, Eric Johansson Vasa, Sten Christersson, Oxenstierna, the two Bielkes, and all the other senators who adhered to the administrator, were pronounced guilty of high treason, were deposed from their dignities, and their estates were confiscated.

Thus about half a hundred Danes and Norwegians ventured to sit in judgment on a great and independent nation. The thing was wholly unparalleled; but, as it had a magnificent sound, it was less depised out of Sweden than might have been expected. Hans valued it so much that he carried it before the emperor Maximilian, whose confirmation he besought. That the emperor should be otherwise than gratified at this recognition of his superiority over the northern kingdoms — a doctrine which, from the Carolingian times had always been a favourite one with the imperial legists — was not to be expected. He readily heard the cause, confirmed the decision of his royal vassal, and menaced with the pains of treason all who should presume to aid or abet, with troops or money or merchandise, the twofold rebels of Sweden — rebels at once to their own immediate ruler, and to their lord paramount, the emperor. This blow was particularly aimed at the Hanseatic League, especially Lubeck; and it was expected that the Swedes would offer no resistance to it: they would, no doubt, obey the imperial citation (for Maximilian had indulgence enough to fix a time when by submission they might appease their two mighty lords), and escape the severe penalties which were suspended over their heads. When this decree was ridiculed, the next step was to put the Swedish senators under the ban of the empire — to confiscate all their substance; to deprive them of all civil rights, to place the very life of each at the mercy of anyone who thought it worth taking away. Nay, even the pope threw the weight of his crosier into the scale unfavourable to the Swedes.

Because they would not receive as bishop of Linköping, the cardinal legate Jayme of Arborea, whom both he and the Danish monarch had presented to that see, but insisted on the choice of a countryman, Hemming Gadd, he threatened both Hemming and them with excommunication if they persisted in their opposition. But nothing could daunt the Swedes. They fought when they had money and stores; when they had neither, owing to the frequent inactivity of their Hanse allies (for the latter, true to their interests and caring for neither party in the abstract, were sometimes induced by some royal concession to stand aloof from the contest), they consented to negotiate, but whether with any sincere wish for peace may be doubted. Their object apparently was to gain time — especially when they found the people of the Hanse Towns ready to furnish them secretly with the sinews of war. When, as in 1509 and the two following years, Lübeck, and other towns of the league were openly at war with Denmark, they did not neglect so favourable an opportunity of annoying their implacable sovereign — if he could be called one, who held the title without even the shadow of the power. In general, the successes of both parties were nearly balanced: the confederates were superior in number of ships; but the genius of the Danish admiral, Severin Norby, compensated for this inferiority. After innumerable events which it would be equally tedious and uninteresting to enumerate, Lübeck and her allies, with all their resources, became tired of the war, and as the condition of peace, agreed to abandon the Swedes (1512).

The loss of so powerful an ally rendered the Swedes, as usual, disposed to negotiate. The death of Svante Sture, too, or rather the divisions to which the event gave rise, contributed to the same end. In the choice of a successor there was much animosity: one party declared for Eric Trolle, a senator nobly connected, but suspected of some partiality to the Danish succession; another for Sten Sture, son of the administrator of that name and generally known as Sten Sture the younger. The latter triumphed. As a matter of course, the former, more decided in the expression of his partiality, became the head of a league, of which the prelates, with the archbishop of Upsala at their head, were the most distinguished members. But no advantage accrued to Denmark beyond this, that the party favourable to the connection between the two countries arose from its despondency and was enabled to maintain something like an equality with the other.

The dispute with Sweden would probably have been more brief in its duration and more satisfactory in its conclusion, but for two other circumstances which equally distracted the king's attention, and of which one had the more disastrous termination. The recognition by Christian I of the right claimed by the estates of Schleswig and Holstein to elect their own dukes, could not fail to be the source of some trouble. On that monarch's death, they urged the claim, and showed unequivocally that they should prefer Frederick, the brother of Hans to Hans himself. Such a disregard of the primogenital law had never entered the minds of the Danish monarchs, who had always considered the succession to the two duchies as inseparable from that of the crown. Yet justice was so manifestly on the side of the estates that the king was placed in a situation of considerable embarrassment. On the one hand, he would never consent to the separation between the ducal and royal dignities; on the other, he was loth to risk a war with his southern subjects — especially when he reflected that they would be sure to have allies and that the aspect of affairs in Sweden was sufficiently gloomy. What added to his embarrassment was the fact that, by his father, Frederick had been invested with the ducal title, and had been designed as the successor — sub-

[1481-1500 A.D.]

ject, of course, to the approval of the estates. This disposition of Christian had been created by his queen, who had more attachment for her second than for her eldest son. The same influence was now at work; and Hans was compelled to show more deference towards his mother's wishes than he liked. To secure his election, she hastened with the young prince to Kiel, where the diet was to be held. The king followed, to protest against the mediated choice. He was surprised no less than embarrassed, when his brother, at the instigation of his mother and tutors, demanded also a share in the government of Norway, which had been declared equally elective, and which might devolve on the second as well as on the eldest son. This latter claim, indeed, was for the present withdrawn; but Frederick would undoubtedly have been elected to the ducal throne had not the king hastily collected a strong body of troops and overawed the diet. This was a glaring violation of the right which Christian had so solemnly declared to be inherent in the estates; but what could abstract justice avail against brute force? The electors were glad to adopt a compromise, and to choose both brothers as their rulers.

For some years the regal power was exercised by the king. In 1483, he prevailed on the diet of Flensburg to vote him two florins for each plough. Whether any portion of this tax was directed to other purposes than the wants of the local government, is not very clear; for, though Hans redeemed many of the fortresses and domains on which his father had raised money, complaints were not wanting against the application of the proceeds. In conjunction with his brother, he received the homage of the Hamburgers — always a reluctant homage, and on the present occasion successfully withheld during five years. In a few years more, he found that Frederick would not be satisfied with merely a nominal share in the administration. In vain did he strive to send the obnoxious claimant into the cloister: the prince, indeed, dissembled for a time; but in 1490 he appeared with many supporters at a diet, and demanded a participation in the government. Hans was reluctantly compelled to sanction a division of the territories in dispute, so that each might govern his own portion without collision with the other. The only reservations were Ditmarsh, which had yet to be subdued and the sovereignty over Hamburg, which was of little value; these were to be held in common. Ample as were the possessions which Duke Frederick thus obtained, he was not satisfied. He next applied for an appanage, which, he contended, by the immemorial custom of Denmark, ought to be his; and he indicated three islands with their fortresses and dependencies. The rigsraad, however, and next the estates-general, refused to entertain the application. Hans did not openly interfere in the matter; but his influence, no doubt, induced both powers to reject the application.

THE CAMPAIGN IN DITMARSH (1500 A.D.)

The second disaster to which we have alluded was the signal defeat of the Danish troops by the wild and independent inhabitants of Ditmarsh. In the reign of the preceding monarch, we have recorded the grant of that country to the Danish crown by the emperor Frederick IV. From the commencement of his reign, Hans meditated its subjection; but his disputes with Norway, with Sweden, and the Hanse Towns, left him, during twenty years, no leisure for the enterprise. But no sooner was he recognised by Sweden (1499) than, in conjunction with his brother, he aspired to something more than a nominal sovereignty.

By the emperor Henry the Fowler, this region had been formed into a

countship dependent on the dukes of Saxony. But, in the twelfth century, the archbishops of Bremen, profiting by the misfortunes of those mighty feudatories, had obtained the superiority over the fief. By Valdemar, bishop of Schleswig, this superiority was contested; and the misfortunes of that prelate threw the province into the hands of the Danish kings. Knud VI had left it to Valdemar II, who had been confirmed in it (1214) by the emperor Frederick II. But in about thirteen years (1227), the Danish monarch lost it in the disastrous battle of Bornhöved. From that period, the inhabitants, though nominally dependent on the see of Bremen, were in reality independent. In vain several counts of Holstein had endeavoured to subjugate them. Protected by the nature of their country—by their deep marshes, their scarcity of paths, and their sluices, by which the progress of an invading army might at any time be arrested—they had regarded with indifference the warlike preparations of their neighbours. The summons of Christian I, in virtue of the emperor Frederick's decree, to do him homage, they had heard unmoved. They were not, in the present instance, more favourable to the claim of Hans; and, in a general assembly of the people, they resolved to die sooner than sacrifice the independence which they had enjoyed for so many ages. Hans and his brother, who had claimed the sovereignty in common, expected this answer; and they collected troops with so much expedition, that they were soon ready for the field.

It was in February of the year 1500, that the two princes penetrated into that region. Why they should have marched at such a season, unless they calculated on a long frost, is not very clear; but perhaps they were indifferently aware of the obstacles they would encounter; and they certainly believed that no force could resist the formidable army (thirty thousand strong) which marched under their orders.^a

A chronicler of the fifteenth century gives the following account of the expedition:^a

The king and his brother, having made all their preparations, entered Ditmarsh in the beginning of February. Nearly six thousand of the numerous foot soldiers were said to be Rytheræ, who were mercenaries. Others who flocked from the towns and country of Jutland, Friesland, and Holstein, cannot be counted. Secure in the hope of victory, many came provided with the means of carrying away the money which they were going to take as booty, and with tokens to serve as receipts when the money was weighed out. Magnificent horsemen from Holstein, Jutland and all Denmark went thither, with that splendour of arms which is customarily prepared for great weddings, and they carried gold in their purses. Some came from the territories of Lüneburg and Brunswick. The invaders were persuaded that to such a force the Ditmarshians would yield forthwith, and that if it should come to a pitched battle the result would not be doubtful. Thus, with every advantage of time and place, on the 15th of February the princes marched a great army into the enemy's country and occupied the town of Meldorf. *Savez qui peut.* The utmost ferocity was displayed towards persons of every estate, rank, and sex, so that they might be subdued the more quickly. The princes sent spies, one of whom, being taken, was forced to confess by what avenue the enemy would arrive. When they had learned this, the Ditmarshians dug, during the following night, an intrenchment in the muddy way by which the invaders were coming. There some thousand men lay in wait for them, and others in another place. It was therefore under the worst auguries that, in ignorance of the intrenchment the princes struck camp on the Monday which was February 17th, amidst loud acclamations. But the counsels of the cap-

[1500 A.D.]

tains of the guard (which came first, to the number of two thousand, with a still greater crowd of citizens and country people) prevailed. The cavalry followed, so sure of an easy victory that they even had carts in their train. They advanced, moreover, by a path whose narrow width was the cause of infinite disaster to the horsemen. No one thought there would be any danger when the foot guards had passed, and the whole affair was regarded as an easy matter. The mire and depth of the road, lined on each side by wide ditches, threw the riders into confusion as they advanced in a great crowd, hoping and expecting to pass over solid ground. The Ditmarshians, hidden by their rampart, now poured forth missiles at the advancing enemy, and not without effect. The foremost of the foot soldiers, however, placed their shields before them, and, throwing away their spears, crossed the ditches and stood presenting a solid front, but so close together that they could not fight. The day was cloudy, and rain, mingled with hail, and raging winds were fighting for them. But the earth dug from the numerous ditches prevented them from using their swords, or attacking.

The royal artillery was now brought up, but rain and wind prevented the discharge of the missiles. Some of the Ditmarshians rushed up to prevent the artillery from being fired, but were flung back. Mean time a fire was poured from the whole rampart, and the lines of the foot were broken. But when the Ditmarshians perceived they were surrounded by the enemy, they attacked though few in number — not more than three or four hundred — these thousands of men cooped up in the mire and cold in a narrow place. Springing across the ditches, they fought, few against many; twice repulsed, they returned twice, recovered from flight, and cut down their enemies — thus caught in a trap and deep in mire — and threw them down into the ditches. And now the sluices were opened, and the waters poured in, so that in the rushing floods the ditches could not be distinguished. The foot soldiers of the guard were the first to take to flight, in which, however, many fell. Then the Ditmarshians, gathering courage, inflicted deadly punishment on the remaining band, collected from the neighbouring towns and villages, and these were drowned in the waters, which came in a great flood. Finally they fell on the crowd of horsemen pressed together in that narrow spot and unable to move or flee. With the fallen infantry in front of them, pressed in the rear by the flying, and flanked on either side by the ditches, they stood motionless and pale in the presence of death. The Ditmarshians, thronging round them, flung lances and arrows from the side, first wounding the horses. These, when they felt the steel, went mad, flinging their riders and trampling on them. A dismal noise was heard, and a horrible vapour of rising sweat obscured the eyes. The princes themselves got away with many others, not knowing how they had escaped; for the rainy and foggy atmosphere, together with snow, wind, and the mist of perspiration, deprived everyone of sight. In order that none might get away, the Ditmarshians pressed the flying. Some are believed to have escaped through the crowd of corpses of the slain and drowned.

Incredible as it may seem, this slaughter is said to have occurred within the space of three hours. The greater number of dead, however, were unwounded, and it was said that most were drowned by the waters. No one knew exactly what took place. Each was terrified by his own danger, the fog, and the gathering night, and blinded by the smoke and the vapour exhaled from his own horse. Soon some of the Ditmarshians came up and stripped the fallen of their arms, clothes, belts, and purses, and those whom they found breathing they massacred. They robbed the dying of their very

[1500-1513 A.D.]

shirts. With such cruelty did they war against the slain. They buried some thousands of the foot soldiers, but this favour was denied to the horsemen. Amongst the latter were two counts of Aldenborgh, Adolphus and Otto, and many soldiers — Danes, Holsteiners, and levies without number. The very flower of the Holstein army perished, to the lamentation of their own people and the great regret of all. The number of slain is not given exactly. The Ditmarshians say, a great number, but others deny this, saying a few thousand. The cause of the disaster may be imputed to two things, namely, overconfidence in beginning the war, and the cruelties at Meldorf against all persons of either sex and all ages and ranks.^e

The king, in great wrath, vowed to be revenged; but a new army was not easily raised, and he was glad to accept the mediation of the Hanse Towns, which concluded a treaty that left both parties exactly where it found them.

The king preserved his claim, and the natives their independence.

The reign of Hans was, in other respects, troubled. During much of it, the northern seas were infested with pirates, not from the Hanse Towns merely, but from Russia, Scotland, England, and Holland. At length a treaty of commerce was concluded between the king of Eng-



KING HANS AND HIS SONS

(From an old tomb)

land (Henry VII) and Hans — the more easily as at that period (1489) the latter was dissatisfied with the Hanse Towns. It secured to the English the right of commerce in the north seas, subject to certain duties; it allowed them to have their commercial establishments in the seaports, and their own judges in all controversies between their own countrymen. It even allowed them to fish on the coast of Iceland; though the permission was to be renewed every seven years. Let us add that famine and the plague more than once visited the north during this monarch's life; and we may term it the reverse of a happy one.

The death of Hans was hastened by a fall from his horse (1513). In his last illness, he called Prince Christian to his bedside and gave him some advice, the tenor of which shows that he perfectly understood the character of his successor. The latter was exhorted to forsake low and dissolute company, to consult only men esteemed for their age and wisdom; to renounce great designs, which would end only in disappointment; to forswear violence, and trust to calm moderation; to employ natives in preference to foreigners; to win the love of all by a government of mildness. In general, Hans himself had so acted: he had been always popular in Denmark; he had preferred caution to rashness, the solid to the splendid. His wisdom, in this respect, was fre-

[1513-1518 A.D.]

quently evident. For instance, he carefully refrained from all interference between the emperors and the holy see. Again, when besought by his nephew James IV, king of Scotland, to join the latter in the war against England — a war so disastrous for the Scot — he exhorted his fiery kinsman to cultivate the blessings of peace.^d

CHRISTIAN (II) THE TYRANT (1513-1523 A.D.)

Christian II, called in Sweden the Ungentle, and also the Tyrant, whose administration in Norway had already been stained with blood, and who now succeeded his father in that country as in Denmark, laid claim also to the Swedish throne, to which he was at once elected, and commenced negotiations whereby the truce concluded with Denmark was several times renewed. In

1516 the war broke out anew, produced by the intestine commotions which the new archbishop Gustavus Trolle excited. This prelate sprang from a family linked with the union interest by its large possessions in Denmark, and which for two generations back had been inimical to the Stures. An attempt had already been made



QUEEN CHRISTINA AND HER DAUGHTERS

(From an old tomb)

by one faction to set up his grandfather, Arvid Trolle, against Sten the Elder, while his father, Eric Trolle, had lost the government by the election of the younger Sture. This Gustavus Trolle was of a temper that never forgave a past wrong, real or fancied, although the administrator himself, to bring about a reconciliation, had promoted his election to the archbishopric.

Their animosities now led to open war, in consequence whereof Gustavus Trolle, after a Danish fleet had fruitlessly endeavoured to relieve him, was unanimously declared at the diet of Arboga to have forfeited his office, and his fortified castle of Stacket was demolished. Next year Christian himself accomplished a landing in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, but suffered a complete overthrow from Sten Sture. In this battle, fought at the Brenn-kirk, July 22nd, 1518, and celebrated in a popular ballad, the Swedish banner was borne by the young Gustavus Ericsson Vasa. Being afterwards sent as a hostage to the Danish fleet on the occasion of a personal interview which the king requested with the administrator, he was carried off prisoner to Denmark, contrary to the pledged faith of the former, along with Hemming Gadd and four other Swedish nobles. Thither Christian also returned, after he had so treacherously broken off the negotiations which he had himself commenced. By the papal command, an investigation was instituted into the charges

which the deposed archbishop had brought against Sten, at the see of Rome. A spiritual court commenced its sittings in Denmark; the administrator with all his adherents was excommunicated, and the whole kingdom was placed under an interdict.

"The Swedes," says Olaus Petri (Olaf Peterson), "did not in the least regard this ban and interdict." Christian, however, procured the execution of the sentence to be committed to himself, and the whole of the year 1519 was spent in making preparations. New taxes were imposed; levies were made in various countries; and in the beginning of 1520, the Danish army broke into Sweden under their general Otte Krumpen, who caused the papal ban to be affixed to all the churches upon the march. Sten encountered the invaders on the ice of Lake Asunden, by Bogesund, in Vestergötland; he was wounded at the opening of the battle, and obliged to be carried out of the conflict, the issue of which was decided by this disaster. Being conveyed to Strengnäs, he soon received intelligence that the Danes, to whom a Swedish nobleman pointed out the way, had surrounded the intrenchment in the forest of Tived, had cut to pieces the troops stationed there, and were already on their march to Upland. Collecting the remains of his strength, he hastened to Stockholm, but died in his sledge upon the ice of Lake Malar, February 3rd, 1520. By his death, all government in Sweden was dissolved; the magnates indeed held consultations, but no one had courage to command, or will to obey. The country-people gathered in the view of attempting a stand against the enemy, but from want of a leader were soon dispersed by the foreign soldiery, whose track was marked by homicide and conflagration, and who insolently boasted that they would not care although in Sweden it should rain peasants from heaven. The heroic Christina Gyllenstierna alone, widow of Sten, and the mother of four children still of tender age, did not lose heart; she continued to defend Stockholm, and refused to accede to the convention ratified with the Danish generals at a baronial diet convoked in Upsala, by which Christian was acknowledged king, on condition that he should govern conformably to the laws of Sweden and the Treaty of Kalmar, and not exact vengeance for what had passed.

These engagements were personally confirmed by the king upon arriving with his fleet before Stockholm, with the express addition, that the measures adopted against Gustavus Trolle, who was now restored to his office, should be forgotten and forgiven. The same promises were repeated in the king's letter to all the provinces, and being seconded by the efforts of the prelates and the nobility, completely disarmed the resistance still kept up by the people. These assurances were again renewed when Hemming Gadd, after a life spent in struggling against Danish domination, now appeared in his old age as its advocate, and by the weight of his influence at length induced Christina Gyllenstierna to surrender Stockholm, although against the wish of the burghers. When the king in the autumn returned to Sweden, and was crowned in Stockholm, he once more confirmed by oath and reception of the sacrament the securities he had given. But at this very moment Christian had resolved that the blood of the chief men of Sweden should be shed, although he himself "appeared friendly to all, and was very merry and pleasant in his demeanour, caressing some with hypocritical kisses, and others with embraces, clapping his hands, smiling, and displaying on all hands tokens of affection." The instigator of this resolution was Didrick Slaghök, formerly a barber, and a relative of Sigbrit, a Dutch huckster, who by the beauty of her daughter had gained an ascendancy over the king's mind, which she had tact enough to preserve during his whole reign.

[1520 A.D.]

The Carnage of Stockholm

On the third day of the solemnities which followed the coronation, the gates of the castle of Stockholm were unexpectedly barred, and the archbishop Gustavus Trolle came into the king's presence, to complain of the violences and injuries suffered by himself and the archiepiscopal see of Upsala, at the hands of the deceased administrator, for which he now demanded satisfaction. He was probably himself ignorant of the atrocities, for the perpetration of which he was to be used as an instrument. He is said, as we may conclude from a contemporary account, to have maintained that the question of punishment and compensation must be referred to Rome; but the king negatived his proposal, declaring that the matter should be adjudicated forthwith. As the prelate's charges were really directed again Sten Sture, his widow Christina Gyllenstierna stood up and appealed to the resolution of the estates, whereby Gustavus Trolle was unanimously declared to have forfeited his dignity, and which the principal spiritual and secular lords had subscribed under an express obligation to common responsibility. Such of these as were now present, and among them two bishops, were immediately seized and thrown into prison; the remainder were confined over night in the castle — the clergy in a separate chamber.

The following morning, the 8th of November, at nine in the forenoon, several of the Swedish clergy, who had been shut up during the night, were called to the large hall, where they, together with Jons Beldenack, Gustavus Trolle, the bishops, Hans Brask, and Otte Swinhufwud, were to form a spiritual court. Jons Beldenack then put to them the question whether those who had conspired against the pope and the holy chair of Rome ought not to be considered heretics. Some of the priests were agreed with Christian, and answered "Yes." Others did not perceive what this was meant to conceal, and answered, "Yes." Others again, though they very well perceived the drift of the question, also answered, "Yes." The king was satisfied with the result, and pronounced the rest of the judgment himself — that the Swedish lords, having set themselves against the pope, were heretics according to the judgment of the court, and therefore should as heretics die.

The whole of that day the city gates were shut, so that none could get out. Early in the morning the trumpeters rode round the town, proclaiming that no citizen was to dare, for his life, to leave his house, till permission was again granted to do so. Large crowds of armed Danes were placed here and there on the chief squares; loaded cannon were drawn out on the Great square with their muzzles pointed towards the principal streets. The whole town was in a dread and solemn expectation. The castle gates were at last thrown open at noon; and a mighty body of armed soldiers first appeared, and placed themselves in two long lines, reaching from the castle to the town house. The imprisoned Swedish lords were led between them as far as the



CHRISTIAN II
(1481-1559)

Great square, where a strong guard of Danish soldiers closed around them. The people who had now regained permission to leave their houses, streamed in that direction, and with anguish and alarm beheld the frightful preparations. Sir Nils Lycke, the new knight, now appeared on the balcony of the town hall, and addressed his speech to the assembled multitude thus "Ye good men, are not to wonder at what ye here behold, for these men altogether were wicked heretics, disobedient to the holy father in Rome. They have laid powder under the castle to kill the king, who would notwithstanding have spared them; but Archbishop Gustavus Trolle has three times knelt before him and demanded justice."

Bishop Vincent, from the square below, now interrupted him, and called aloud that all this was lies and nonsense, but that God would yet punish Christian's cruelty and treachery. Sir Anders Karlsson and Anders Rut, two councillors of Stockholm, also loudly called on the other Swedes, begging and beseeching them in future not to permit themselves to be deceived by false promises, but one day to avenge this terrible treachery and tyranny. The Danish soldiers now made a great noise, so that their words could no longer be distinguished, and at the king's order (it is said, that from a window in the town hall he looked on during the whole proceedings) the execution began, and Klas Bille placed himself at hand to receive the golden chain and ring of every knight before he was beheaded. The prisoners then implored that they might at least be permitted first to confess and receive the holy sacrament. But even this was refused, and Bishop Matthias was led forth first. While he was kneeling with clasped and uplifted hands, his secretary Olaus Petri and the latter's brother rushed forward; but before they could reach the spot, their beloved master's head had fallen before one blow of the sword, and rolled towards them on the ground. Beside themselves with horror, they cried out that this was an inhuman action. "For these words they were immediately seized and dragged within the circle, and would certainly have been executed had not some German soldiers saved them."¹

Bishop Vincent was next beheaded, and then came the senators' turn — Eric Lejonhufvud, Knut Kurk, Eric Johansson Vasa, father of Gustavus Vasa, Eric Ryning, Eric Gyllenstierna, Eskil Banér, Joachim Brahe, and thirteen nobles and knights of the senate. These were followed by the three burgo-masters of the town, and thirteen of the town council, together with fifteen of the chief citizens, some of whom, without the slightest warning, were snatched out of their houses, and led to execution. A citizen named Lars Hansson was standing in tears beholding this terrible scene; the soldiers dragged him within their lines, and he was made to pay with his death for his compassion. At last the execution stopped for that day; the heads were set up on poles, with the exception of that of Bishop Matthias, to whom, in consideration of his great services to the king, this favour was shown that, instead of being impaled, it was laid between his feet. The dead bodies were left where they had fallen, to the horror of all. A violent rain came on, which yet more disfigured the pale remains, and redly dyed water ran everywhere from the Great square down into the streets, bearing a bloody witness to what had there taken place.

The second day, Friday the 9th, Christian remarked that many had hid-

¹ These two brothers had studied at the University of Wittenberg in Germany. Ewert Leuf, one of the German soldiers, had seen them there, and believing them to be Germans, represented to his comrades that, not being Swedes, they ought to be spared. This had its effect; the brothers escaped, and some years later afforded Gustavus Vasa signal assistance in the introduction of Lutheranism into Sweden.

[1520 A.D.]

den themselves whom he would willingly have murdered; he therefore made a proclamation that the inhabitants might now freely show themselves, for he did not intend to punish any more. Some were simple enough to permit this trick to deceive them, and imprudently showed themselves, on which the massacre recommenced. Six or eight were beheaded on the square; the gallows were continually full of dead bodies, and the servants of the deceased lords, who came to town ignorant of what had happened, were often pulled from their horses with so much haste, that they were hoisted on the gallows, booted and spurred, as they had come. The king's soldiers and satellites broke into the houses, murdering the men, violating the women, and plundering everywhere. They bore away as much as they could carry, and it seemed to them enough to leave the bare walls standing for the widows and fatherless children. The corpses remained this whole day and night still lying on the Great square; and with horror and loathing the people saw the dogs begin to tear the remains of so many noble and innocent men. As the air, was yet mild, a poisonous exhalation began to arise, which, it was feared would bring the plague; it was therefore determined that the bodies should be carried away before the break of the Sabbath morn. Jóns Beldenack, however, remembered that they, as heretics, could not be buried in form; but ought, properly, to be burnt, which was done. A huge pyre was erected in the southern suburb on the very spot where St. Catherine's church now stands, to which the pale and mangled corpses were carried by cartloads, and there burned to ashes.

Christian seemed to have given himself up to a sort of madness of rage and fury. He ordered that the body of Sten Sture the Younger should be torn from his grave in Riddarholm church; and it is said that in his frenzy he bit at the half-consumed remains. He also caused the remains of the young son of Lord Sten and Lady Christina, who had died during the siege, to be disinterred. He permitted the revengeful Gustavus Trolle to disintomb the remains of the reverend father Martin Jonsson, who had, while he was Sten Sture's secretary, highly offended the archbishop. These three bodies were carried to the great pyre on the Södermalm to be burnt with the rest, and the quarters of the town of St. Catherine's church, still bear the name of Sture, in memory of the dead.

Christian next called Christina Gyllenstierna to his presence. When she, in her sorrow and despair, presented herself before him, he bid her choose whether she would be burned, drowned, or buried alive. The noble lady fainted at his feet. The entreaties of the witnesses of this scene, her own tears and great riches, at last mollified the tyrant; but she was obliged to promise to recall her young son from Dantzic that he might be educated in Denmark. Her mother, the old Lady Sigrid Banér, who by a former marriage was grandmother of Gustavus Vasa, was shut up in a bag and thrown into the stream; but some of the people on the shore succeeded in saving her by promising Christian her great fortune—for this was the best way to soften him to mercy. Lady Sigrid was taken up; but she herself, her two daughters, Lady Christina and Lady Cecilia of Eka, two of Gustavus Vasa's sisters, together with many other noble and honourable women, were carried away as hostages to Copenhagen, and shut into the dreadful dungeon, called the Blue Tower. There Gustavus Vasa's mother and two sisters died, and many others, of hunger, thirst, and cold; and those who escaped with their lives had to thank Queen Isabella's mildness alone, who against her cruel husband's will, softened their captivity as much as lay in her power.

Further Atrocities

Not in Stockholm alone did the blood-thirsty monarch let the sword of the executioner massacre the Swedes: he commenced similar executions throughout the country. Such a king had taken care to place officers whom neither shame nor horror could withhold from the performance of such a command. Didrik Slaghök, who succeeded Vincent in his bishopric, and was likewise appointed governor of the castle of Stockholm, Jöns Beldenack who succeeded Matthias in Strengnäs, Anders Perssons in Örebro, Joran Matsson, and the young Sir Thomas in Finland, all possessed the king's greatest confidence in this matter, and never for an instant spent a thought on shedding Swedish blood. These persecutions were carried on in every province, and many of the Swedish nobles were despicable enough to betray each other to the Danes, seeking thus a hateful and contemptible revenge for private and often insignificant disputes.

Some days after the massacre in Stockholm, Christian received the news that his queen had borne him a daughter. The miserable flatterer Gregorius Holst prepared a great festivity. The citizens were invited to assemble for a magnificent repast in the town hall, to be followed by dancing and other amusements, in demonstration of their joy at the happy news. The entertainment was to take place at the expense of the burghers; and one may imagine with what satisfaction they paid their money, and their wives danced with their bloody oppressors. Christian then published a manifesto throughout the kingdom, in which he declared that, the Swedish lords whom he had beheaded having been heretics, their death alone was able to deliver the country from the pope's curse and excommunication, and that, as this had now taken place, he would be at liberty to rule the country according to its old laws. The government during his absence was to be superintended by Archbishop Gustavus Trolle and his father, Sir Eric Trolle.

Christian, still fearing a rebellion, renewed the old resolution of the council of Linköping, made in 1153, that no peasant should bear arms; and he even, in many places, had them taken from them by force. It was not a little humiliating and hard for the Swedes to see the Danes, proud and triumphant, rob them of their guns, bows, and swords. It is related that some, irritated beyond endurance, suffered the words to escape them, that iron and swords should not be wanting to punish the tyrant, as long as they were permitted to retain their feet to pursue, and their hands to revenge. To this the arrogant conquerors replied that a hand and foot might well be cut off from the Swedish peasant; he would be able, notwithstanding, with one hand and a wooden leg to steer his plough. This senseless report was spread, believed, and caused a general panic; for Christian's unnatural cruelty was such that the incredible became credible.

At last, in December, he prepared for his return; the wheel, the gallows, and bloody executioners marked his journey. In Nyköping he caused his own favourite, Klas Holst, to be hung. He passed Christmas in Linköping with Bishop Hans Brask, who betrayed to him two of Sture's most devoted friends, Sven Håk and Peter Smed — they were both quartered and exposed on the wheel. He laid hold of Sir Lindorm Rubbing in Jonköping, and beheaded him and his servants. Shortly after, seeing by chance Sir Lindorm's two little boys, the one eight and the other six years old, and fearing their revenge at a future period, he determined to make away with them both. The eldest boy was led out first and was beheaded. The younger looked at the streaming blood and the red stains on his brother's clothes,

[1520 A.D.]

without knowing what it meant; but when he was led out, he turned with childish innocence to the executioner, and said: "Dear man, don't stain my shirt like my brother's, for then mamma will whip me." The executioner, melted at these words, threw the sword from him, and said: "I would rather blood my own shirt than thine." But the tiger-hearted Christian, who had been an eye-witness of this heart-rending spectacle, was not to be touched by it. In a fury, he called for a more savage servant, who struck off the heads of the innocent child and the compassionate executioner. From this he proceeded to Nydala cloister, and continued the same course there. But enough has been already said of his madness and fury.

In this detestable assemblage of crimes, it is a consolation to find some noble-minded men who dared to breast the dangerous stream. When Suckot, the emperor Charles' legate, found that by all his exhortations he could not restrain Christian from the massacre in Stockholm, he left him suddenly, expressing his abhorrence of such a deed. Sir Otte Krumpen abandoned Christian immediately, and would no longer serve such a master. The Danish nobles detested and cursed their king's treachery; and Severin Norby openly protected the Swedish lords who took refuge with him — but these were not many. Death or dread had concealed many in the grave, and the poor remnant, in the inaccessible mountains. If they had by their selfishness, ambition, litigiousness, and stubbornness during previous ages prepared so many misfortunes for their native land, they had now themselves paid the bitterest penalty. But Christian, the means of punishment, we cannot contemplate in his dreadful progress without horror, from the moment he had determined on the impious and monstrous treachery we have related. Neither compassion nor the fear of God nor the advice of his friends, his own reason nor his own advantage, were in any way able to stem his fury. He had thrown himself, with firm determination, into the path of crime; blindly he rushed on in it, trampling justice, humanity, and virtue, boldly under his feet; and flung himself at last with greater haste into the deep destruction which already had long awaited the royal criminal.

In these sanguinary proceedings, we may be surprised at the little deference which Christian showed to the church. Though her avowed servant, the minister of her vengeance, he did not hesitate to violate her long-established rights, whenever his own interests or caprice intervened. Of this disposition he afforded two signal proofs immediately after his return from Sweden; and he also showed how little dependence his most necessary creatures could place on the continuance of his favour. Early in 1520, he had forced the chapter of Lund to annul their election of an archbishop, and place one of his favourites on the vacant throne. In this violence, his design was to find a ready instrument for some purposes which he had in view. One of these was the restoration to the crown of the isle of Bornholm — the possession of which had long been a subject of dispute between the chapter and his predecessors. He demanded from the new primate the cession of the island. The position of the latter was one of difficulty. On the one hand, there was his oath to maintain at all risks the rights and privileges of his church; on the other, was the royal displeasure, which seldom spared its victims. In this emergency he obtained permission to resign his dignity and retire into a monastery; but he soon left his retreat, and hastened to Rome, to complain of the violence which he had sustained. The canons, thus left to Christian's influence, were terrified into the cession, and into the election of the notorious Didrik Slaghok now bishop of Skara, to the vacant dignity. In his administration of Sweden — of which he had been appointed one of the

[1520-1524 A.D.]

regents — this worthy had successfully imitated the violence of his master. The complaints which rose from every quarter against him were received by Christian at the moment of his return from a short visit to his brother-in-law, the emperor Charles; and their inefficacy was proved by the elevation of the obnoxious churchman to the supremacy of Denmark.

The arrival of a papal legate, whose mission was evidently to inquire into the Stockholm massacre, gave him at first some uneasiness; but he soon divined the character of the stranger, a Dominican friar, whose good opinion he gained by extravagant praises of the order, and by the most delicate personal attentions. Still, the complaints of the celebrated Johannes Magnus, canon of Linköping, then at the Roman court, and the fact that two bishops, besides other ecclesiastics, had been executed by his commands, were too grave even for the most reverend Dominican to overlook; and the king found it necessary to sacrifice the new primate of Denmark. The career of this wretch was now at its close: as he had not received his bulls of confirmation, he was bishop only in virtue of the royal nomination. His person, therefore, was not yet invested with the necessary episcopal sanctity; and he was delivered over to the secular arm, as the sole author of the massacre, and was burned to death in the public square of Copenhagen (1522). This holocaust was intended to propitiate the legate. The zeal with which the king destroyed everything Lutheran in his dominions (and many attempts at reformation had been made both by his father and himself) was a more acceptable offering. The piety of the good friar was gratified by the royal wish that all the monasteries of Denmark were subject to the rule of St. Dominic, and by the ardour with which he was aided in effecting the objects of his mission. The character of Christian was represented to the pope in the most favourable colours, and his absolution from all church censures recommended. But Adrian VI, who now ascended the papal throne, took a different view of the affair, and entrusted the legatine authority to Johannes Magnus, who was sent into Sweden to examine the matter *de novo*. The new functionary after a careful examination threw the blame on the king, and declared Gustavus Trolle incapable of holding the primacy of Sweden. Two years afterwards, the sentence was confirmed by Clement VII; but no step was taken to punish the royal criminal.

Gustavus Vasa

Before the termination of this affair, Sweden was the theatre of events which forever terminated the authority of Denmark over that kingdom. Though, by a royal decree, the peasantry were disarmed — though the fortresses were filled with garrisons devoted to the king, and all places of trust by his adherents — he had scarcely left the country, when the public mind began to recover its vigour, and to devise the means of his downfall. The instrument designed by Providence for this purpose was the captive Gustavus Vasa. Whether the patriotism of this noble equalled his ambition, or his thirst for revenge, may be doubted; but if his motives have been too highly esteemed, and his general character over-rated, there can be no dispute as to the good of which he was the cause — that he was the saviour of his country. That he had many faults, will be acknowledged by everybody out of Sweden, but this only proves that he was a man; and if great undertakings should devolve on the immaculate only, history would have none to record. His own wrongs sank the most deeply into the soul of the captive (he had not heard of his father's murder before he effected his escape); he was agitated by apprehen-

[1519-1520 A.D.]

sion of the future, since under such a king he could scarcely hope to end his days in peace. To escape was his first resolve. But how elude the vigilance of his keepers? He feigned resignation to his lot, and so won the confidence of his noble guardian Eric Banér, that he was guarded with much less strictness; he was allowed to walk, and even to hunt, for hours together, in the vicinity of the fortress where he was confined.

One fine morning he assumed the disguise of a peasant, passed undiscovered through the gates, and proceeded with such diligence as to reach Flensburg the following day at noon. By entering into the service of a cattle-drover who was proceeding with a herd into Saxony, he escaped the notice of the men whom Banér had sent in pursuit of him; and he safely reached Lubeck. There he made himself known to the authorities, in the belief that they who had so recently assisted Christina, the widow of Sten Sture, would be ready to assist him. For some months, however, he was in great jeopardy: the republic knew its interests too well to quarrel openly with the king, who reclaimed the fugitive, with the most terrible menaces in case of a refusal. Banér, his gaoler, also appeared to demand him, and he had reasons to be apprehensive that he would be delivered into the hands of his enemies. Such, no doubt, would have been his fate, but for the juncture of favourable circumstances. In the first place, the doctrines of Luther were making great progress in Lubeck, and Gustavus embraced them—whether through conviction, or with the view of obtaining the support of the reformed party, can be known only to the Omniscient. In the next place, he had an engaging presence and much natural eloquence; and he had little difficulty in persuading some of the senators that to deliver him into the hands of an hereditary foe—one necessarily hostile to the prosperity of the city—would not only be the most foolish policy, but a deep stain on the hospitality of the place. Again, the union of Sweden and Denmark had never been approved by the people of Lubeck: it might, if consolidated, render the monarch too powerful a rival in commerce, and it would certainly destroy the opportunity, so long enjoyed, of profiting by the dissensions of the two kingdoms. Sweden, from apprehension of the Danish yoke, would always be the ally of the Hanse Towns, and especially of Lubeck. Interest, therefore, turned the scale; and the resolution was taken to provide the noble Swede with a vessel, and send him back to his own country.

In May, 1520, some months previous to the massacre of Stockholm, Gustavus landed at Kalmar. This place had not yet acknowledged the Danes; but it had little chance, and less desire, of resisting. His eloquence had no effect either on the garrison or the inhabitants; and in some apprehension for his personal safety, he precipitately left the place. As all the other fortresses were in the hands of the Danes, and as his departure from Lubeck was known both in Sweden and Denmark, and a price was put on his head, his motions could not fail to be attended with extreme danger. Proceeding



GUSTAVUS I, SWEDISH KING
(1496-1560)

through Småland and Östergötland, he was compelled frequently to change his disguise, to travel by night rather than by day, and to choose the least frequented paths. At length he reached the house of his brother-in-law, the senator Brahe, where he found a hospitable reception but no encouragement for his ambitious designs. Both his sister and the senator opposed them, and earnestly besought him to renounce an enterprise which would be followed by ruin. The rural gentry to whom he addressed himself were not more favourable; the peasantry were equally indifferent; and he was advised by some to make his peace with Christian. "Whoever is king," replied the people, "*we* must labour. We have herring and salt under Christian, and we should have no more under any other ruler."

Finding these people too reasonable for his views, Gustavus, who was now informed of the massacre at Stockholm, and who had reason to fear lest the fate of his father should speedily be his own, hastened into Dalecarlia. That region, as we have had frequent opportunities of remarking, had always been distinguished for the restless disposition of its inhabitants. Isolated from the rest of the kingdom, and impassable in many places from its vast forests, deep marshes, and abrupt mountains, it had preserved an independence unknown to other provinces. The poverty of the people, too, had offered no inducement to the rapacity of power; and their strength, their courage, their love of freedom — the necessary results of their hardy life, their temperate habits, and their consciousness of strength — rendered them impatient of any attempt on the part of the government either to abridge their privileges, or to load them with new taxes. This hardy race heard with anger of the dreadful scenes in the capital; they detested the Danish yoke; but then they had equal reason to detest the rapacity of their own nobles, which it required all their energy to resist. Among them Gustavus might find a greater degree of security than anywhere else, but even there were men eager to deliver him into the hands of the Danes; and to defeat treachery, he was frequently compelled to change alike his garments and his place of refuge. On one occasion, while the master of the house in which he was entertained went to the nearest military station to reveal his name and designs, the wife, more compassionate, contrived the means of his escape. Frequently, therefore, was he forced to bury himself in the deepest obscurity, and to trust to the most precarious means of support. It has been said that he worked in the mines as a common labourer; that his rank was at length discovered by his embroidered collar; that he was recognised by a neighbouring gentleman; that he obtained a wonderful ascendancy over the sons of the cavern, and by degrees prepared them to be his assistants in the subversion of the Danish yoke. All this is romance, like a thousand other incidents, to which the imagination of poets, and of historians no less inventive than poets, has given rise. That on one occasion he hired himself to thresh the corn of a farmer, seems to be true; but this expedient was not adopted for securing a maintenance so much as for temporary safety.

After many wanderings, many disguises, many hair-breadth escapes from treachery, even more than from his Danish pursuers, Gustavus harangued a great multitude who had repaired to Mora for the celebration of the Christmas festivities. The picture which he drew of ancient plenty under the government of their own princes, was chiefly drawn from imagination, since the "good old times" in which every mind is fond of dwelling, are fair only at a distance; but it answered his purpose. It made a deep impression on hearers who had little happiness in the present, and who, therefore, beheld it in the past. When he spoke of the insults which Christian had heaped upon the national character — of his perfidiousness, bloodshed, and tyranny — or

[1521 A.D.]

the rapacity for which many of the Danish officers had distinguished themselves; and still more, when he spoke of the exactions, the insults, the wrongs in store for them — that they were to be deprived of their dearest liberties, and transformed into slaves, for the benefit of their Danish masters — he roused his hearers to the highest pitch of indignation. Artfully alluding to their strength, which, if concentrated, would be capable of effecting anything, he offered to obtain for them the restoration of their ancient happiness, if they would support him. His eloquence induced about two hundred to join him; the rest would wait the course of events, and help him to the throne or scaffold, according to his success or failure. Of the handful who did join him, more were actuated by hope of plunder than by love of freedom. But this was a beginning, which was all that the adventurer wished. With this little band, which was soon augmented by the idle and the industrious, the malefactor and the patriot, he overran the more obnoxious districts, plundered or destroyed the houses of all the Danish adherents, intercepted the local taxes, massacred every enemy to Sweden, — that is, every friend to the Union of Kalmar — and inspired with some alarm not merely the provincial governors, but the regents to whom Christian had confided the administration of the kingdom. At the head of three thousand resolute followers, he now prepared for higher achievements. He forced whole provinces to declare for him; and, while organising a larger force, had the satisfaction of hearing that one of his captains had defeated a body of Danish and Swedish troops, sent by the regents to exterminate him. In another engagement he was less fortunate, but as the number of his followers hourly increased — for when was the standard of rebellion in any country erected in vain? — he was so far from losing his confidence that, in a public manifesto, he declared Christian a usurper whom he was resolved to punish.

His next exploit was the reduction of Vesterås, a town which, from its position on the high road between Dalecarlia and Stockholm, was of the utmost importance as a military station. The citadel refused to surrender; but it was closely invested, while detachments were spared from the main body to besiege four other fortresses, which were at length forced or persuaded to capitulate. The next object of assault was Upsala, the archbishop of which, as head of the regency, was peculiarly obnoxious to the patriots. The place, incapable of a long defence, soon opened its gates; the canons were immediately expelled, were sharply upbraided for their attachment to a foreign yoke, and required to take the oath of allegiance to the liberator. Trembling and irresolute, they requested permission to consult their chief, then in Stockholm, and a short delay was granted them for that purpose. The indignant primate insisted on being the bearer of his answer at the head of a select body of troops; and he arrived within half a league of Upsala, at a moment when Gustavus had weakened himself by allowing many of his followers to repair to the harvest. Unable to resist, the latter was compelled to evacuate the place. But this check was temporary; reinforcements were soon collected, and before the archbishop could reach Stockholm on his return, he was defeated by one of the liberator's captains. Elated by this success, Gustavus himself hastened to the capital, and invested it in form.

Christian Aids His Own Downfall

During these events, what was the conduct of Christian? He has been accused of crimes equal in atrocity to those which he had perpetrated at Stockholm. He informed Gustavus, we are told, that if the siege of Stock-

holm were not immediately raised, he would put to death the mother and sister of that noble, and with them all the Swedish ladies whom he held in captivity. The menace being disregarded, proceeds the story (which a hundred pens have repeated), all were drowned, and many of them were previously compelled to make the sacks in which they were cast into the river. The character of Christian need not be unnecessarily blackened, however, for it is dark enough. The mother and sister died of the plague; the other prisoners were restored by the successor of Christian.¹

The garrison of Stockholm defended the place with great bravery; it even forced the assailants to encamp at a greater distance from the walls; and though, owing to the unprepared state of Denmark, supplies could not soon be expected, there was no prospect of an immediate reduction of the place. Gustavus, therefore, turned the siege into a blockade, and marched detachments into other quarters of the kingdom, both to increase the number of his adherents by compulsory levies, and to gain possession of such towns as had hitherto refused to acknowledge him. His followers were now so numerous, his hope of ultimate success so flattering, that in August, 1521, he convoked a general diet at Vadstena. Many of the nobles through jealousy of his ascendancy, some through attachment to the Union of Kalmar, refused to attend; but the greater part was present, and most of the towns were represented by their deputies. The assembly, indeed, was a numerous one, and animated by the best spirit. The speech of Gustavus had on this occasion less of his wonted exaggeration, more reason, more argument, more patriotism. It was heard with applause; he was justly hailed as the liberator of Sweden, and might easily have obtained the crown, had not good policy induced him to decline that which could not add to his power, but would be sure to disgust many of his supporters and alienate many of the oldest nobility. The titles of administrator and of captain-general, he willingly received; and at the same time he expressed his readiness to support, on some future occasion any candidate for the crown who might have a majority of suffrages. For this speech he has been much lauded; but its policy was at least equal to its magnanimity, for he well knew that the most powerful, the most successful of candidates — in other words, himself — must obtain the prize.

The cause of Gustavus, being thus rendered legitimate by the sanction of the people, could not fail to increase in prosperity. The most important fortresses opened their gates to him. Stockholm, indeed, still held out; but the garrison was mutinous for want of pay, and the primate Trolle, with one of his suffragans, hastily retired into Denmark, under the pretext of obtaining new supplies. Their reception by a monarch whom the intelligence of every day soured, was not the most grateful. But they had reason to congratulate themselves on their escape, when they learned that, in the irritation of his feelings, he had transmitted orders to the Danish governors to execute all the Swedes — especially the nobles — whom they could seize. Some obeyed the order; some, instead of becoming the instruments of another atrocious massacre, passed over to the service of Gustavus. There was at all times an infatuation in the conduct of this prince, indicative of his impending fall. While he exasperated everybody, he made no serious effort to avert the loss of a kingdom. His admiral Norby, however, fought nobly for him, and pre-

[¹ Dunham's version of this incident is not accepted by the Swedish writers. Geijer states that the mother and sister of Gustavus were thrown into dungeons, where they died either of plague or, as Gustavus complained, by violence. Fryxell accepts the story that Christian sent letters to Gustavus threatening to drown the captive wives and daughters of the victims of the Stockholm massacre and to torture Gustavus' mother, and adds that the latter died of want and neglect.]

[1521-1522 A.D.]

served the three keys of the realm: Stockholm, Kalmar, and Åbo. Had he himself done what his chancellor in Sweden advised him to do — sent an army through the Gothlands to the relief of Stockholm — a great portion of the kingdom would have returned to its obedience.

But Christian had other difficulties besides those of the Swedish rebellion, and his ruin was not to come from that quarter. Those difficulties, and still more his own conduct, were hastening the period of his domination in Denmark itself. He offended his uncle Frederick, by obtaining from the emperor letters patent transferring the right of investing Schleswig and Holstein from the bishops of Lubeck to the kings of Denmark. Frederick, who had manifestly aspired to an independent sovereignty in those regions, was extremely dissatisfied with a change which must necessarily make them more dependent on the crown than they had lately been. Yet for this act the king is surely not to be blamed; it might injure an individual, but it was for the good of the people. The manner, however, in which he attempted to enforce homage from the duke, was in the highest degree censurable. At Kolding where he met that prince together with many Holstein nobles, he caused gibbets to be erected to terrify them into the act, but the brutal exhibition only exasperated them. Again, after the Swedish war, where troops of Schleswig and Holstein were employed, he dismissed them to their homes without pay, without even the horses which some of them had brought into the field. In the next place, he drew on himself the enmity of the people of Lubeck, not merely by his new commercial regulations, but by his seizure of the supplies destined for the insurgents of Sweden and Finland. That in both instances he was justifiable, will be readily admitted; yet policy should have taught him to manage a power that, by openly embracing the cause of Gustavus, must greatly increase the difficulties of his position. The war with that formidable republic was immediately disastrous. Copenhagen was insulted; Elsnore was plundered and burnt. In these hostilities he could no longer rely on the aid of his uncle, or the people of Holstein, whom he had offended beyond forgiveness, and who were in no way obliged to assist in any expedition beyond the bounds of their own territories.

But his greatest crime was held to be one which, in the eyes of posterity, does him the most honour: his constant efforts to restrain the power of the lord over the vassal, of the noble over the serf. No class in Europe urged pretensions so monstrous, or committed acts so tyrannical, as the territorial lords of that kingdom, especially those of Jutland. In the two codes which Christian compiled — the one chiefly ecclesiastical, the other chiefly civil — he abolished as impious and wicked the custom of selling human creatures like brute beasts; and he permitted serfs who were ill-treated, to flee and settle in other provinces. All the provinces of Denmark were not equally guilty; in some — Skåne for instance — the local customs were more favourable to that unfortunate class. Another law — that which abolished the right of plundering shipwrecked mariners — was dictated by a kindred feeling of humanity, not unmixed, perhaps, with some delight of annoying the aristocracy. Whatever his motive, the benefit (so far, at least, as the law could be put into operation) was the same; and for it Christian must be no less praised by history. The laws which procured him the enmity of the church do him no less honour. He passed one similar to the English Statute of Mortmain: future bequests were to be in money only. On every clergyman with a cure of souls, residence was to be compulsory. No bishop, when he travelled, was to have a greater suite than fourteen domestics, no archbishop, more than twenty. Against these ordinances churchmen declaimed with much anger; the king was

[1522 A.D.]

depriving them of their manifest right to expend their revenues in whatever manner they pleased — to do what they would with their own. Nor were some, at least, of these holy personages less dissatisfied with the ordinance respecting shipwreck. The bishops of Borglum and Viborg, and the archbishop of Lund, openly exclaimed against it. All three, says a contemporary writer, were accustomed to send out their men to the coasts, to seize on all the property which the tempest threw on the shore, and to kill without pity any of the crew that ventured to resist spoliation.

As the crown itself had extensive domains on the Jutland coast, the conduct of the king in this case is the more to be praised. History has preserved the reply which he made to one of his officers who remonstrated with him on the loss that the royal revenues must sustain by such an edict: "I would rather have no revenues at all, than that the poor mariners should be so inhumanly treated." Equally striking was his reply to another bishop, who complained of the ordinance in question as subversive of the ancient customs of the realm. The king observed that he had no wish to alter any ancient customs, except such as were contrary to the divine law. "And how," demanded the other, "is the ancient custom in regard to shipwreck contrary to that law?" "It is contrary," was the reply, "to two express commandments: 'Thou shalt not steal,' 'Thou shalt do no murder.'" By the law of Christian the authorities of the district were compelled to assist shipwrecked mariners in the preservation of their merchandise; but this assistance was not to be gratuitous; it was to be paid for by the mariners.

Bloodthirsty as was the character, tyrannical as were many acts, of this monarch, it may be doubted whether these hastened his downfall half so much as the noble ordinances to which we have alluded. As by them the nobles and senators of Jutland were the most aggrieved, so they were the first to plot his deposition. Towards the close of 1522, the result of their secret association appeared in a solemn act, by which they forever renounced their allegiance to Christian and transferred it to Duke Frederick. The reasons which they adduced for this extraordinary proceeding were numerous, and no doubt, weighty. They could, indeed, scarcely exaggerate, when they dwelt on his tyranny; but, still, their own privileges, their own immunities, were evidently the only things of which they really felt the violation. The prelates had an additional reason for his deposition, in the favour which he had shown to the apostles of Lutheranism. Before this act could reach him, he had probably some notion of the real state of the province; he could not well, indeed, be ignorant of it. Yet he convoked, at Kallundborg in Zealand, the nobles of Jutland, whose opinion, he said, he wished to obtain respecting the pretensions of his uncle to a portion of Norway, and the war with Lubeck and Sweden. That he had another object — the extermination or the imprisonment of the leading nobles — is affirmed by a contemporary writer. Of this opinion were the intended victims themselves, since not one of them repaired to the place of assembly. They might suspect that their secret consultations, and their correspondence with Duke Frederick — who, though little exposed in these transactions, was, beyond doubt, the soul of the conspiracy — were known to the king; and they could scarcely hope for more favour than the nobles of Norway and Sweden had experienced at his hands. Their refusal to obey the royal summons hastened the catastrophe. The act which deposed him was ingeniously laid before him, while the one that called Frederick to the throne was forwarded to that prince. Jutland was soon in arms; the duke prepared an army to take possession of the crown; and Christian hastened to Kolding, to consult with the handful of nobles who still adhered to him.

[1522-1523 A.D.]

He was advised to try the effect of entreaties, promises, and engagements to do whatever his rigsraad should wish him to do; to exclaim against the injustice of condemning him unheard; and to request a meeting with the most discontented of the aristocracy. There was so much justice in the request that, had not his ruin been long determined, it must have been heard. After some delay, the only answer returned was, that the estates (the nobles and prelates, for no other class was requested, or would have been allowed, to give an opinion) had already judged him; that another king, whose presence was daily expected, had been chosen; that his own evil deeds were known to everybody; and that no other evidence was needed. Seeing the utter hopelessness of a reconciliation with that great province, Christian passed into Funen, the estates of which acknowledged him; and from the people of Zealand he received even stronger assurances of support. Skane, too, through the influence of the primate (his own creature), was induced to declare for him. But probably none of these provinces had at this time much notion of the extent to which the conspiracy had been carried, for these acts were followed by no outward demonstration of assistance.

While Christian threw himself into Copenhagen, which he declared his resolution of defending, the Jutland rebels (for history cannot give them a more honourable name) were not inactive. They wrote to all the other provinces, using alike entreaties and menaces to procure their co-operation. They entered into a close league with Lubeck, which was still at war with Christian, and which readily agreed to furnish both money and troops towards the common cause. They urged the preparations of Duke Frederick, who required little stimulus on the occasion. A civil war seemed inevitable, when, to the surprise of the kingdom, Christian, collecting all the money, the jewels, and other precious effects he could, abandoned Copenhagen in company with the despised Sigbrit, the archbishop of Sweden, and others whom his misfortunes could not alienate from him. His object, according to his own account, was to solicit aid from his brother-in-law, the emperor Charles. His departure was the signal for a general defection. The fate of Christian was, henceforth, a melancholy one. A tempest, by which he lost most of his valuable effects, threw him on the coast of Norway. With difficulty his life was saved; nor was his subsequent escape to the Low Countries without danger. He was no longer to taste the sweets of royalty. An exile for some years from his throne and country, with limited means of support, without the respect of his old adherents or the fear of his enemies, he could not attempt, without rashness, to regain possession of the crown. Yet, as we shall perceive in the reign of his successor, that attempt he did make, and it had the result which might have been anticipated. It led to his close imprisonment for the remainder of his life — that is, for no less a period than twenty-seven years.

By his queen, Isabella of Austria, Christian had issue: (1) John, who was educated in the Low Countries, by the famous Cornelius Agrippa, and who did not discredit his tutor; (2) Dorothea, married to Frederick the elector palatine; (3) Christina, married, first, to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and afterwards to Francis, duke of Lorraine. Besides these, there were two princes who died young.

FREDERICK I (1523-1533 A.D.)

No sooner did Frederick hear of his nephew's unexpected flight, than he hastened to Viborg, in Jutland, where he received the homage of the estates.

As his royalty was the work of the nobles of that important province, he endeavoured to secure their favour by the most lavish concessions to their order. In criminal matters he gave them the power of life and death, with confiscation of substance, over their vassals; and in civil actions that of deciding in cases where the fines amounted to 40 marks. "Never," observes the chancellor Hotfeld, "did the Danish nobility obtain such advantages under former kings: from this period, it became equal, in power and rank, to the nobles of Schleswig and Holstein. Those of Norway and Sweden have no such powers; even in Germany, they are enjoyed only by the princes of the empire, and the counts and barons with territorial jurisdiction; so that our gentry, without titles or dignities, are in this respect on a par with those princes."

From these observations may be deduced the true cause of the revolution which we have just contemplated. The policy of Christian II was to diminish the overgrown privileges of the aristocracy; and in the same degree to elevate the peasantry and burgesses in the social scale. His expulsion was the effect of the ill-will engendered by that policy, and of the understanding between the nobles and Duke Frederick that the latter should not merely undo what his nephew had done, but confer on the privileged orders rights which they never yet had enjoyed. It is melancholy to see that the clergy were among the most eager in producing this odious revolution. Some of them had subsequently the honesty to confess their error. "I repent," wrote one of them to a canon of Roeskilde, "the share which I had in the last revolution; the new form of government has not been established as I could have wished it. Vain was the hope that some remedy was thereby devised for the evils of the state, and that the blessings of the change would soon be felt; there are now more heavy complaints of the prelates and nobles than there ever were of Christian II. It is the opinion of many that this prince was expelled rather for the advantage of the great, than for the welfare of the commonwealth. Would that they had moderated the exercise of their rights (if they can be called rights) over the peasants until tranquillity had been restored. Many are the people who think that the tyranny of one man would have been far preferable to that of so many oppressors, whose rapacity cannot possibly be satiated."

But criminal as were the grants of this prince, and much as the higher orders of the state were, in consequence, disposed to aid him, his accession was not without its difficulties. Though Funen declared for him, Zealand and Skåne refused for some time to acknowledge him, and Copenhagen and Kallundborg avowed their resolution to resist him to the last. With a body of six thousand men, which he had assembled at Kolding, a reinforcement of two thousand more, and some vessels sent him by the regency of Lubeck, he landed in Zealand, and invested the capital. Though he obtained possession of Kallundborg — probably by the golden key — he could make no impression on Copenhagen. The fidelity of the garrison was strengthened by the report that Christian himself, with a large German force, would soon arrive to relieve them. That the exiled prince was using every effort to obtain assistance, was indeed true: but many were the disappointments which he had to endure. His brother-in-law the emperor was in Spain, and could only address menacing letters to the inhabitants of the three kingdoms. Henry VIII of England could spare neither money nor troops. The elector of Brandenburg, his kinsman, would try what could be effected by negotiation before he would sanction an appeal to arms, the issue of which, as he well knew, must be doubtful. In vain did the imperial chamber, in vain did the German univer-

[1523-1525 A.D.]

sities, declare for him; in vain were the authorities of Lübeck commanded not to take part with the rebels. The cause of Frederick grew stronger every day. He persuaded the estates, or rather the nobles, of Skåne, to follow the example of Jutland, by conferring on them the same privileges that he had conferred on the other nobles. Of all the towns in the province, one only held for Christian. Norway was next induced to declare for him; and in return he recognised the elective privilege of that kingdom as fully as it existed in Denmark or Sweden. He also engaged to procure from the Scottish crown the restoration of the Orkney and Shetland isles. His triumph, indeed, was considerably abated by the news that an army of twenty-six thousand Germans, commanded by the elector of Brandenburg, was preparing to invade the kingdom; but he was not discouraged. Leaving the siege of Copenhagen to his son Christian, he hastened to meet his rival, whose forces were soon dispersed for want of pay, and even of necessaries. Nothing now remained to resist the progress of Frederick. Early in 1524, Copenhagen capitulated; and the example was speedily followed by Malmö. The two kingdoms, therefore, of Denmark and Norway, with the exception of two provinces — Vigen, dependent on the latter, and Blekinge, on the former, both of which had during the recent troubles been seized by the Swedes — were now held by the new monarch. Still, Admiral Norby, who had been invested by Christian with the government of Gotland, and whose valour at sea had often been proved by the Swedes and Lübeckers, refused to submit, but less, as we shall soon perceive, through a principle of loyalty than from a wild ambition.

The transactions of Frederick with Sweden were seldom of an amicable character, though the circumstances of both kingdoms prevented an open collision. On the flight of Christian, Gustavus Vasa, as might have been foreseen, was raised to the throne. This circumstance, indeed, did not prevent Frederick from assuming at his coronation the vain title of king of Sweden, in virtue of the Union of Kalmar; and it probably inspired Gustavus with the resolution of maintaining his sway over the two provinces just mentioned. Gotland too was a subject of dispute. At the instance of Lübeck, which severely felt the piratical courses of Norby, Gustavus sent a body of men to reduce the island. The admiral, politic enough to discern the true sentiments of the two kings, submitted to Frederick, on the condition of his being recognised governor of the island. The Swede, unwilling to try the hazardous experiment of a war at a time when he was exposed, no less than his rival, to the wrath of the exiled Christian, who had the avowed support of the empire, withdrew from the contest. The same apprehension induced the Dane to conceal his dissatisfaction with the Swede. It led both to negotiate, where, in a different position, both would have recurred to hostilities. In 1524, it produced a personal interview and a conference between them. Gustavus restored Blekinge, which, though geographically included in Sweden, had always been subject to Denmark; but he retained Vigen until a congress of deputies should decide on this and other disputes between the two crowns. Gotland was provisionally to remain in the hands of the nation whose troops should, at a given period, be in possession of the fortress of Visborg. But, in regard to the last place, a third party had to be consulted — Admiral Norby, who, though nominally the vassal of Frederick, was attempting, as King Eric had done before him, to establish for himself an independent sovereignty in that island. Suddenly declaring for the exiled Christian, whose cause he valued no more than Frederick's, he invaded Skåne, which he speedily reduced. Nor will this success surprise us, when we observe that Frederick was at this critical juncture (1525) absent in Holstein, and that the peasants, universally

[1525-1529 A.D.]

oppressed through the fatal concession of the reigning king, flocked in great numbers to his standard. A letter of Christian, adroitly published, still further explains the secret of that success. It declared that whatever Norby did would be done by his authority. It promised freedom to his "poor people," whom "children of the devil so impiously treated." It asserted that the royal misfortunes were attributable only to his determination to resist the intolerable rapacity of men "who held a peasant in no higher estimation than a dog." These representations were admirably adapted for the purpose in view; and had Christian been advancing to aid them by the physical argument, they must have been resistless. Excited by natural, although reprehensible, feelings, the peasantry arose, assailed these tyrants, and, whenever victors, showed them little mercy.

The triumph was of short continuance. Frederick readily obtained aid from his allies, the Swedish king and Lubeck, who had suffered so much from the piracy of the admiral; a small army was sent into Skåne, and Norby was twice defeated — on the second occasion so completely, that he was glad to capitulate. In return for the government of a fortress and a considerable sum by way of indemnity, he surrendered Gotland to Frederick. But his disposition was too restless to allow him to remain at peace. War was his element; he had been nursed in it, and out of it he could not live. With vessels which he bought or built, he recommenced his piratical courses, on the ships of Denmark no less than on those of Sweden and Lubeck. It was now the interest of all the three powers to combine their forces for the destruction of this audacious outlaw. He was defeated, and compelled to seek refuge in Muscovy, where, through the influence of Gustavus, he was detained a prisoner until 1529. Charles V obtained his liberation; he entered the service of that prince, but soon fell, at the siege of Florence.

During these transactions, Christian was not idle. The victory [Pavia, 1525] which placed Francis I at the mercy of the emperor, seemed also to menace his speedy restoration. The belief was very generally entertained that Charles would arm in behalf of his brother-in-law. To avert this probable event, Frederick, who could be influenced only by his fears, and who had not one particle of generosity or of common feeling for his deposed kinsman, consented to negotiate. By certain arbitrators it was agreed that he should purchase a foreign lordship for Christian, or allow him a suitable pension. Nor was this all: in a subsequent negotiation, the Danish rigsråd proposed that, after Frederick's death, the crown should devolve on Prince John, the son of Christian; and that Frederick's own son should be content with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Why this convention was not executed, we are not informed: probably Frederick devised means to annul it. This, at least, is certain, that both parties continued to make preparations — the one for attack, the other for defence. It was soon reported in the North that Ferdinand, king of the Romans and brother of the emperor, was preparing to assist the dethroned king more efficiently than by negotiation. Why such assistance had not been long given, will surprise no reader who is acquainted with the empire, in regard both to the war with France and to the progress of the Reformation. Both Gustavus and Frederick were known to be friendly to the opinions of Luther: both, therefore, were obnoxious to the universal Catholic party, which openly threatened an invasion in behalf of Christian, who, though perfectly indifferent to religion, had policy enough to declare himself the champion of the ancient faith. On the other hand, the reformed princes of Germany declared for the actual occupants of the Northern thrones. Had the Scandinavians themselves been uniform in their doctrines, they

[1529-1530 A.D.]

would have had little to apprehend from foreign enemies; but, though the Reformation had undoubtedly made considerable progress among them, especially in the large towns, the majority, perhaps, still adhered to the Romish communion. This was particularly the case in Norway, which, for that reason, was more favourable to Christian than to the reigning king.

So apprehensive was Frederick for the result that, in 1529, he sent his son into that kingdom, to obtain from the estates a recognition as successor to the crown. They refused to act, on the just ground that they had the elective right no less than Denmark; and that, as the two crowns were inseparable by the treaty of union, the sovereign elected by the one would naturally be chosen by the other. But their real motive was their attachment to Prince John — or, we should rather say, to the church of which John was considered the champion. They hoped, too, that the day was not far distant, when he or his father would arrive with a formidable armament to restore the ancient worship throughout the North. Frederick and Gustavus participated in the opinion; and, in 1530, they renewed another of the disputes which had so often agitated them. Vigen was restored to Norway; but the administration and the revenues were to remain six years longer in the hands of Gustavus, as a kind of indemnity for the renunciation of his pretensions. At the same time, both monarchs drew still closer the ties which connected them with the reformed princes of Germany.

Christian Reappears, and is Cast into Prison

The time was now come when Christian could again try the fortunes of war. Emboldened by a supply of money from the emperor; by another from Norway, with the promise of a general rise on his disembarkation in that kingdom; by numerous emigrants from all the three kingdoms; by the good wishes of the clergy and peasantry; by about ten thousand mercenary soldiers belonging to several nations; and by a fleet of about thirty sail which the merchants of the Low Countries hired to him, he left the ports of Holland late in October, and steered for Norway. Why he should venture to sea at such a tempestuous period of the year, can only be explained by that fatality which seemed to attend everything he undertook. On the coast of Friesland, a storm sank ten of his vessels; with the rest in a shattered condition, he reached Christiania.

His proclamations, however, had much effect: thousands, including senators and nobles, but especially the clergy and the rustics, flocked to his standard. Among these were the primate, two bishops, many priors, and a great number of the inferior clergy. Even towns declared for him; so that in a short time three fortified places only in the south of Norway — Aggershus, Bergenhus, and Bahu — held for Frederick. But these were by far the strongest towns in the kingdom. They were defended by valiant men, and the governors were actuated by the best spirit. At such a season of the year, there was little hope of reducing them; but Christian invested Aggershus, the key of Christiania, and suffered himself to be deluded by the promise of the governor that, if the place was not relieved within a given time, it should be surrendered to him. He might have known that Frederick would never suffer the fall of so important a place, but he seems to have relied, with something like infatuation, on the promises of men whose sole object was to gain time. That there was an understanding between Frederick and these functionaries not to spare assurances of any kind, so that he might be lulled into perfect security until the hour of action was past, is evident from the tenor of his

negotiations with Gyllenstiern, the governor of Aggershus, from his otherwise unaccountable inactivity, and still more from the result. While treated with so much respect by that officer — while made to believe that relief could not arrive in time, that the stipulation was only to save the honour of the commandant, and that the place would infallibly and immediately be surrendered — while receiving the homage of the Norwegians, who acknowledged his son, Prince John, as his successor, and sent to Frederick a renunciation of their allegiance — he had the mortification to learn that one thousand chosen men, with stores and provisions of every kind, had thrown themselves into the fortress. Indignant at the deception which had been practised on him, he now invested the place with vigour — but in vain. He could make no impression on the massive bulwarks, and had even the grief to perceive that a formidable armament was approaching to raise the siege entirely.

The Danish fleet, increased by the vessels of Lubeck disembarked within sight of Christiania early in May (1532). At this moment Christian was making an unsuccessful attempt on the neighbouring provinces of Sweden, in the belief that the Roman Catholics generally, and all who wished for the restoration of the Kalmar Union, would either aid him, or at least offer no resistance to his progress. But the troops of Gustavus offered resistance enough. Having sustained a defeat, he was compelled to throw himself into Konghella, where, owing to the Danish and Swedish reinforcements daily received by his enemies, his position was soon a critical one. That he was betrayed into it by one of his faithless attendants — and he had many of the kind — was his own firm belief, and must be the belief of all impartial writers. But the conviction arose too late if the traitor was punished, the evil could not be recalled. With much difficulty, indeed, Christian cut his way through the surprised enemies who environed the place, and threw himself into Christiania; but if this step delayed, it could not avert, his fate. That place was soon invested by new and more formidable armaments; his own vessels were burnt before his eyes, and he was thus cut off from all supplies; his provisions were alarmingly diminished; he had no longer money to satisfy his mercenaries; and it was evident that he must soon either fall with arms in his hands, or make terms with the besiegers — if, indeed, he could not escape in disguise. Perceiving the hopelessness of resistance, he made overtures of accommodation. What follows is not the brightest page of this dark history. Under the walls of Christiania, his deputies and the Danish chiefs met to agree on the terms of surrender. After some parley, it was manifest that they could not agree; and, in conformity with the entreaty of the latter, Christian himself repaired to the conference. There, with much affability of manner, with the greatest sincerity, with the noblest confidence in the honour of the chiefs, he requested them to name the course which they would have him adopt. They advised him to go to the court of his uncle, who, they assured him, would receive him with the utmost distinction, and even kindness; “they engaged, before God, on their faith, their honour, and their salvation, to provide for his safety, and that of one hundred persons in his suite;” to treat him with all possible respect; to let him negotiate with whomsoever he pleased, whether in Norway, or on his passage to Copenhagen, or during his sojourn in Denmark; to procure for his adherents a complete oblivion of the past; to use their influence to obtain for him the best terms from Frederick; and if the two kings should not agree, still the safe-conduct which they gave him should be equally binding, and he should be at liberty to go wherever he pleased.

After this clear and unequivocal engagement, Christian no longer hesitated to confide in the Danish chiefs. He received the safe-conduct; wrote a

[1532 A. D.]

humble and even affecting letter to his uncle, whom he promised "thenceforward to obey as a son would his father"; and in July embarked for Copenhagen. He now discovered the extent of the treachery of which he was the victim. Frederick refused to sanction the convention. But so notorious a breach of faith required some colour of excuse, and he assembled his rigsråd, or rather, such members as he knew would abide by his resolution. The majority — for there was an honourable minority — were of opinion that the conditions and the safe-conduct should be disregarded, on the ground that they had been signed "against the intentions of the king." Gyllenstiern, the chief actor in the perfidy, was next examined; and he too advised the retention of Christian, on the plea that he (Christian) had violated the safe conduct, which was therefore null! The determination to imprison him, which was urged alike by the nobility and the deputies from Lübeck, was soon taken. All this time he remained on board the ship which had brought him from Norway, suspicious, indeed, of some knavery, but little apprehensive of the severe fate which awaited him. To his demand that he should be admitted into his uncle's presence, it was replied that the king was at Flensburg, and that the interview solicited would there take place. Towards that city the course of the vessel which carried him, and of some others, designed not to honour him but to secure his imprisonment, was immediately directed. From the sea he contemplated with a gleam of hope the towers of Flensburg, but that gleam soon vanished; the squadron passed along, and bore him to the strong fortress of Sonderburg, in the solitary isle of Alsen, within which he was speedily immured. The place was well chosen. It lay far from the route of the Swedish and Norwegian vessels, but within a short sail of Lübeck and Holstein, both of which had an interest in his safe detention. He had but one apartment, and that a dungeon the door of which was walled up. There was a small grated window in the wall, through which his scanty provisions were daily handed. During twelve long years he languished in that horrible abode, with a dwarf as his only companion. He was abandoned by the world, even by his imperial brother-in-law; and his existence was remembered only by the anxiety of the nobles of Holstein, Denmark, and Sweden to prevent his enlargement.

Two other circumstances concurred in the establishment of Frederick's throne. One was the submission of the Norwegians, who bent to the power which coerced them; the other was the death of Prince John, the son of Christian. There was now no rival to the pretensions of Prince Christian, the son of Frederick, who had already been acknowledged heir to the thrones of Denmark and Norway by the estates, or rather, by the rigsråd and nobles of both kingdoms.

Before we dismiss the reign of this monarch, we must advert more particularly to the religious state of the North. From the contiguity of Denmark to the Protestant states of Germany, the new opinions could not fail to be introduced into it immediately after their promulgation by Luther. The Scandinavians, too, had sense enough to perceive the monstrosity of the doctrines respecting indulgence, openly preached by the papal legate Arcemboldi. Rome claimed a right which God himself has not claimed — that of dispensing with the eternal obligations of religion and morality. But if reason has often led to the conversion of individuals, it has seldom influenced a nation, and still less that portion of it denominated the great. The majority of men do not reason: they are led by example; while those in authority are influenced by their interests. Christian looked on the Reformation with a favourable eye, because it gave the prince, in matters purely ecclesiastical, a voice which, since

the days of Constantine, perhaps — certainly since those of the Carolingian dynasty — no sovereign had enjoyed. It did more: it placed at his disposal the revenues of the church and many extensive domains, which, by the suppression of the monastic orders, reverted to the crown. These advantages, coupled with the diminished power of the bishops, who had often been the tyrants of the North, made him so much favour the Reformation as to send for missionaries to preach it openly.^d

PONTOPPIDAN TELLS THE STORY OF THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK

Things had come to such a pass that it can justly be said that the government had become dual, and the archbishop a monarch of the church who scarcely gave precedence to the king. It may not be true, as is related, that a bishop on drinking the king's health said: "Our favour brings your favour;" but it is, nevertheless, certain that these lords had gone far toward gaining the ascendancy over the king.

How great the state and revenues of these prelates were, can be guessed from the fact that King Christian II, who with jealous eyes watched the increase of their power, gave orders that in future the archbishop was only to be accompanied by twenty horsemen when in the field, and the remaining bishops by only ten. Previously they had had a hundred. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they were real war heroes, who generally commanded the army of the kings at sea and on land. When they summoned their peasants and those of the capital, they could assemble a fair force of so called "choirmen," who fought with clubs, and even attacked royal castles. In the battle fought at Fodevig in 1135, under King Niels, six bishops and six hundred priests were killed. By wills and other presents for masses for the dead, these lords had gained so many noble lands that thirty-three fiefs were subservient to the episcopal see of Roeskilde; and, as can be seen from a writing of King Christopher I, a great many nobles were bound by allegiance to them alone, and not to the king. Only daily misfortune and weakness could therefore arise in the state. The luxury and terrible extravagance of the clergy of those times certainly could not have been greater.

Coarseness and Ignorance of the Clergy

Most of the bishops, abbots, prelates and priests were according to the literary standards of the period, to be counted among the unlettered. In the time of the Reformation there was not one who, at the conference at Copenhagen in 1530, could have been compared to Magister Hans Thauson and other Protestants who had studied at Wittenberg; but Doctor Stagefyer and other learned men were brought from Cologne as champions.

Those of the prelates who had studied were rarely theologians, but mostly *Juris* and *decret doctores* or *Licentiati*. They applied themselves to that which belonged to the maintenance of their state, supremacy, and advantage. They "disputed," with the ban, against the heretics and relied on the argument of the sword. Those who had scruples were told, "Eat, bird, what is placed before you, or die." It must also be remembered that theology and the Holy Scriptures were not allowed to be taught at the University of Copenhagen. One Dane appends to a document the statement: "As I cannot write myself, so and so has signed in my stead." Jerpager, in *Orat. Jubil.*, assures us that a canon of Ribe, Nicolaus Ebbonis, was not able to sign his own name. Some studied in Paris and in Cologne on the Rhine, but these

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were few compared to those who learned a little bad Latin in the convents, or who had been only officials and servants of the bishops, and had then become preachers.

As they themselves had little light they could not impart much to others. Their sermons were full of absurd fables of miracles which were said to have taken place here and there; and these preachers concerned themselves only with private confession, veneration of the saints, etc. This is satisfactorily attested by the work of the papist Postil still kept in the libraries of curio lovers — written in the Danish language by Christen Pedersen, canon of Lund, and published in Paris shortly before the Reformation, namely in 1515. In this volume one finds a whole store of superstitious absurdities. It is worth while to introduce the following passage as a specimen of the old Danish credulity:

"We read that there was a jailer who, whenever he passed before the image of the Virgin Mary, honoured her with an Ave Maria, and commended himself to her care. Once when he was praying to the Virgin Mary, the judge ordered that he should come and hang a man. On the way, his enemies came and killed him. Now, there was in the town a pious priest, who had the habit of going round all the churches of the town at night. In the night he came to the churchyard of Our Lady where he found many people he had known in their lifetime. To one of them he said, 'How is it there are so many people here to-night?' He replied, 'The jailer of this place has been killed to-day, and devils have taken his soul, and say it belongs to them; on the other hand the Virgin Mary asserts it belongs to her. Now all the people are standing here to see the outcome of the affair. For the almighty God, a severe and just judge, is now to come from Heaven to disperse them by one word.' Then the priest thought to himself, 'I wish I could hide myself somewhere here, so as to listen to the sentence.' He therefore crept behind some timber. When he had thus hidden himself, he saw the all-powerful Judge descend, sitting on his judgment seat and accompanied by his devoted Mother, the Virgin Mary. Then came the devils, bringing with them the jailer's soul, which they had bound tightly. They asserted that, on account of the many evil deeds committed, it rightly fell to them. Then Mary replied that in the hour of his death the jailer had prayed to her, and commended his soul to her, and that therefore by right it was hers. When the Judge heard this he did not wish to anger his dearly loved Mother, neither did he desire to wrong the devil. He therefore commanded the soul again to enter the body, so as to atone for its sins, and ordered a notification sent to the pope that the universal prayers of the church should be offered up for the jailer. Someone asked who was to inform the pope. Then the Virgin Mary replied, 'Call the priest who has hidden himself.' When the latter came forth she gave him a beautiful rose saying, 'Take this to the pope, and tell him what thou hast heard and seen, and give him this rose as a proof.' As soon as the pope saw the rose he believed the priest and credited his mission, and he had the prayers said. Afterwards the soul was released and entered Heaven. May almighty God grant us all the joy of entering and abiding there. Amen!"

Wretched as was the standard of sermons, few priests had energy to preach at all. Many village churches belonged to the cathedral chapters; and therefore it was the duty of the canons, either themselves or through their deputies, to conduct divine service. But they neglected it at their leisure, yet nevertheless demanded their rents and tithes from the peasants, who uttered constant complaints. Once under King Christopher III they raised a rebellion, but found little redress.

The Odense Recess and its Results

In 1527, a free and public diet was held in the town of Odense on the festival of the Assumption. The bishops, prelates, knights, and lower estates appeared there to consider various matters. The principal question was that of religious disturbances, and the speech which the king then publicly made to the bishops redounds to his undying honour. The tenor thereof was that they should be mindful to keep the charge of their great pastoral office more heedfully than had been done heretofore; and should at least see to it that the pure and saving word of God should everywhere be expounded to the lay people in their churches — in place of which nothing had been heard up to this time *save* miracles, fables, lies, and foolish inventions of men. Although he had promised to maintain the doctrines of the church of Rome, yet they should not stretch his promise farther than to cover what was true and fundamental in the said doctrine, nor extend it to the palpable errors which might so easily creep in at divers times. What he had promised concerning the dignity of their order, he fully intended to abide by. But they themselves should consider no less what use they made of their greatness and power, and with what conscience they thought one day to give account of it to God, to whom both they and he owed fuller obedience than to the see of Rome. For the rest, since by this time the teaching of Luther had been so far disseminated in the country that they could not hope to stifle it without detriment to the common weal, and since they had heard that in other countries the said teaching had been adopted by whole kingdoms and provinces, and could therefore no longer pass for heresy, he, for his part, taking all these things into consideration, was determined to tolerate both religions within his kingdom, until at length, as all men hoped and expected, a general council of the whole Christian church should be held. That which was then decreed in the matter of religion he, in common with other Christians, would hold binding upon himself.

After many debates, and in spite of the opposition of the bishops, who obstructed it, so to speak, with hands and feet, the king, reinforced by the support of several members of the *rigsraad*, overcame all obstacles and obtained this much: that the subjoined constitution was made and confirmed by the *publica auctoritate*. It is the more remarkable because it laid the foundation of the liberty of the Danish church, and paved the way for a complete reformation.

Article 1. From this day forward every one of the clergy shall enjoy liberty in so far as no man shall be authorized to examine another's conscience, whether he be Lutheran or papist. Rather let every man take thought for his own soul. Article 2. The Lutheran confession in particular, which had hitherto had no full security nor safeguard [Danish *Leyde*], the king henceforth receives into equal protection and shelter as the papist. Article 3. The estate of matrimony, which for several hundred years hath been prohibited to the servants of the church, canons, monks, and clerics of all sorts, is now permitted; and every man is free to enter into the married state, or to remain in purity of life (*Reenlifvenhed*). Article 4. Henceforward bishops shall not go to Rome for the *pallium*, but shall receive confirmation from the king only, after they have been lawfully elected by the chapter, which retains its liberty in the matter.

Furthermore, another constitution was made concerning the jurisdiction of the clergy and their right or claim to fines, tithes, etc. The quarrel that was pending between the bishops and nobles on the question of forty-mark fines, was settled in such wise that fines due for murder and offences against

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the church, the peace of the church, and clerical persons, remained under the jurisdiction of the clergy.^h In all other cases the crown was to levy the fines from its dependants according to law, and the nobles were to do the same from theirs. The tithes were confirmed to the clergy according to the statutes of King Christopher III and other kings, the king as well as the nobles undertaking to bestow them. Any man might make offerings for the souls of the departed as God put it in his heart to do, but voluntarily and without compulsion. Bishops, prelates, churches, and abbeys were to retain possession of the property they held, till such time as it should be taken from them by the law of the land. Priests, monks, and other clerical persons were not to be brought before the assizes or provincial courts, but left to the jurisdiction of their rightful judges the prelates, except in cases concerning certain localities with which the assize and provincial courts alone should be competent to deal.

Immediately after the diet of Odense, the character of the church and of religion in Denmark assumed a new and far more satisfactory aspect. The assurance of religious liberty and toleration aroused joy unspeakable in some thousand peculiarly timorous souls, but no small indignation among the bishops and their followers, who saw whither matters were tending, yet were powerless to interfere. The strength of truth was not on their side to enable them to hold the fort, and had it been otherwise, they would not have known how to avail themselves of it, for there were but few among them who had rightly perused God's word, or had laboured honestly at theology — as could be said of their opponents, especially of Hans Thauson, Jorgen Sadolin, and others, who had employed their time well at Wittenberg. On the other hand, "the fleshy arm and the strength of an horse," which had hitherto been the papists' strong support, began to corrupt, yea, to perish altogether, by the aforesaid constitution of Odense. When men would no longer be forced to believe and confess the faith, but sought to be convinced out of the Scriptures, their method of teaching was undone. Many a Nicodemus might now be seen creeping out of his corner, and coming over to the Protestant side. There were now almost as many Protestants as papists, and that not only in the towns, but in the villages and on the estates of the nobles. But many clave to the old superstition. The bishops were concerned only to save their order with the *sæcularibus* thereto appertaining. They almost abandoned the defence of their doctrines, and could only look on and see, not the lay people alone, but a goodly number of preachers turn against them. Whereby, alas! it is to be feared that much impurity mingled with men's motives, and some so-called priests were induced to change, rather by the liberty to marry than by heartfelt acceptance of the truth. Anthon Heinrich adduces more than one example of those who had long had their *foscariæ* (who were called *Steelten*), and were now joined with them in matrimony, according no uncertain recognition to children they had already had. Nicol Helwaderus, who was secretly inclined to popery, casts ridicule upon them for this, saying in *Sylva Chron. Mar. Balth.*, "Then they began to look round upon the daughters of men (*Si te delectant formosæ membra puellæ, I, pete conjugium*)"

Some monks and nuns who had been thrust into the cloister in youth, and without due probation, began secretly to desert in certain places, and to take upon themselves a different manner of life. But there were not many such, since the proceeding was approved by few; and most monasteries remained in fair condition for a long while, save that a few mendicant friars in the towns, for lack of alms and for other causes, abandoned their monasteries, which were then turned to different uses. But the members of the

many endowed orders or those which lived *de propriis*, especially the Benedictines, Bernardines, and Augustinians, abode by their former way of life.^h

THE DEATH OF FREDERICK

Events soon showed that the decree of the estates of Odense was not to be a barren one. Independent of the secularisation of ecclesiastical property, occasioned alike by the desertion of the monastic orders and the forfeitures exacted from clerical delinquents, no bishop was thenceforth elected without the recommendation of the crown. His confirmation only had been stipulated, which was to act as a kind of veto on the choice of the chapter, if an improper subject should be elected. But by this innovation — by an exercise of authority, which even the pope, in all the plenitude of his power, had never claimed — the chapter had no longer a voice in the matter. Nor was this all: such dignities were no longer to be gratuitous; they were to be bought. Thus, in 1529, on the death of the bishop of Roeskilde, his successor, who was recommended — that is, nominated — by the crown, was constrained to pay 6,000 florins to the king. Even this was not all: he also engaged not to oppose the progress of the reformation, but to fill his diocese with evangelical — that is, Lutheran — preachers; and, lest he should violate the engagement, he was required to give security for its due performance.

The effect of such measures soon appeared. Holstein, Schleswig, Jutland, and still more, the cities of Copenhagen and Malmö, were filled with Lutheran missionaries, whose zeal and whose novelty of manner made a great sensation wherever they appeared. In the cities, there was more education, more general intelligence, than in the rural districts, in them, the new doctrines were more eagerly examined and more promptly adopted. We do not, however, read of public disputations in this country, which were so common in Germany. In 1530, indeed, a great one was to be held at Copenhagen; but, owing to some misunderstanding as to the conditions, it never took place. Frederick took advantage of the circumstance to obtain from the estates a confirmation of the decree that the professors of both religions should be equally protected by the law. Yet this decree could not prevent occasional disturbances. Sometimes the bishops found opportunities of persecuting; sometimes the Protestants refused to tolerate what they termed the idolatry of the mass, and became persecutors in their turn. In general, however, there was much less tumult in Denmark than in most other countries. The bias of the court was too evident to allow of the Lutheran professors' being materially hurt; and the latter, though vehement in their sermons, had too much prudence needlessly to exasperate a yet powerful body, who might be assisted at any moment by foreign intervention.

On the whole, then, the Reformation made great progress in Denmark, and some in Norway, during this monarch's short reign. The ancient church received a blow from which it could not afterwards recover. It might totter for a while; it might for a while appear majestic, and even formidable, to all who assailed it; but its ultimate ruin was inevitable. One of the king's last acts was to receive the Confession of Augsburg, which, though he could not enforce it on his Catholic subjects, he imposed on the Protestants.

Frederick died in 1533. His character has been much lauded by the national historians, from the chancellor Hoitfeld down to our own day. But a foreigner can see little to admire in it. Without genius, without generosity, without honour, without any other guiding principle than his own

[1533-1534 A.D.]

interests, he has no one claim to our respect. By his queen, Anne of Brandenburg, he had issue—Christian III, his successor; and Dorothea, married to Albert, markgraf of Brandenburg and first duke of Prussia. These connections will account, in some degree, for his decided measures in regard to the Reformation. His second wife, daughter of Bogislaw, duke of Pomerania, was also a Protestant. By her he had (1) John, who inherited one-third of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, (2) Adolf, successor of the ducal branch of Gottorp, (3) Frederick, successively bishop of Schleswig and Hildesheim, and coadjutor of Bremen.

INTERREGNUM (1533-1534 A.D.)

The fifteen months which followed the death of Frederick were among the most momentous in the modern annals of Denmark. It might have been supposed that the captivity of Christian II, and the death of his son John, would have removed all obstacles to the accession of Christian, the eldest son of Frederick—especially as his brothers were yet in their infancy. But the bishops and the superior clergy were determined to exclude him—first, because they were angry with his father; and, next, because they knew his own attachment to the principles of the Reformation. Their influence over the other members of the rigsråd, who were few in number, connected with them by the ties of blood, and still adherents of Rome, will go far to explain the events which followed.

The rigsråd, as we have before observed, had by degrees usurped many of the attributes of the estates general; among them was the momentous one of a royal election. As usual, they met at Copenhagen, not so much to fix on the choice of a sovereign, as to consult with each other on the aspect of affairs, and to hold the reins of government until they could agree in the election of some prince. Their intention to exclude Christian was evident from their not inviting him to be present, and still more, from their receiving with coldness the envoys whom, without their invitation, he sent to protect his interests. He had even much difficulty in securing his election as administrator of Holstein until his brothers should reach maturity. He was thus in danger of losing, by the elective suffrage, all chance of authority in the estates held by his father. He saw, too, that in Denmark there was a party which, though adopting a policy distinct from that of the bishops, was no less hostile to him: this was the party favourable to the restoration of Christian II. He had, however, the satisfaction of perceiving that the majority of the nobles—those, at least, of Jutland, Funen, and Skåne—were zealous for his election. Thus, there were three divisions in the state; and, though that of the bishops was numerically the smallest, yet, as representatives of the church, as leading members of the rigsråd, and invested with the actual administration, their preponderance was manifest.

This influence was strikingly displayed at the meeting of the estates general on the festival of St. John. In the discourse which the prelates delivered on the occasion, they condemned the "rash innovations" of the preceding reign, especially the abandonment of the cloister by the monks, the transfer of church property to the hands of laymen, the desecration of church buildings, the lamentable decline in voluntary offerings, and the contempt in which the holy sacrifice of the mass—the only foundation of religion—was held by a great portion of the kingdom. In conclusion, they loudly demanded the restoration of the old order of things. These complaints were heard with comparative indifference by many of the nobles, especially by those who had

shared in the usurpations of the times; but a body equal in number, who had not touched the spoil, were either neuter or disposed to the bishops. Some management, therefore, was necessary—some concessions must be made, which it was intended to revoke whenever there should be a monarch ready to assist in the act. A decree was passed that bishops alone should have the power of conferring holy orders; that the tithe should be duly paid; and whoever should refuse it should have no protection from the civil power; that bequests to the church might be lawfully made and peacefully enjoyed; that the church should be supported in her actual rights and possessions. These concessions were openly opposed by two members of the rigsråd, but their opposition could avail little against the demands of one party and the timid policy of another.

The next proceeding of the rigsråd was to prepare for the election of a king. There was no intention in any quarter of excluding the Oldenburg family; but, respecting the individual, there was likely to be dissension enough. Opposed alike to Christian II, and Christian duke of Holstein, who divided the wishes of above three-fourths of the nation, the bishops declared for Prince John of Holstein, brother of the duke. The reasons which they advanced for the preference of the younger over the elder prince, were specious. Christian, they affirmed, being born while his father was merely a duke, had less claim to the crown than John, who, from his birth, was the son of a king. The former had received his early education in Holstein, a stranger to the habits, the manners, the feelings, the very language of the Danes, and had imbibed at the courts of his kinsmen, the German princes, a spirit that must necessarily be in many respects irreconcilable with the institutions of the North, while the latter was truly a Dane in birth, education, language, sentiment, and principle. But the true reason for this preference was carefully withheld by the noble ecclesiastics; and this was the tender youth of John, who was scarcely twelve years old, and who, in their hands, might be moulded to any shape. The majority exclaimed against the choice of a mere child at a time when the maturest judgment and the greatest firmness were necessary to guide the vessel of the state. At length, the contest assumed a character almost entirely religious; the Roman Catholics following the example of their spiritual heads, by declaring for John; the Protestants, with equal pertinacity, calling for the elder brother. The former, apprehensive lest violence should be done to their independence of choice by the unruly mob of Copenhagen, were anxious to gain time, by the very natural proposition, that the Norwegians, who were as deeply interested in the choice as themselves, should concur in the act. Here, too, was displayed the usual cunning of churchmen; for the majority of that people were hostile to the Reformation. As the season was too far advanced to allow the arrival of deputies from that kingdom before the winter, it was agreed that the election should be postponed until the following year. The interim each determined to employ in the manner best calculated to advance his own end.

Scarcely was this compromise effected, when the members of the rigsråd found themselves in an embarrassed position. From Duke Christian, who was too good a politician to menace them, they experienced only offers of mediation with their enemy, the governor of the Low Countries—a power that they had incensed alike by the imprisonment of Christian II and by the shackles which they had imposed on commerce. But from Lubeck, which had resolved, in active commercial spirit, to derive every advantage from the internal dissensions of a rival, they received a very different treatment. Wollenwever, the envoy of that regency, and one of the burgomasters, demanded

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for that all-engrossing republic the exclusion from the trade of the Baltic, of all other people, especially the English and the Dutch, to whom the Sound was to be rigorously closed. Considering the power of Lubeck, the head of the Hanseatic League, and the services which she had recently performed in behalf of northern independence, a refusal might provoke a dangerous enemy, and would certainly be construed into ingratitude. On the other hand, to exasperate the Low Countries and consequently the emperor and his allies, might be more dangerous, and would assuredly be more detrimental to the national interests. After much hesitation, a negative to the envoy's proposition was returned in terms of studied courtesy, and with many expressions of gratitude and goodwill. But these availed nothing. Foiled in his project of engrossing all the trade of the North, and of humbling the Dutch, who had become the most formidable rivals of Lubeck, Wollenwever determined on revenge. The bishops, who ruled the rigsraad, must first be overpowered; and this could be done only by contributing to the exaltation of the reformed party. By his artful representations of the danger to which the Protestant religion was exposed, and of the advantage which their respective communities must reap by an alliance with the Hanse Towns, he brought the two burgomasters of Copenhagen and Malmo — magistrates otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of the bishops, and eager for revenge — completely within his influence. But the views of these allies were widely different: he aimed merely at perpetuating dissension, and profiting by it; they, at the termination of all dissension by the election of Prince Christian, and the consequent triumph of their own party. The conduct of the bishops, which daily became more arbitrary and more odious to the reformers, did, for the cause of the latter, more than intrigue or even arms could have effected. The two burgomasters forsook with disgust their seats in the rigsraad, and confined themselves to their magisterial duties. By so doing, they became popular in proportion to the unpopularity of the churchmen.

At length, seeing the archbishop of Lund and his suffragans openly enjoin silence on the reformed preachers, and menace with excommunication all who refused to return to the ancient church, they repaired to Duke Christian in Holstein, and exhorted him to place himself at the head of the Protestants, and seat himself on the vacant throne. Christian had the good sense to decline the dazzling offer, though he well knew that it would obtain the end proposed. He declared, that no one ought to be king of Denmark, who was not previously elected by the estates; and that he should not attempt to obtain by violence what ought to be conferred by the deliberate voice of the nation. This moderation was as much the result of good policy as of good feeling, since it would not fail to make a favourable impression on the electors. In other respects he cultivated their goodwill. He negotiated a union between the nobles of Denmark and of the two duchies, and advised a treaty of commerce between Denmark and the Low Countries. By this treaty, the Sound was opened to the Dutch vessels on payment of the usual dues. The Danish senate even entered into a defensive alliance with the queen regent of the Netherlands, and provided still farther for the security of the realm by a similar alliance with Sweden.

The alliance with the Netherlands was the more offensive to the people of Lubeck, as the two powers were then at war. Influenced by Wollenwever, the latter power bent its thoughts towards revenge — revenge on Denmark, which thus opposed its monopoly, its interests, its ambitious policy in every respect. In the attainment of so great an object, all minor ones must be disregarded: every jealousy of the Dutch was sacrificed to indignation against

the Danes; and a peace between the two commercial powers was soon negotiated. One of the conditions was that Holland might send as many vessels as she pleased into the Baltic. For this entire change of policy we may easily account. Lubeck now began to entertain the project of seizing for herself the passage of the Sound, and consequently the dominion of the Baltic; then, nothing could be so easy as to exclude Holland and all Europe from participation in the monopoly. The means for executing this magnificent project must be an immediate war with Denmark. War, therefore, was resolved. But who was to head the expedition? Lubeck had no citizen or vassal important or able enough to undertake such a trust. Choice was at length made of a German count named Christopher, a member of the house of Oldenburg, whose talents and whose ambition were well known. He was easily persuaded to assume a command, which might possibly obtain him a sceptre, which would certainly bring him riches, and probably avenge his imprisoned kinsman Christian II. The deliverance of that monarch was one of the pretexts which would most justify the war in the eyes of Europe. He therefore demanded the prisoner's enlargement from the duke of Holstein. When the demand was refused, he did not repeat it to the Danish rigsråd, which might have been frightened into compliance, but declared war against both Holstein and Denmark (1534).

THE COUNT'S WAR

Christopher had raised 4,000 infantry in Germany; these, added to the armaments which the Hanse Towns themselves furnished, made a respectable force. With it he penetrated into Holstein, took several towns, plundered them and the open country, and before he could be resisted by either the duke or the Danes, returned with great plunder to Lubeck. There he obtained large reinforcements; and then, with the burgomasters, sailed for Copenhagen. Within four leagues of that capital, he was joined by the burgomaster of Malmö, who assured him of the good wishes of the inhabitants. He therefore with his ships blockaded the city, while with a land force he disembarked, seized Roeskilde, forced the people to swear allegiance to Christian II, and replaced the bishop by the famous Gustavus Trolle, whose life had been one continued series of intrigues. That Copenhagen should offer no resistance to the invaders, may seem extraordinary; but the majority of the inhabitants were in favour of Christian II, and their leaders were certainly won over by the agents of Lubeck. The count, after pillaging the two nearest towns, proceeded towards the capital, and summoned it to acknowledge the captive monarch. The summons was obeyed by the city; and though the fortress held out, it was soon compelled to capitulate. All Zealand was persuaded or forced to do the same; Malmö opened its gates, and, with most of Skåne, declared for Christian II. The bishops, the clergy, and such of the nobles as were still hostile to that monarch, fled into Jutland, which would listen to no proposal that involved his restoration. The isles south of Zealand submitted, Funen was blockaded, and Jutland menaced. In these successes, the conqueror—if he who declares himself the head of a large native party, and triumphs by the aid of that party, may be called one—committed many excesses. There was, at the best, little discipline among his mercenaries; but he gave full run to their rapacity, by abandoning to them the domains of all who were represented as unfavourable to his views. A worse evil was the ferocity of the peasants, who, actuated by revenge against their feudal oppressors, massacred all that were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, and delivered their dwellings to the flames.

[1534 A.D.]

Why, it may be asked, did Duke Christian not advance to the aid of the rigsråd and nobles? Two reasons may be assigned for this inactivity. The first and chief was that he was not solicited; and he knew too well the apprehensions entertained of him by the church, wantonly to obtrude the offer of his services. Besides, he was too discerning not to perceive that the progress of events was favourable to his hopes. He alone, of all the members of the Oldenburg family, was in a condition to measure arms with the invaders; and sooner or later his interference would scarcely fail to be solicited. But another reason is that he was, at this very moment, effecting a powerful diversion in favour of the kingdom by menacing Lubeck itself. That important city he invested by sea and land; and, though he could scarcely hope to reduce it, he effectually interrupted its commerce, and in other respects wasted its resources. The only consolation left — and this was no slight one — was that the arms of the regency were as successful in Denmark as they were disastrous at home.

The foresight of Duke Christian was soon justified by the event. The nobles of Jutland and Funen began to exclaim against the obstinacy of the bishops, in excluding from the throne those who alone could save the rest of the kingdom. In a general meeting of the rigsråd at Ry, in the former province, the burgomaster of Copenhagen harangued the members with much force and much eloquence. He observed, that if the duke had been chosen, Skåne and Zealand, and the other islands would not now be in the power of Lubeck; that if the choice were not immediately made, the party of Christian II must triumph — and who present could wish for the restoration of a king always sanguinary, and rendered ferocious by exile and imprisonment? The secular members applauded the discourse, but the bishops still resisted, and would have continued to resist had not the nobles, who were outside the hall, suspected the truth, forced open the doors, rushed into the room, and exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Duke Christian must be chosen. Terrified at this demonstration, the churchmen withdrew their opposition — with a protest, however, against the violence of the nobles, and on the express condition that Christian should recognise the privileges of the rigsråd and of the church. He was instantly proclaimed; deputies were sent to acquaint him with the event, at the camp before Lubeck; he hastened to meet other deputies and confirm the privileges of the rigsråd and nobles; and at Horsens, in Jutland, he received the homage of that province and Funen. To the bishops and all ecclesiastics, he promised the continuance of their revenues, privileges, and immunities, whether they remained in the church, or embraced the Reformation; and he guaranteed to both communions perfect liberty of worship. How he kept these promises will appear in the sequel.

THE ACCESSION OF CHRISTIAN III (1534 A.D.)

No monarch ever ascended the throne in circumstances more difficult or more disheartening than those by which Christian III was surrounded. One half the kingdom held, the other half menaced, by a powerful enemy; the church, the peasantry, and most of the burgesses — constituting at least five sixths of the nation — unfriendly to his claim; the nobles themselves, his only supporters, discouraged; the empire and the Netherlands no less hostile to him than Lubeck — these conditions were surely enough to damp the enterprise of any thinking man. But Christian was in all the fire of youth; he had not experienced the chilling misfortunes of life; his ardour was unquenched; he relied on the sympathies and even the support of Sweden and the reformed princes of Germany; and he had at his command a body of

martial nobles, whose interests, and even whose lives, were inseparably connected with his success. At the events of the war which followed — events complicated, uniform, and uninteresting — we can only glance.

Having prevailed on Gustavus of Sweden to make a diversion in his favour by the invasion of Skåne, Christian proceeded to attempt the deliverance of Fünen, which was now almost entirely in the hands of the count of Oldenburg. He succeeded but he had scarcely left the island to carry his arms elsewhere, when the count returned and again reduced it. That ambitious chief had other objects than the interest of the republic or that of Christian II., in whose name he had drawn the sword. Hearing of the new king's departure, he detached a part of his force into Jutland, the reduction of which would insure the submission of the whole kingdom. The attempt was an arduous one, since that province contained the most numerous, the most

warlike, and the most devoted portion of the Danish nobility. Yet Aalborg was taken; all Verdsyssel was occupied; devastation marked the track of the invaders, and terror preceded their march. The undisguised prayers of the peasantry for the success of men whom they hailed as their deliverers, alarmed the nobles and caused them to flee to the strong fortress of Renders. A stand was, indeed, made by the royal generals, but they were signally defeated. The moral effect of this victory was more valuable than the victory itself, since it induced the peasantry, whom fear had hitherto kept aloof, to take an active part in the war. Woe to the local tyrants on whom they laid their hands! Yet they could not perpetrate worse deeds than the invaders,



CHRISTIAN III

or the nobles themselves, whenever the latter had the opportunity. Fortunately for Christian, Renders repelled its assailants and forced them to seek a refuge in Aalborg. Equally fortunate was the convention which, under the mediation of some reformed princes, he made with Lubeck. That republic, on the condition of his raising the siege and of respecting its territory, which was thenceforth to be neutral, engaged not to act against Holstein, which was to be equally neutral. But in regard to the war in Denmark, both parties were at liberty to push it as zealously as they wished. In accordance with this treaty, the king hastened with the troops which were thus rendered disposable to the succor of the Jutlanders, while the regency sent the defenders of Lubeck to prosecute the war in Denmark.

With the reinforcements thus obtained, the royal party laid siege to Aalborg, defended by Clement, one of the count's generals, with a considerable body of Danish peasantry. Brave as was the defence, the place was taken by assault, and every man put to the sword; two thousand rustics thus perished, while their leaders were reserved for more lingering and more painful deaths. No wonder that the people should retaliate when such horrible severity disgraced the royal army. What few rights the Jutland peasantry still held, were declared forfeited by their rebellion. During the winter which

[1535-1536 A.D.]

followed Christian made some overtures to the count, but they were rejected; and preparations were made for the resumption of the warfare in the spring. The count had men enough, but he wanted money to pay his German mercenaries, and this he could not obtain from the peasantry: he could only wring it from the nobles and the clergy; and in proportion to these demands upon them, were their secret aspirations for the triumph of Christian. The progress of the Swedish arms in service inspired them with new hope. Halmstad, Varberg, and Helsingborg, with the intervening region, were reduced. Malmö and Landskrona were invested; a fleet which Christian had obtained from his allies soon appeared off the coast of Funen; and in a general action victory declared for the king. A new armament soon arrived from Lubeck headed by Albert duke of Mecklenburg, who had married a niece of Christian II. The count of Oldenburg complained bitterly of this supersession, which was most impolitic; and as he had a large body of devoted followers, he retained a share in the command. But this compromise was worse than the evil it was designed to remedy; the two chiefs were too jealous of each other ever cordially to co-operate. The necessary result was, that few trophies more were won by the invaders. Funen was restored to the royal dominion. Zealand was next occupied, and Copenhagen invested. At the same time, detachments were spared from the royal army to commence the siege of other fortresses on the neighbouring islands, and to press those of Malmö and Landskrona, which still resisted.

Before the siege of Copenhagen, southern Norway had been induced to acknowledge Christian III. But the northern provinces, influenced by the clergy and the archbishop of Trondhjem, would listen to no terms of accommodation. Yet the adhesion of a part of that kingdom was a great advantage to the king, since it furnished him with vessels to press the siege of Copenhagen. Equally useful were those which he received from Sweden, independently of the inestimable benefit produced by the diversion of the Swedish troops in Skåne. Christian had the satisfaction to see the reconquest of Varberg, which the Lubeckers had recovered by stratagem. On this occasion, he stained his laurels by the execution of Meyer, burgomaster of Lubeck and governor of the fortress; and that, too, in opposition to the terms of the capitulation. On the rack, Meyer is said to have confessed that the republic had agreed to sell Denmark, or at least its chief fortresses, to Henry VIII of England. Henry, surely, who was no general, and whose army was in no high state of discipline, could not be so foolish as to offer money for what could never be his. Probably the whole is an invention of the Danish writers, to lessen the odium inseparable from this violation of the laws of Landskrona now capitulated; while Copenhagen and Malmö were pressed with renewed vigour. To relieve them, a new armament of eighteen vessels arrived from the Hanse Towns; and notwithstanding the opposition of the royal fleet, supplies were thrown into the former. The place, therefore, was in a condition to resist many months longer. On the other hand, early in the following year (1536), Cronenburg, the key of Copenhagen, was reduced, and some other fortresses on the islands; so that the capital in Zealand and the town in Skåne were the only places which now held for the Lubeck party. That republic was weary of the war; and after much negotiation, peace was finally made between the king and the regency. The latter retained their commercial advantages in the Baltic, and received Bornholm, which they were to hold fifty years as some indemnification for their heavy expenditure during the war. Faithful to their new engagement, they recalled their troops at Copenhagen and Malmö; but the latter, at the instance of the

two generals, chose to remain, in the expectation of aid from the Netherlands. The only advantage, therefore, which the king derived from this treaty was an open sea, which the vessels of the republic had previously infested. This, however, was a great advantage, and it enabled his fleet to intercept the supplies sent from some towns in Pomerania for the besieged. His next success was the capitulation of Malmö.

But Copenhagen, without provisions, without hope, except from a doubtful reinforcement promised by the Netherlands, still held out. Famine at length appeared; horses, dogs, cats, and the vilest aliments were all consumed; and starvation seemed inevitable, unless the obstinate chiefs could be brought to capitulate. An evil scarcely less tolerable was the license of the soldiers, who went from house to house to seize any bread that might remain, to violate the women, and often to murder the fathers or husbands. Some died of hunger in the public streets, more in their beds; the survivors, pale, emaciated, scarcely able to walk across the floor of their own houses, awaited in despair the issue of this dreadful extremity. These privations were less felt by the soldiery than by the inhabitants; yet the soldiery found them intolerable, and were the first to make overtures of submission to the king. A capitulation was soon negotiated. The two chiefs were to be sent to their respective lordships, followed by all the Germans who chose to go; but they were to leave their artillery and stores of every kind. There were no conditions imposed on Albert; but the count of Oldenburg was obliged to swear never to re-enter Denmark, and never to make war on the king, his subjects, or his allies. All the citizens who wished were also at liberty to accompany the German mercenaries; but two leaders were excepted, Munter and Bogbinder, who were to remain in the kingdom. Yet even these were assured of pardon; and so were all the citizens who remained. Albert, the count, and many followers, embarked while Christian made his public entry into Copenhagen. The spectacle of the distress to which the citizens were reduced is said to have moved him; but if he had such compassionate feelings, they were sure to be absorbed by his thirst of vengeance on the originators of the late resistance. But he knew how to dissemble, and his entry was hailed with joy by the famished inhabitants [July, 1536].

THE DIET OF COPENHAGEN (1536 A.D.)

In the opinion of Christian and his Lutheran adherents, these originators were no other than the bishops, the destruction of whose order had been determined in the royal mind long before the fall of Copenhagen. Probably they were not ignorant of this hostile feeling towards them, when they so zealously resisted his election; but in that resistance they were justified alike by the constitution and their duty to the church. From the time they had acknowledged Christian, and received his engagement to protect them in their actual rights, they had taken no part in the war against him. What, indeed, could they expect, in the event of the former Christian's restoration, but a persecution more bitter than they had before experienced? Passively, but not without anxiety, they had watched the progress of events; and now that the king was master of all Denmark, they could only trust to the royal faith for their continued security. But that he cared very little for such engagements was evident from his treatment of Meyer and from his avowed intention of bringing to justice one whom in the recent capitulation he had solemnly agreed to pardon. This was Bogbinder, who, to escape the fate designed him, swallowed poison. But it was still more evident from his plot

[1536 A D]

against the bishops. His first step was to exclude them from the rigsraad; to interdict them from all authority in temporal concerns. But his thirst for revenge, and, still more, his avarice, were not to be thus satisfied. It was not difficult for him, a conqueror, to procure the sanction of the rigsraad to any proposal affecting churchmen, especially when they knew that they were to share in the spoil. Having privately assembled them, a resolution was put to abolish the temporal authority of the bishops, to confiscate their revenues for the use of the state, to destroy their jurisdiction in the church as well as in the state, and not to restore them if even a general council should decree their restoration, unless the king, the rigsraad, and the estates of the realm should see fit to revoke the present resolution. It was also agreed to adhere in future to the Protestant religion, to defend and advance its interests. An act embodying these resolutions was signed by each member, who promised to keep the secret.

At this very crisis, the archbishop of Lund and the bishop of Roeskilde arrived, with the intention of testifying their duty to the sovereign. Both were arrested, and committed to close custody. At the same time, in accordance with a preconcerted design, all the other bishops of the kingdom were seized — some by open force, some by perfidy. To justify this extraordinary step in the eyes of the nation, and of all Europe, Christian convoked the estates at Copenhagen — if those could be called estates where the clergy, one of the most important sections, were not present, because not summoned. From an elevated stage, on which the king and the members of the rigsraad appeared, he inveighed against the whole church, especially against the bishops: they had opposed by every species of violence the progress of the Reformation; they had persecuted the ministers of the gospel; they had promulgated statutes and decrees contrary to the national laws; they had been tyrants within their dioceses; they had resisted the election of the king; and were, in short, the source of all the troubles which the realm had suffered, or was suffering. Accusations so indefinite, so vague, so unsatisfactory in every legal sense, would have had no weight where the accusers were not the judges and predetermined to find a verdict of guilty. That verdict was given; it annihilated for ever the haughty domination of the clergy, and declared that the work of the Reformation must be completed by a total abolition of the Roman Catholic worship. It adjudged the vast revenues of the church to the wants of the state, to the support of the Protestant ministers, to the maintenance of the poor, to the foundation of hospitals, and to the sustentation of the university and the schools.

In virtue of the sentence, a public edict appointed reformed theologians called superintendants, one to each of the vacant dioceses (the name of bishop, however, was soon restored). It united for ever to the crown all the palaces, towns, fortresses, villages, estates, and revenues of every kind, that had hitherto belonged to the church. It allowed the monks and nuns either to leave the cloister, or to remain in it provided they agreed to lead an edifying life and hear the preaching of God's word. It divided the tithe into three equal portions, of which one went to the feudal superior of the parish, one to the crown, and one to the support of the resident minister. Some schools and hospitals were founded, and some lands were appropriated to the reward of such theologians as might distinguish themselves by their acquirements; but the great portion of church property in Denmark, as in some other countries, went neither to learning nor religion, neither to poverty nor sickness.^d [To reorganise the church Christian summoned from Germany the learned Dr. Bugenhagen, of whom Pontoppidan gives the following account:]

Doctor Johann Bugenhagen, otherwise called Pomeranus, belonged to an old and noble family, although his father had held the office of alderman at Wollin in Pomerania, where he himself was born on June 24th, 1485. He pursued his academic studies at Greifswald, and in the 20th year of his age became rector of Treptow, having early given many proofs, not only of skill in languages, but of true piety and devotion; for he was ill content with the ancient and frigid system of outward worship, and insisted at every opportunity upon faith, love, and the true obedience of the heart. Nevertheless, he could not at first rid himself of a prejudice, derived from hearsay, against the doctrines of Luther; but in 1520, when the said teacher's book upon the Babylonian captivity was shown to him amidst a company of good friends, and his opinion demanded thereon, he said, after reading a few pages, that since Christ had suffered, many heretics had shamefully misled and distracted the church of God, but none so mischievously as Luther. But it was not long before the scales fell from the good man's eyes, and having read the whole book in solitude and maturely reflected upon it, he spoke to his friends and colleagues in a very different tone: "What need of many words? The whole world is blind and lies in outer darkness; Luther alone sees the truth." His friends agreed with him, but likewise fell with him under the displeasure of the bishop of Kammin, who expelled them from the town.

Under these circumstances Bugenhagen went to Wittenberg, where he found Karlstad in the full tide of iconoclasm, and opposed him in such acts of violence. He soon became intimately acquainted with Luther, who was returning from his Patmos, and likewise with Melancthon, and, by the magistrate of that place, was first appointed regular town preacher (*Stadt-Prediger*) and, soon after, professor of Holy Writ. Both these offices he held so dear that he would never exchange them for the bishoprics which were several times offered to him. Meanwhile his reputation for great piety and profound erudition was so spread abroad that he was summoned to various places in the north of the empire, to draw up new systems of church organisation and to give good counsel and help in all that concerned the Reformation. When he was in Hamburg about this business, and while the Flensburg *colloquium* with Melchior Hoffman *in puncto S. cænæ* was in prospect, he received his first call to Denmark. He was likewise present at the aforesaid *colloquium*, and there pleased Christian, the prince royal, who was also present, so well that when, in the year 1536, the latter ascended the throne to which his claim had been disputed, and resolved to depose the popish bishops and to introduce the Protestant form of church government, he summoned Bugenhagen to the country once more as a reformer of much experience. As it appears from his letters, he arrived at Copenhagen at the beginning of the so-called dog-days. Soon afterwards he had the honour of crowning the king and queen, ordaining seven superintendents, presiding in conjunction with Petrus Palladius, bishop of Zealand, at the First synod of Copenhagen — which was convoked from all the provinces to establish new church ordinances — and providing for the regulation of its *lectiones* at the University of Copenhagen.

At the beginning of the year 1539, he journeyed into Saxony for a short time, but speedily returned, in June, and was present at the ratification of the ecclesiastical ordinances at the diet of Odense. He then went to Copenhagen again, lectured at the university, and frequently preached at court upon the psalms of David. He remained there, engaged in such affairs, until the year 1542, and enjoyed great favour with the king; so much, indeed, that in the year 1541 the wealthy bishopric of Schleswig was offered to him. This he declined, saying, "Should I act thus, it might be said that we thrust the

[1542-1558 A.D.]

popish bishops from their sees to set ourselves in them." From which, among other things, his humility and moderation are clearly manifest. This man is said, by his mildness, frequently to have moderated the vehemence of Luther. In 1542 he returned to Wittenberg for the last time, and greatly extolled the love that had been displayed towards him in Denmark. During his stay in Denmark he wrote various things concerning the state of the church there to his colleagues at Wittenberg.

After his departure men would have been glad to see him return to Denmark for the fourth time and there abide till death. This the king asked him to do — in a letter dated Gottorp, *die trium Regum*, 1543 — in which he says, among other things: "Therefore we have thought upon you with favour, and have desired to request you, if it be in any way possible, to come hither again, since we should be glad to have such an old Pomeranian or Chaw-bacon, who might perhaps endure the air of this country better than another. We would take such care of him that he should have cause to be grateful to us."

But Bugenhagen was already a man of sixty, enfeebled by many labours and desired to end his days in his beloved Wittenberg — which he did on April 20th, 1558.^h

NORWAY AND PROTESTANTISM

The bishops continued in prison for some time after the diet of Copenhagen; but at length, they were all liberated except one, on their engagement never to disturb the new order of things. That one was the bishop of Roeskilde, whom no entreaties, no threats, could induce to submit, and who therefore died in confinement. From this moment must be dated the entire ruin of the Romish church in Denmark. Liberty did not gain by the change. The reformed clergy had not influence enough to curb that wild and licentious power by which both thrones and altars, both freedom and religion, have been frequently swept away. The burgesses also were too insignificant *per se* to offer any resistance; and the peasantry were, as we have already stated, deprived of what little voice they had enjoyed in the general assemblies. No check, therefore, remained on the inevitable usurpations of the nobility.

The decree of the diet of Copenhagen is remarkable for two other points deserving of the reader's consideration. There was evidently a compromise between the crown and the nobles. (1) It was asserted that, as experience had proved the danger of leaving the throne vacant, the recurrence of such evils must be averted by the recognition of Duke Frederick, eldest son of the king, as successor to the throne. If he died before the father, then the next son should be the designated heir; and if all the sons died, the estates, during the life of the king, should be bound to name a successor, and that intended successor should assume the title of Prince of Denmark. Here was the legal establishment of the hereditary principle. The price which Christian paid for it was, first, a large participation, as we have just seen, in the titles, and, we may add, in the confiscated church lands. (2) But the other articles of the decree to which we have alluded will equally establish the fact of a compromise. The king confirmed to the nobles the power of life and death over their vassals; the infliction of fines up to forty marks; and "all other privileges, powers, and prerogatives which the king himself could exercise on his domains."

The conduct of this monarch towards Norway does not increase our respect for his memory. The southern provinces of that country had, as

We have before related, acknowledged him; the northern, influenced by the archbishop of Trondhjem and the clergy, had refused to do so. Before the reduction of Copenhagen, yet when his ultimate triumph was inevitable, he despatched three members of the rigsråd to Norway, demanding not only his election by all the estates, but a subsidy for the continuance of the war. The former demand was received with coldness, the latter with indignation. In the north, the people called on the archbishop to prevent the election. To that call he, who was one of the most violent of men, instantly responded; and, as the head of the regency which had been established, arrested the bishop of Christiania, the bishop of Hammer, and another senator in the interests of Christian. He did more: he procured the condemnation of all the senators who had offered the crown to the "Danish tyrant." Some were put to death; some were imprisoned; and the popular mind throughout the realm — in the south no less than in the north — became hostile to his claims. But what dependence can be placed on such a basis? The victories of Christian inspired the Roman Catholics with fear, the Protestants with hope. That he would struggle for the crown, and struggle successfully, became by degrees the general opinion — so much so, that even the primate released the senators whom he had imprisoned and made overtures of submission. As usual, they were accepted by the royal officers, with a belief that they would not be ratified by the king. But whether ratified or not, one advantage would be gained — his immediate election. It was gained, and the royal perfidy was soon made apparent by the equipment of a fleet to seize the archbishop and other persons supposed to be unfriendly to the new king. Warned of the fate designed for him, the churchman fled to the Netherlands. His metropolis was seized; while another royal general marched on Christiania, which had also refused to acknowledge Christian. The bishop capitulated, so did all the southern towns which had not already submitted. What was the reward? At this very time, and immediately after the destruction of the Danish bishops and clergy, a royal decree forever destroyed the independence of Norway by declaring it to be an integral portion of the Danish monarchy, "just the same as Jutland, Funen, Zealand, or Skåne." Nor was this a vain menace — it was immediately carried into effect. By degrees, too, the Roman Catholic religion was extirpated, and the Protestant faith established: nor was there any open opposition to the change. But in Iceland there was much resistance; and it required an armament to convince that sequestered people how necessary the Reformation was to their everlasting welfare.^d

The state of the church in this island during the year 1540 has been described as half evangelist, particularly in the southern part, under Bishop Marten Enerson of Skálholt, an enthusiastic reformer, though still half popish. The northern part, the bishopric of Holum, was under Bishop Jon Arneson, who, although he received, as the others had, the royal command to abstain from manifest superstitions and to reform his see, not only refused to comply, but also endeavoured in every possible way to contravene the activities of his fellow bishop. In this he was especially active in the year 1547, and caused Bishop Marten Enerson such distress by his knavish tricks that Enerson found himself necessitated to make the long sea-journey to Denmark in person, in order to lay before the king his own distress and the troubles of the church. When he had arrived in Kolding, he was given gracious audience by his majesty; he took the oath of fidelity and received thereupon a royal *protectorium* for his person and teachings, with the assurances of adequate help for the propagation of the Reformation throughout his fatherland.

[1551 A. D.]

His enemy, Bishop Jon Arnesön, received an imperative summons to present himself before the king. But for such a journey Arnesön had no inclination. Instead, he instituted a fresh rebellion, put himself at the head of three hundred men, attacked Bishop Marten and took him prisoner, deposed the royal judge who should have executed the king's commands and (by which one sees that he was in the matter of celibacy not papistically inclined) installed his own son in his place. Besides this, he was reported to have had the intention of placing himself and the whole island under the protection of the English. In Denmark there was much dismay at this news, and great bitterness was felt against the scoundrel. But for certain reasons this state of things was for a time endured, and the rebellious bishop was not only spared excommunication, but was pronounced exonerated by royal patent.

For the sake of sequence, we will here give a summary of this affair, although in actual time it belongs to the chronicle of 1551. For in that year it dawned upon the king that the time was ripe for crushing Jon Arnesön, and for leaving the Protestant faith an open path in Iceland. Therefore two ships were sent with the two knights, Axel Tuul and Christopher Trund-Trundson, and five hundred soldiers, carrying with them a command dated from Flensburg on the Thursday after Low Sunday, to give the imprisoned Bishop Marten his liberty, and, should he be already dead, to ordain another evangelist teacher bishop, but especially to seize the persons of Jon Arneson and his sons, and bring them prisoners to Flensburg; also again to put the inhabitants of the land to the oath of fidelity and duty. But before these ships and their passengers could arrive, as they did about Whitsuntide, their trouble was saved them by another person, Bishop Jon Arnesön's father-in-law, a man of wealth and consideration, David Gudmundarson. Jon Arneson expected no good of this man, and dared not push his designs to fulfilment, or have himself, with the aid of the English, constituted king of the country, until he had put Gudmundarson out of the way — knowing him for a powerful man, devoted to the Protestant doctrines, and a loyal subject of the king.

To effect his purpose he gathered a force of five hundred soldiers, and took the field against Gudmundarson. The latter made all counter preparations with what haste he could, but could only muster three hundred armed men. With these he met his enemies boldly, but, before the attack, made a sensible speech to his faithless countrymen, representing to them how perfidious their conduct was, and how thankless in the end they might expect to find the service of the popish bishop. When by this means he had won some minds and persuaded them to return to their duty, he attacked the remainder with so much spirit that he soon overmastered them; and the often-mentioned bishop, together with two of his sons, fell prisoners to him, whereupon he had them all three beheaded, urged by the consideration that, if they were spared a new revolt to give them freedom would be instigated by the bishop's third son, who had escaped. When, after this event, help arrived from Denmark, the knights in authority made one Oluf Hulteson evangelist bishop and absolute head of the see of Holle, adding all necessary aids for the propagation of the Reformation of the church similar to those which ten years previously had been successfully carried out in the Skálholt see.^h

The transactions of Christian III with Germany in themselves were of no great moment. His position, in regard both to the emperor and to the Roman Catholics, naturally threw him into the arms of the Protestant party; and he shared the fate of that party. He was fortunate enough to defeat all the attempts of the elector palatine, who had married a daughter of Christian II, on the crown. He was equally successful in humbling the Dutch, and in

opposing all the designs of the emperor to undermine his authority. The Peace of Speier (1543) reconciled him with Charles V as sovereign of the Netherlands, but not as emperor. By adhering to the league, he was necessarily the enemy of that monarch; but he exhibited no great zeal in the reformed cause, and he was generally reproached for the indifference with which he beheld the most deadly blows aimed at it by the opposite party. With Sweden he maintained pacific relations to the close of his life. Not that war was not often impending, but both he and his ally always contrived to adopt some compromise by which actual hostilities were averted.

THE DEATH OF CHRISTIAN III

Two other things must be recorded of Christian III. Towards the close of his life, he so far relaxed in his behaviour to Christian II as to transfer that unfortunate king to Kallundborg in Zealand, to enjoy more room, less restraint, better food, and more indulgence in every respect — as much, perhaps, as could be enjoyed consistently with the prisoner's safe custody. The other event relates to the injudicious partition of Holstein and Schleswig. In conformity with a pernicious usage, the king, considering that his brothers had a right to a share of the inheritance, reluctantly consented to invest two of them with extensive domains (his third brother, being a Romish ecclesiastic, had no share in the inheritance). This division, as we shall have too frequent occasion to record, was the source of the worst evils to the monarchy. Christian died in 1559.^d

Pontoppidan's Estimate of Christian III

Christian III, under God the true reformer of the Danish church, was born at Gottorp on the 12th of August, 1504. In early youth he was sent by his father Frederick, at that time duke of Holstein, to his brother-in-law, the elector Joachim I of Brandenburg, to be educated at his court. Although the latter, who was his mother's brother, was zealously devoted to popery, Prince Christian had opportunities of gathering so much information concerning the religious quarrels then just arisen in Germany that his mind was early disinclined to popery and well disposed to the new doctrines proclaimed by Luther. Of this he gave proof early, when in the seventeenth year of his age he went with the aforesaid prince, his uncle, to the diet at Worms. There it came to pass that, in a church wherein the emperor Charles and many princes were assembled, a Franciscan monk inveighed vehemently against Luther and his heretical followers. The sermon ended, he knelt down to pray, and accidentally let the cord of his order wherewith he was girded slip through a chink in the pulpit. Prince Christian, who was seated just below the pulpit, delayed not to make the cord fast with a knot, so that the monk could not rise up again until he had summoned help. Whereupon he, noting the trick played on him, cried out: "My Lord Emperor, if even in your sovereign presence they do not refrain from such treatment of us poor monks, what will not be done in your absence?" When the emperor afterwards met our prince at dinner, and heard that it was he who had played the trick on the monk, he is reported to have laughed and said of him that it might be this was a token that he would give the monks more cause for annoyance in his day; which also came to pass in Reformation times. We may infer, from this and other proofs, that in his early years he was somewhat over-sprightly and almost of a flighty temperament; which may likewise be the reason why in the twenty-first year of his

[1521-1558 A.D.]

age he married Princess Dorothea of Lauenburg, who was at that time fifteen years old, in direct opposition to the will of his father, who at first looked upon the marriage with a very unfavourable eye. Until Christian ascended the throne, 1535, by the election of the Danish estates, he lived with her at the castle of Hadersleben, as governor of the two principalities.

But since this youthful precipitancy was but *vitium naturae*, not *animi*, the lapse of years and the grace of God, which wrought powerfully in his heart, changed and amended all this in such degree that Christian not only grew into a most admirable ruler well worthy of the purple, but also, as his name denoted, into a true Christian and a man after God's own heart, whereof so many evidences are extant that only a few of the most weighty can be cited. To his fear of God Arild Hvitfeld,² among others, bears witness in the words: "He led a devout life; no day passed on which he did not make his prayer to God on his knees, and have the Bible read to him in his chamber, and the psalms of David sung.

He was meek, charitable, and compassionate to such a degree that, when his notorious enemies Count Christopher of Oldenburg and Duke Albert of Mecklenburg were reduced to such straits in the protracted siege of Copenhagen, that they had nothing to eat and must have died of hunger, he sent certain refreshments and personal necessities *expresse* for them into the town, and when they afterwards came humbly into his camp with white staves in their hands, he received them into favour as though they had never given him trouble. Blasphemers, murderers, and adulterers he did not readily pardon. But save in these cases he was loth that blood should be shed, and in punishments as in rewards he was a prudent ruler. He usually travelled through the country yearly, taking a few councillors with him, that in the principal towns of every province he might hear the complaints of those who were in distress, and remedy them as far as in him lay. With his neighbours he lived in peace and confidence, and after having successfully and valiantly put down the rebellion plotted in the interregnum, and the sanguinary civil wars, he would not hear of war any more, though he was frequently provoked to it. The great work on which, above all else, Christian's desires and inclinations were set, and for which Heaven had raised him up in these perilous times, was the very necessary task of reforming the radically corrupt system of the church and the schools of Denmark.

The death of this king, like his life, was admirable and worthy beyond the wont of men, hence I hold it good for edification to cite certain *specialia*. Though of his body he was well-grown, strong, and robust, he did not live as long as was expected, but only to the fifty-fourth year and fourth month of his age. An obstruction of the so-called "golden vein," from which he had suffered many times before, compelled him to take to his bed in the castle of Arnsburg at Kolding in December, 1558, and gave no uncertain warnings of the approach of death. But another herald is said to have warned him likewise; to wit, an angel or, as Selneccerus expresses it, a man in white garments, who appeared to the king eight days before his death, as he lay in bed, though (as he himself strongly asseverated) neither sleeping nor wandering in mind, and who, drawing near, thus addressed him: "On the coming New Year's Day thy sickness will end and be followed by eternal health!" Neither his chaplain in ordinary, Magister Paulus Noviomagus, nor his physician Cornelius ab Hamsfurth, could dissuade him from putting his trust in this glorious vision of consolation; but when New Year's Day, or the 1st of January, 1559, was come, he comforted his wife, blessed the royal children, bestowed gifts on his servants, begged forgiveness of all he had unwittingly

[1550 A.D.]

offended, and exhorted his councillors that they should act according to their conscience, and loyally and honestly serve his son Frederick, who was then on his way from Malmö but had not yet arrived; that they should be vigilant in the maintenance of law and order, and should rather increase than diminish legacies bequeathed to churches, schools, and the poor. After that, to all men's amazement, he said, with cheerful voice and glad gestures, "Now I will sing, and you must sing with me, that it may be said that the king sang himself to the grave." Whereupon he himself started the hymn of praise taken from the 103rd psalm, "Praise the Lord, O my soul," etc., and when he came to the words, "As a father pitieth," his sanctified soul almost imperceptibly took flight. His inanimate body was at first buried in the church of St. Knud at Odense. His son afterwards had him borne to Roeskilde and buried under a very splendid marble mausoleum. Since I can find no epitaph upon this king, I will substitute for it the words of Reusner, quoted by Herr Lackmann: "His" (Christian III's) "royal capital was an eye of wisdom, a scale of justice, a seat of valour, a criterion of moderation, a pattern of honour, a well of kindness, an assembly of the liberal arts, a school of learning, a holy place for teachers of the church, a table for the poor, a refuge for the innocent; and he himself, a most godly Christian and indomitable prince. His motto was, *Mein Trost zu Gott allein, sonst andern kein* (My trust in God alone, and in no other).^h





CHAPTER VIII

GUSTAVUS VASA TO CHARLES IX

[1523-1611 A.D.]

GUSTAVUS VASA ASCENDS THE THRONE (1523 A.D.)

The fall and flight of King Christian II cast the whole burden of the struggle against Sweden's ruler and the Wend states upon Severin Norby's shoulders. Norby as King Christian's governor ruled Gotland with the stronghold of Visborg and had command of the Baltic where he conducted his king's war against the Swedes and Lubeck. He took all the enemy's goods wherever he could find them, and he captured every ship he could, which went to and fro from the Wend Hanse cities and Dantzic to any of the parts of Sweden which were in the power of the kingdom's deliverer, and rich was the booty from that privateering, otherwise the war would soon have come to an end, as Norby could get no funds from King Christian.

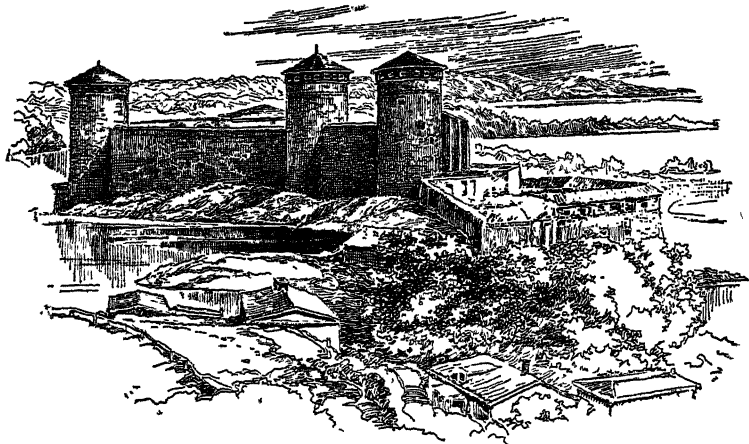
At the time when Gustavus Vasa was chosen ruler in Vadstena there had been talk of placing him on the throne of Sweden. Then he declined the crown, but when the fresh insurrection betokened an irreconcilable breach with the other country it was necessary for Sweden to have a king. It was therefore natural and just that the diet in Strengnas should choose the regent to be Sweden's king, and there could be no question of anyone but Gustavus. The 7th of June, 1523, was the ever-to-be-remembered day in the history of the North when the first king of the Vasa family ascended the throne.

Then the town of Kalmar was taken by Arvid Vestgöthe on the 27th of May; on the 7th of July the castle of Kalmar fell; and before the middle of June the city and castle of Stockholm also capitulated. On St. John's day, 1523, King Gustavus made his entry into his nearly deserted capital, and before the end of the year Finland was also taken from Norby's men. Even districts beyond Sweden's boundaries were conquered. If King Christian had not threatened the new ruler in Denmark and Severin Norby had not continued the war from Visborg with Sweden and Lubeck, the two new

[1523 A.D.]

kings would soon have been at war with each other. However, Lübeck would not permit that: she wished to have peace between Sweden and Denmark, both as a condition for King Christian's expulsion, and for the freedom of the Baltic; and that could not be until Gotland had ceased to be the centre of a war which stopped one of the means of intercourse for their kingdom.

Lübeck regarded Gustavus' success and accession to the throne essentially as her own work, and she now wanted to be rewarded for her aid. The men of Lübeck meant to have in Gustavus a useful instrument for their plans, and to be in a position to keep him in dependence upon them. At the appointed diet at Strengnäs two of Lübeck's councillors demanded payment



OLOFSBOG FORTRESS, FINLAND

from the new king for Lübeck's outlay and great expenses. At that moment when the war in Sweden was still going on, and Gustavus had a considerable number of soldiers to satisfy in order to take over the government in that devastated land, he could naturally not produce a sum of over 69,000 marks, and the people of Lübeck would not consent to accept paper promises alone.

King Gustavus thus found himself obliged to consent to the proposed Strengnäs *Privilegium* of the 10th of June, 1523, which shows how the Hanse Towns would have treated the whole of the North if they had been able; because according to this *Privilegium* King Gustavus and his council had to give the sustenance of the whole of the Swedish people into their power. Nothing can show their self-interest plainer than these articles:

This agreement secured to Lübeck and Dantzic and their confederacy freedom from all taxes and other imposts everywhere in the kingdom. No foreigner of any land or nation was permitted to buy or sell in Stockholm, Kalmar, or any other place in the kingdom, except those of Lübeck and Dantzic and their confederacy and those whom the merchants of Lübeck should see fit to privilege. Neither should permission be granted to anybody else at any future time. Moreover no foreigners were allowed to be citizens either in Stockholm or Kalmar or to have permission to sail to other cities in the kingdom than those named.^b

Though in possession of the object for which he had so long fought and so long intrigued, Gustavus refused to be immediately crowned. His pre-

[1523 A D]

text was that so long as Sweden was polluted by a hostile foot he would not consent to any public rejoicings: his real motive was to evade the oaths which he well knew the clergy would, on that occasion, impose upon him. His intrigues were now directed to the augmentation of the royal authority; and he obtained, from the gratitude or fear of the states, concessions which had been granted to none of his predecessors. The public voice called upon him to procure the liberation of the late administrator's widow and the other ladies who had lingered in captivity ever since the massacre of Stockholm, under the eyes, first of Christian and now of Frederick, his successor. He was for some time evidently averse to the return of the princess, since she had borne to Sten Sture two sons, who might trouble him at some future period. But he yielded to the popular voice, and indeed his own reason told him that he should have less to apprehend under the influence of a monarch who, though outwardly amicable, was secretly hostile to his elevation. He received them and their mother with much external respect; lodged them in his own palace; and to be secure against her being made the instrument of some enterprising, ambitious noble, married her to a man of bounded intellect, without courage, without weight in the state. Her eldest son too soon descended to the tomb; and the younger, being merely an infant, could not for many years cause him any uneasiness.

GUSTAVUS AND THE CLERGY

To abase the clergy, yet without appearing their enemy, was an object that no monarch whose dissimulation was less profound than that of Gustavus could have attained. Nothing indeed can equal the caution or the effectiveness of his measures. He began by nominating to the vacant sees such ecclesiastics as he knew were devoted to his will. He forced the chapter of Upsala to make another election, in lieu of Archbishop Trolle, who remained in Denmark occupied in preparing the restoration of Christian. That body had no right to venture on such a step; but violence induced them to cite the absent prelate to appear, and, on his non-appearance, to unite their suffrages in behalf of the royal candidate, Johannes Magnus, the celebrated historian of Sweden.

His next object was to encourage, underhand, the preaching of the Lutheran doctrines; and when the party was sufficiently strong to throw off the mask, seize the revenues of the dominant church and abolish her worship. When pressed by Lars Anderson [Laurentius Andreæ], a man of low birth but of great talents and greater ambition, whom he had elevated from a subordinate post to the dignity of chancellor, to submit to the ceremony of his coronation, he replied that he was well acquainted with the effect such a ceremony must have, but that he could not, in his actual circumstances, consent to its performance. He should, he added, never think himself a king — never be able to support the proper dignity of the office — until he were in possession of all the fortresses held by the bishops; until he had reunited to the crown all the church lands and revenues which his predecessors had alienated from it. He confessed, however, that he was afraid to venture on such a measure, knowing as he did the influence which the clergy exercised over their flocks.

Anderson, who was a Lutheran at heart, endeavoured to remove the royal scruples by reasoning in which there was much truth and some falsehood. The king needed not arguments, but aid, in the course which he had resolved to pursue; and he was overjoyed to find his chancellor as clearsighted as

himself. Both agreed that the first and most necessary step, the foundation of all future proceedings, was to increase the number of Lutherans, without seeming to notice them. In accordance with their secret scheme, new doctors, new missionaries were brought from Germany; and those who were already in Sweden were privately informed by the chancellor that they might disseminate their opinions in the confidence that they would not be opposed by the monarch. Emboldened by this intimation, they preached with less secrecy. As they were superior in eloquence and knowledge to the established clergy, as they had that fervour which distinguishes the missionaries of a new creed, and which has more influence over mankind than either, their success was prodigious.

As the king witnessed the rapid advance of the new doctrines, he proceeded to assail the clergy in matters where he knew he should be supported by most Roman Catholic laymen. The jurisdiction of the bishop and his officials had, in all countries — in Sweden quite as much as anywhere else — encroached on that of the temporal judges. Fines and other penalties were exacted for offences which the canons, indeed, denounced, but which, in the best ages of Christianity, had never been amenable to any tribunal; so that the church could raise a fruitful harvest from the disorders of society (and most crimes of this nature were commutable by money), she cared little for either religion or morals. By degrees, Gustavus abolished this onerous jurisdiction; and, even in cases where no just complaint could be made against the ecclesiastical tribunals, he substituted for them those of the royal judges. The clergy were loud in their murmurs: to punish them he resorted to an expedient which none of his predecessors would have ventured to adopt — he billeted his troops on their domains during the long winters. To annoy the monks especially, whom he cordially hated, he assigned their houses to his cavalry, who dwelt in them as securely as in any hostel. Some of the more obnoxious monasteries were commanded to exhibit the charters by which they held their lands; and such as could not (during the civil troubles many had been lost or destroyed), were at once deprived of their possessions. All these were so many preparatory measures, designed to accustom the people to see the humiliation of the church, and to prepare them for the far greater innovations contemplated.

One of the most popular missionaries of the Reformation was Olaus or Olaf Petri, a divine of great zeal, great eloquence, considerable talent, and undaunted courage. To prove that the peculiar doctrines of the Catholic church were not to be found in the Scriptures, but were the inventions of men, he published, in the Swedish language, a translation of the New Testament. This was, in the main, a translation of Luther's German version; it contained the same bold license; and, as it was peculiarly adapted to the understanding of the vulgar, it made a profound impression on the national mind. Yet the Scriptures, however perverted by human error in their transfusion into other dialects, have always a captivating simplicity about them that finds its way to the heart. Thousands who had never before learned to read now applied themselves to the task, that they might be able to judge for themselves how far the new doctors were justified in forsaking the ancient church. In great alarm, the bishops called on the king to suppress the new version, to silence its advocates, and even to punish them as heretics. As he had hitherto shown no partiality for the Reformation; as he had listened to none of its apostles, but had constantly attended the established service, some hopes were entertained that he might be induced to arrest the progress of the missionaries. With much apparent indifference,

[1525-1526 A.D.]

he observed that he was ready to abandon Olaus, or any other doctor, that should be convicted of heresy; but he must hear before he would condemn. He had heard nothing against the morals of the preachers: and he was afraid that there was more acrimony among churchmen of all denominations, more contention for points trifling in themselves, than became the ministers of peace. The archbishop, who was the spokesman of the deputation, was both surprised and offended with the gentle language of the king. He engaged to prove, that some of Olaus' doctrines, so far from being idle and useless speculations, had a most pernicious tendency. The offer was accepted, and a day appointed for a public disputation at Upsala.

When that day arrived, the king, with a numerous court, with many of his nobles and dependents, repaired to the place of meeting. As the bishops were to be the judges of the controversy, they prudently refrained from taking any part in the debate; and they devolved the defence of the Catholic doctrines on a theologian named Gallus [or Galle]. Olaus was there, secure of the royal protection, and disposed to spare none of the abuses which had crept into the church. But such exhibitions have never been of much service; they may gratify partisans; they never carry conviction to the hearer. The two adversaries could not agree on their premises. Olaus would receive Scripture only in matters whether of faith or discipline; Gallus gave equal authority to tradition, to the decisions of synods and councils, to the sentiments of the ancient doctors. Whatever might be thought of the other points of dispute, most of the nobles present applauded Olaf when he demanded a scriptural warrant for the enjoyment of temporal principalities by the clergy. What resemblance was there between Peter the fisherman and his pretended vicar, the Roman pontiff? In what did the bishops of that age resemble the Apostle of the Gentiles? Did not the Gospel itself expressly and earnestly prohibit all ecclesiastics from seeking, or even holding the dignities and riches of the world? Here Gallus was vanquished. He was more successful when he began to assail the mistranslation, the wilful perversions of the new version of the Scriptures.

The king interposed by requesting the archbishop to make a new and more accurate translation. This, he observed, would be the most effectual way to convict Luther and Olaus of error, and would do much good in Sweden, where very few could read the Latin vulgate. For his own part, he should read an authorised, orthodox version with much pleasure; and the nobles, who were always intent on treading in his footsteps, made the same request. Unable to refuse, the archbishop gave the necessary directions, and within a short period the new translation appeared. This was just what the monarch wanted. To place two different versions before his subjects was to familiarize them with religious matters, to exercise their reason, and teach them to rely on their own judgment in the interpretation of God's Word. It may be doubted whether the authorised version did not occasion nearly as much injury to the church as that of Olaus. Little fit was the simple-minded prelate to deal with so astute, so sagacious a hypocrite as the Swedish king.

Olaus was not slow to publish the acts of this dispute, and to claim all the honour of victory. They were read with much interest. So rapid was the progress of the new missionaries that the houses of the greater part of the nobles were thrown open to them, and they were not merely allowed but invited to preach. It was now that Gustavus, overjoyed at the sensation which had been created, determined to commence his long-meditated career of spoliation. Assembling his senators at Stockholm, he besought them to put the realm into a defensive state — to repair the fortresses and to aug-

ment the military force. In conformity with his views they replied that the public revenues were reduced to nothing, in consequence of the monopoly enjoyed by Lubeck; that the people were exhausted by their past efforts; that the only way to replenish the treasury was to pay the regency of Lubeck, and open the ports to the vessels of all nations which should pay the usual duties. But, however necessary the discharge of the debt, where could the means be found for that purpose? The chancellor came at once to the object of the government. In his anxiety not to oppress his loving subjects the nobles, burghers, and rural inhabitants, the king proposed that two thirds of the tithe should, for a time at least, be applied to the support of the armaments required by the public weal: and as to the debt due to the regency of Lubeck, might it not be discharged by the superfluous church plate? All present (for all had been gained) applauded this proof of paternal regard on the part of their monarch, and two decrees were passed — one that two thirds of the tithe should be apportioned in the way proposed; the other that the church bells, no less than the plate, should be seized in every province, every district, for the uses of the state.

The blow came on the church like a thunderbolt. The primate flew to the court to remonstrate with the king on this plunder of the holy things. The latter listened with patience, and then proudly answered that the useless ornaments on which so much value was placed were surely better employed in the service of the state than in idle pomp; and that the tithes would be more useful in the same way than in supporting the dignity of worldly-minded bishops or a host of lazy friars. This was the first time that Gustavus had clearly expressed himself on the subject of church temporalities; and his words sounded ominously in the ears of the primate.

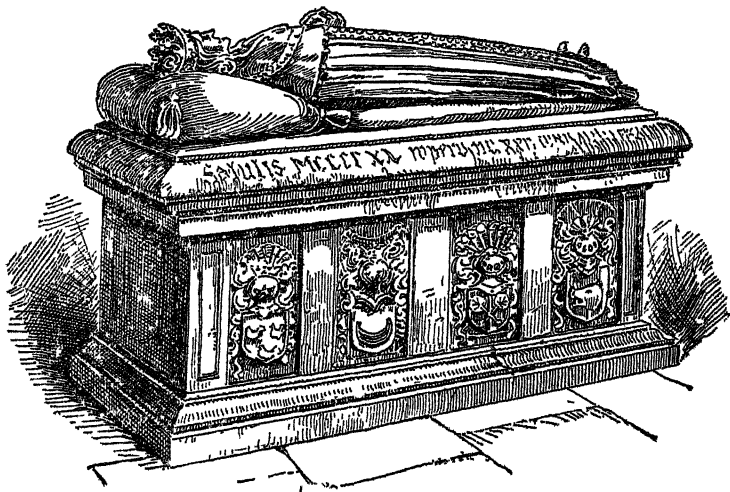
That, notwithstanding the empire which Gustavus had obtained over the national mind, he should meet with no opposition when he attempted to urge such measures was impossible. The clergy declaimed against him as a heretic and a usurper; and the peasants, influenced by them, were soon organised for an insurrection. The approaching fair at Upsala was to be the rendezvous for the disaffected. Aware of the design (for he had his spies everywhere), the king, with a body of cavalry, hastened to the place; remonstrated with them for their stupidity in opposing what was designed for their own advantage; and, when reasoning was ineffectual, commanded his soldiers to level their pieces. Terrified by this unexpected demonstration, they knelt, implored his mercy, and were allowed to depart.

He was much more seriously embarrassed by the attempt of an impostor to pass as Nils Sture, son of the late administrator, who had died in the palace of the king near two years before. His name was Hans; and he was a muleteer of Vestmanland. He must, however, have been used to better society than the province yielded, or he would never have duped so many thousands, not merely of the peasantry but of the clergy, the burghers, and the rural gentry. But his career in Sweden was a brief one. At the request of the monarch, the mother of the deceased prince wrote to the authorities of Dalecarlia, mentioned the time of her eldest son's death, appealed to all Stockholm as witness of his funeral, and concluded by observing that her second son was still in the royal palace, and treated with as much distinction as if he were the son of Gustavus. Discredited and scorned, Hans now took refuge in Norway, and was supported for a time by the nobles and clergy of Trondhjem. On the complaint of the Swedish king, he was compelled to leave that country and seek a refuge at Rostock. But even there he was pursued by his vindictive enemy, who menaced the magistrates of the city with the seizure of their

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vessels unless they surrendered the fugitives. They had the baseness to exceed his commands by putting the adventurer to death.

The monks and friars were the next objects of the royal displeasure. Foreign abbots were banished, and the brethren allowed to leave their monasteries only twice a year, and then for a short period. He then endeavoured to obtain the surrender of the fortresses held by the bishops. Two of the order — those whom he had nominated — showed no repugnance to the proposal; but the primate was inflexible. He had, he said, yielded enough, and he would now make a determined stand against every new demand. Fearing the influence of his virtues, the king determined to send him away under the pretext of an embassy to Poland. Landing at Dantzic, he repaired to Rome to solicit the aid of the pope; but the pope was more intent on the



TOMB OF KING CHARLES KNUTSSON IN STOCKHOLM

aggrandisement of his family than on the prosperity of religion in so barbarous a country as Sweden. Besides, the pontiff was in jeopardy from one of his own sons — the most Catholic king of Spain and most redoubtable emperor of Germany, whose army was about to sack the holy city. This was an occasion peculiarly favourable to the views of Gustavus, who proceeded more eagerly in what he called the work of reformation. If the bishops now refused to surrender the fortified towns and castles they should be reduced to obedience, and all grants made to the church since the time of King Knutsson were to be revoked. Assembling the estates-general at Vesterås, he secretly directed his officers to attend and demand the arrears of pay due to the army.^c

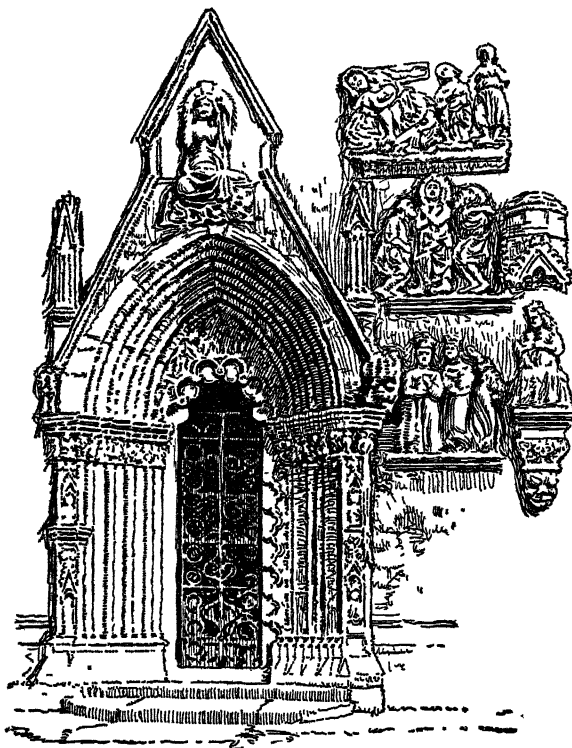
THE DIET OF VESTERÅS (1527 A.D.)

Olaf Celsius,^d the eighteenth century biographer of Gustavus, gives the following account of the diet: The opening of the diet was appointed for the 24th of June. The day before, the king gave a magnificent banquet to which the bishops were invited, as well as the gentlefolk among all ranks. When they went to the table, the priests, according to their usual custom, stepped forth to take the high places. At the moment when the king sat down, he

commanded the council of the kingdom to sit next to him, and then the chief nobles were shown to places next to these; and therefore the bishops received their command to place themselves in proximity to the lesser ecclesiastics — where the burghers and peasants were ranged.

The bishops could not conceal their consternation at this clap of thunder. They who for a long time had been accustomed to be next to the king, and who always went above the council and also above the regent, now found themselves not only below the council of the kingdom but also below the

knights. They did not know whether to go away or to sit down. The first would have been the better choice, but the fear of the anger of the king impelled them to take the seats to which they were shown. The king made himself quite merry at their expense, when he saw their indignation. For a long time they were silent and had nothing to offer, because they were so exasperated, until the king himself suggested that they should have an opportunity to come before the diet with their complaint. Then arose a great dispute about the rights of the clergy, and the bishops fought, in order to get at the mere truth, while the king, who now and then allowed his ardour to run away with him, had the intention of allowing them a hearing. The banquet and the contention



STRANGO CHURCH DOOR

were finally over, with this resolution — that in the future the bishops should content themselves with the rank which the king deigned to concede to them.

The estates assembled in the great hall of the cloister because the castle had not been repaired since the last storm. Everyone was all attention and on the alert for what was coming, looking beforehand to see what was to follow worthy of remark in the order of the day. Finally the archdeacon Lars Anderson, who filled the office of chancellor to the royal court arose; he was to make a speech in the name of the king. He gave a report of all that had happened during the seven years in which Gustavus had reigned, and also of the reasons which actuated him to receive the onerous burden which belonged to the richly honoured title of king, saying that the honours to which Gustavus was raised might be considered too great a responsibility, if the love which he bore the fatherland had not overtopped the annoyance which unceasing cares brought with them. Knowledge of his sincerity must

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spread far and wide; why should he be censured for punishing the conspirators? What else could he do under such circumstances? What course would be most advantageous and acceptable? Should he cast away the sceptre which was entrusted to him? Such a resolution he had already formed, but the council of the kingdom and the estates had hindered it. They had repented of their folly with tears, and entreated pardon; yet they had kept on in the same way with new acts of the same tenor. He demanded a free-will offering with the advice and consent of the estates. In reply they ranted about the expensive times, as though famine and plenty were in the hands of the king. There were indeed many establishments for housing sufficient corn and salt. The needs of the hungry were already quieted by his care. It must also be understood that while universal disquiet reigned in Europe, Sweden also, as well as other lands, would be disaffected and feel its share. They had no need with cunning and power to tear the sceptre from his hand. He would give it to them, although he had the power to show them his strength. What kind of a prop would it be to him, that he should care for it? On the contrary, he would be glad to dwell in retirement on the thought of their happiness under another master. They need fear from him neither trouble nor any violence. Yet he would first lay the common needs before them — those which concerned the whole body of the kingdom, without the supply of which no one could favourably esteem his government. For the first act the income of the crown must be increased, to meet the increase of the annual expenses. The maintenance of the court, the government, the fleet, relations with foreign powers, and other needs must be supplied, but the lesser income of the kingdom must be separate from that. The obedience of inferiors to their ruler must be given the first place. The nobility of the kingdom must be uplifted from its poverty to its former prestige. It would then appear as an ornament and a bulwark of the kingdom.

The castles and fortifications of the kingdom, the best and the most desirable of which the bishops had in their possession, must be improved and given up to the crown. The inward discontent, which for a long time had been the ruin of the noble houses and which had spread into other sections of the nation, must be wholly laid aside. The fatherland had recognised the divine teaching and it must be the thought of all to strive for one aim, to use one means — to obey the king.

These were the ill-assorted matters with which a Swedish ruler had to deal. His subjects must settle these points in order that he might not be wearied with the burden. This was the sole condition on which he would be their king.

When the chancellor had finished the address the king turned to the leader of the senate, Thure Jonsson, in order that he should reply in the name of the nobles. Immediately Thure Jonsson gave his oration in order publicly to show to the bishop of Linköping that priority belonged to him. The prelate spoke afterwards. "We of the religious world must recognise," he said, "that we are under obligations and bound by different oaths and to different masters, *viz.* to the pope and to the king of Sweden. To the first we have sworn an inviolable obedience, and never to allow any changes which would be detrimental to the rights of the clergy. For we possess this wealth, not as our own but as a fief of the church. And for its administration we must render a sharp account to the apostolic tribunal."

The king turned again to the senators. Jönsson replied immediately: "We are all with one mind in favour of what the bishop of Linköping has said, in whose well-composed speech everything has been expressed." "Good!"

answered the king. "It is also my conclusion. I renounce the kingdom and only demand my own again — my father's inheritance which I turned over to the good of the land. After that, I will journey out of the kingdom and I promise never to burden you with my company hereafter."

It almost seemed [he proceeded] as if the subjects thought that the king controlled the rain and storms as much as he did his kingdom, when they permitted themselves to blame the ruler for every evil with which the land was plagued. He said: "There is no devil in hell, much less a man, who would be able to rule it." With these words the king's countenance changed, the tears flowed from his eyes, and he went out. This occasioned an amazing and universal stillness. Then, little by little discussion began. The priests drew near to Brask while the nobility approached the leader of the senate. The burgher and peasant were without courage and almost without feeling.

The King is Besought to Assume the Administration

However, the burghers had grasped the right view of the whole thing and they were on the side of the king. On the following day the estates met again. There was a high, wordy debate, without result, and conducted in great disorder. The first half of the day passed in such proceedings, without practical results or earnestness of effort. At length the leader of the burghers arose and took the floor. He entreated the nobility and the bishops by all that was sacred to weigh the importance of the thing — to study it with determination and energy, in order to reach a final conclusion. Many of the burghers began to shout: "The king brought peace, his rule was so cautious; and everyone must know that he was pre-eminently wise. How could anyone desert him?" But the Catholic priests stormed so much the more, in order to quell the sound with their murmurs and also audibly to express their displeasure. The speech of the burghers rang out with clear full tone: "If those in authority do not soon decide what is to be done, then the burghers will decide to give to the king all that he wishes. They have determined to follow the counsel of the king and they are sure to stand and persevere in their oath of allegiance to him. If any oppose and stir up discord, then at their own cost and for two years long they will hold, for the service of the king, all lake cities and especially chief cities." The peasants everywhere now said the same.

In his heart Brask pitied himself for being deceived by his colleagues; he could do nothing further, however, than pity himself. The nobility thought that the Catholic priests should be recalled and allowed to defend their teaching against opposition. The first question was whether the discussions should be in Latin or Swedish. Olaus Petri spoke for Swedish, in order that all might understand it; Gallus held out for the Latin because this thing could only be properly rendered in that language. So they argued — one for Swedish, and one for Latin. There was no end to the war till late in the evening, when Olaus Petri conquered, and the estates closed the day's proceedings. Several of the nobility, besides the common people, went immediately to the king in order on that day to take a firm oath of loyalty to him.

The assembly began on the third day with the same clamour as on the day previous. The Catholic priests had ever new grievances to state and their speeches were so filled with circumlocution that the day was spent fruitlessly. But the burgher and peasant showed their earnestness: "We are all of one mind," they said, "and by our deputies we have declared our loyal allegiance



GUSTAVUS VASA ENTERING STOCKHOLM
(Painted for THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD by Thure de Thulstrup)

[1527 A.D.]

to the king, and also our wish to follow his desire." One Mans Bryntesson went to the leader of the senate and whispered to him that he must restrain himself and defer his anger till another time. With that Jönsson allowed his vehemence to subside and declared himself ready for an accommodation. However, it was impossible for him to forbear to remark, "The king can be found another time; his highness can wait."

Now arose the question of how to conciliate the king. How it would be possible to bring him into the assembly? The chancellor Lars Anderson and Olaus Petri were chosen to bear the loyal request. They maintained that because a resolution had been passed which was conformable to the will of the king he would not be disinclined to resume the administration. The deputies declared to the king the repentance of his subjects and they heartily implored forgiveness. However, Gustavus listened to their prolonged address with coldness and hauteur, and after it was concluded he replied briefly: "I am tired of being your king." The deputies continued most urgent. They stamped their feet with vehemence, and struggled to emphasise their words with an accompaniment of tears; but there was no reply. This scene aroused great anguish in the assembly of the estates; and for the moment everything was in an uproar.

THE RECESS OF VESTERÅS (1527 A.D.)

After numberless deputations the king finally returned the answer that he would join them. This occasioned universal joy, and all awaited his return with eagerness. Gustavus allowed them to wait for three long days. On the fourth day, accompanied by the council of the kingdom, by the chief nobles, by the common people, also by the burghers and peasants, besides twelve of the bodyguard, who were newly clad in polished armour, he went to them. Only the priests were lacking in his following. On his arrival the estates went out to meet him. His form, speech, and bearing took on a double majesty for this occasion, and so impressed the common people with high thoughts of his person that the tone of their language could not be submissive and loyal enough to him. All entreated forgiveness and laid before him their requests.^d

All his demands were conceded. The king's propositions were answered by each class for itself — by the nobility, the traders, the miners, and the peasants, although their deliberations appear to have been held in company. The statute which was the result of these, known under the title of the Recess of Vesterås, and dated on Midsummer's Day, 1527, was issued in the name of the council of state, whose seals were appended to it, with those of the nobility and of certain burghers and miners appointed on the part of the commonalty. The bishops, who from this time were no longer summoned to the council, briefly declared, in a special instrument, that they were content, how rich or poor soever his grace would have them to be. The act of the council on the Recess of Vesterås contains (1) a mutual engagement to withstand all attempts at revolt and to punish them, as also to defend the present government against all enemies, foreign and domestic; (2) a grant of power to the king, to take into his own hands the castles and strongholds of the bishops, and to fix their revenues as well as those of the prebends and canonries, to levy fines hitherto payable to the bishops, and to regulate the monasteries, in which there had for a long time been "woeful misgovernment"; (3) authority for the nobles to resume that part of their hereditary property which had been conveyed to churches and convents since the Inquisition (*rafst*) of

Charles Knutsson in 1454, if the heir-at-law could substantiate his birthright thereto, at the Thing, by the oaths of twelve men; (4) liberty for the preachers to proclaim the pure word of God, "but not" the barons add, "uncertain miracles, human inventions and fables, as hath been much used heretofore."

Respecting the new faith, on the other hand the burghers and miners declare that "inquiry might be made, but that the matter passed their understanding"; as do the peasants, since "it was hard to judge more deeply than understanding permitted." The answer of the latter betrays the affection they still, for the most part, bore to the clergy, with the exception of the mendicant friars or sack-monks, of whose conduct they complain. Of the bishops' castles they say that the king may take them in keeping, until the kingdom shall be more firmly settled; for the article respecting the revenues of the church, they believe they are unable to answer it, but commit this matter to the king and his council. In that supplement to the statute which is entitled the Ordinance of Vesterås, it is enacted that a register of all the rents of the bishops, cathedrals, and canons should be drawn up, and the king might direct what proportion of these should be reserved to the former owners, and how much paid over to him for the requirements of the crown; that ecclesiastical offices, not merely the higher but the inferior, should for the future be filled up only with the king's consent, so that the bishops might supply the vacant parishes with preachers, but subject to reviewal by the king, who might remove those whom he found to be unfit; that in secular matters priests should be amenable to the civil jurisdiction, and on their decease no part of their effects should devolve to the bishops; finally, that from that day the gospels should be read in all schools, "as be seems those which are truly Christian."

When these arrangements had been concerted, the king turned towards the prelates, and demanded from the bishop of Strengnäs the castle of Tynnelsö, which the latter declared himself ready to surrender. A similar answer was returned by the bishop of Skara in reference to that of Lecko; but when the king came to Bishop Brask and requested his castle of Munkeboda, silence and sighs were the only reply. Thure Jonsson begged for his old friend that the castle might be at least spared to him during his lifetime, but the king answered shortly, "No!" Eight lords of the council were obliged on the spot to become sureties for the bishop's obedience. Forty men of his bodyguard were taken from him to be entered among the royal forces, and they formed a portion of the troops, who were forthwith dispatched to take possession of the fortress with its artillery and appurtenances. At the same time the king sent various men of note as commissioners to the principal churches and monasteries throughout Sweden, to take into their keeping all documents concerning the estates and revenues of these foundations, and a declaratory letter of the council on the Recess and Ordinance of Vesterås was issued to all the provinces. Bishop Brask succeeded by a seeming submission in freeing himself from the securities he had been obliged to find; shortly afterwards, pretending a visitation to Gotland, he quitted the kingdom forever and joined the archbishop, who was likewise a fugitive in Dantzic.^e

At the head of his cavalry, with the evangelical doctors in his train, Gustavus proceeded into the provinces, caused them everywhere to preach before him, and resumed the lands which had been granted to the church, before as well as after the time of Charles Knutsson. At one blow he took away two thirds of all her revenues: no fewer than sixteen thousand manors were thus placed at his disposal. The greater number he united to the crown;

[1528-1529 A.D.]

but many also he gave to his nobles, to his officers, to his courtiers, to all whose co-operation was likely to be useful. But he touched not the lands or revenues of the churches, or even of the monasteries, which consented to embrace the Lutheran doctrines. This was the most effectual way of proselytising. The next in efficiency was the permission now allowed the ecclesiastics to marry and mix with the world. A great number, however, with the bishop of Linköping, retired into foreign countries; and many into Dalecarlia, with the hope of enjoying religious liberty and of organising a more successful resistance.

Gustavus was well prepared for the manifestation now visible in Dalecarlia and the western provinces. Through the influence of the ecclesiastics, a formidable band was ready to take the field. But, in the first instance, it was judged advisable to send him a deputation, praying him to undo what he had lately done. He answered them by fair promises until his forces were collected; then he hastened to them, seized such of their chiefs as had not time to escape, and made the multitude sue for pardon. The ancient church was overthrown. The king declared himself a Lutheran, nominated Lutherans to the vacant sees, and placed Lutherans in the parish churches.



MARIA ELIZABETH, WIFE OF DUKE JOHAN OF
ÖSTERGÖTLAND
(1596-1618)

THE SYNOD OF ÖREBRO (1529 A.D.)

The Lutherans had spread themselves over the entire kingdom; but the greater part of the common people, who occupied the land, still had Catholic teachers; for that reason there were everywhere traces of a medley of Lutheran and Catholic ceremonies. Gustavus wished to have a uniform worship throughout the kingdom. Finally, he summoned a general council to Örebro. He had doubtless often thought of convoking such an assembly, but the priests especially had zealously opposed it, and they had succeeded in hindering it until this time.

Finally the religious body met, in the beginning of the year 1529, at Örebro. Besides the bishops and priests, who were clothed with the highest authority, there were also assembled in opposition to them the foremost men of the kingdom. The chancellor, Lars Anderson, who was at the same time archdeacon of Upsala, presided over the assembly, in the name of the king. He exerted himself in every particular to put all Catholic ceremonies out of the way at once; made use of all kinds of expedients and many artifices in order to bring this about. He scarcely dared to mention the name of Luther in this connection, and still less could he acknowledge his teachings as the underlying motive of the thing in view. It was appropriate and fitting for

the chancellor to declare that the sacred writings should be industriously read. However, most of those present were not inclined to concede that Luther's version should be universally introduced into the kingdom. The monks must be allowed instead to furnish the Latin version, generally used in the popish church, which is usually ascribed to the saintly father, St. Jerome. The number of the feast days must be limited; yet the Lutheran must suffer still, in order that the feasts of the patron saints of the kingdom and of the church might be kept.

Lars Anderson fully realized that at this time it would be simply impossible to tamper with and abrogate what it was perfectly evident would be publicly missed from the service of God; then he adopted the means of explaining things away: the holy water should be used, not for the reason that it washed away sins — because the blood of Christ alone could effect that — but as a mere remembrance of the baptismal vow. The pictures should remain in the churches, not for adoration and worship but as an ornament to the temple, and in order to direct the thoughts of the people to the glory of the saints. Palms should be waved — not as if any power could be derived from the act or anything effected by it, but as a remembrance of the honour which the people showed to Christ when he was on his way to Jerusalem. The priests were exhorted to instruct their hearers diligently in this particular, and to teach them to cherish no superstition which was connected with the usual ceremonial of the church. The final resolutions of this council were subscribed to by all who were present, and they were put under seal on Low Sunday, 1529.

As soon as Olaus Petri had returned to Stockholm from this council, he wrote a Swedish *Handbook of Evangelical Proofs*, wherein many popish ceremonies were omitted and several were retained. However, the priests found great difficulty in using this handbook among the women; as they were wholly unreconciled to the abolition of the prayers for the dead. Neither did they feel that their children were properly baptised unless salt were placed in the mouth during the ritual of baptism, and unless the horrible exorcisms were used to which they were accustomed. In order to avoid an uproar the king indicated to the priests that salt and exorcisms might be added to the service to pacify the people, who were indeed so strong and so imperative that they might better be conciliated in matters which, themselves, meant nothing and which contributed little to the confirmation of the faith.^d

THE REVOLT OF THE VESTERGÖTLANDERS

Of all the insurrectionary movements in the time of King Gustavus, the revolt of the Västergötlanders was the only one which was called into activity at the instigation, not only of the clergy, but of the nobility. Yet the lords sought to push forward the peasants — a proof sufficient that the barons were no longer so powerful as they had been. The energies of democracy in Sweden were never more vigorous than after the massacre of Stockholm had broken the strength of the magnates, and the diet of Vesterås, that of the bishops. Gustavus stood amidst a turbulent stream of popular force which had burst its bounds. This had first raised him to a throne which during twenty years it struggled to overturn. His accustomed mode of action, to follow the torrent when it was about to overpower him, until he should gain firm footing, was dictated to him by necessity; and it must be acknowledged that he well knew how to guide himself among the dangers of his position.

[1529 A.D.]

Letters of the king and his council were despatched to all the provinces, to the effect that he would gladly mend whatever might be wrong in his government; touching religion and the church, nothing had been determined without the assent of the council and the estates, nor should be hereafter. The Smålanders were, besides, wheedled with a pledge that two convents should be preserved; the clergy he engaged to exempt from entertaining the royal troops, if they would give their aid in appeasing the commons; to the Dalesmen he promised the remission of the tax they had so keenly contested; and to the miners, an acquittance from some of the demands of the crown. The abundance of the sovereign's good words seemed not to suffice; he begged that others too would employ the like. It was usual at this time when one province was in revolt to invoke the mediation of the rest, in reference to the ancient league by which they had been united. Thus the town of Stockholm now wrote to the Dalesmen, praying them to refrain from taking part in this insurrection. The Dalesmen and the miners on the other hand, although two years afterwards they were themselves ready for a new rising, addressed on this occasion a special letter of admonition to the factious Vestergötlanders and Smålanders; but the Östergötlanders, the neighbours of the latter, were in particular employed as mediators. Delegates from Upland and Östergötland, with the royal envoys, hastened to Vestergötland and Småland, bearing an offer of full pardon for the men of these territories, if they returned to their obedience. The result was that when Thure Jonsson convoked a meeting of the Vestergötlanders on Larfs heath, on April 17th, 1529, and harangued them from a great stone — on the expediency of electing another king, Magnus, bishop of Skara, and also assuring them that the pope would absolve them from their oaths, the yeomen made answer that "a change of lords seldom made matters better; therefore it seemed to them most advisable to hold fast to the fealty which they had sworn to king Gustavus." Thereupon both the Vestergötlanders and the Smålanders, who had informed the royal commissioners that they would be guided by the decision of their brethren, laid down their arms. In the writ of accommodation, pledges were given to them, that what had happened should be as a matter dead and forgotten, and that no heresy should be introduced into the kingdom; yet, the king added, the recess of Vesterås should be observed on every point. In this settlement the mediators are placed on a parallel with the authorities, for it is stated that "the good men of Upland and Östergötland likewise, who have interceded for the disturbers, shall have power to mulct of goods and life every man who, after this day, by word or deed shall stir up any disorders against the king." So this sedition was quelled. Joran Thureson, the dean who had attempted to raise the Helsingers, was at last seized by them and delivered to the king, who was satisfied with dismissing him from his office. His father, the old high steward, with bishop Magnus, fled across the border to Denmark.

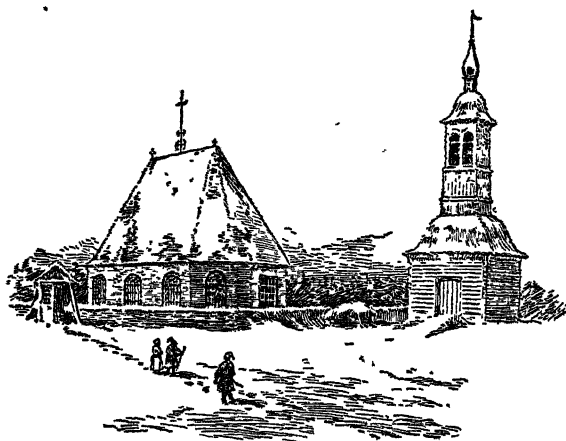
Seven barons, who all styled themselves councillors of state in Vestergötland, had plotted with the rebel leaders of Larfs heath, before the resolution of the yeomanry was known, to change the government of Sweden, and had renounced fealty and obedience to King Gustavus. Their letter was not sent; and assurances were afterwards given them by the priest, master Nils of Hwalstad, that all the documents by which their participation in the revolt might be proved should be committed to the flames. Deeming that the king did not know or would not see their guilt, they ventured to lay the whole blame of this transaction on Thure Jonsson and the bishop, and to offer themselves to the judgment of the council and the estates at the diet now convoked in Strengnäs. Here Gustavus vindicated himself at length from

[1529-1530 A.D.]

the accusations brought against him, and caused a defence of the Recess of Vesterås, composed by Lawrence Peterson, to be made public. On the trial, it was declared that the arraigned lords had forfeited all claim to be included in the warrant of peace granted by the king, or to obtain a pardon; the more so as, although thrice called upon by him to acknowledge their guilt and sue for grace, they had refused to comply. They were, therefore, in accordance with the tenor of their own letters now produced against them, condemned to death; and the sentence was executed on two of them. The pardon of a third was granted to the supplications of his mother, but he was obliged to pay a fine of 2,000 guilders (£158), and the rest of those who had borne a leading part in the revolt saw themselves under the necessity of afterwards purchasing the king's good will with money and costly presents.

THE DEBT TO LUBECK

The debt to Lübeck was still unpaid. From an account adjusted in 1529 by the king's brother-in-law, the count of Hoya, with the authorities of the



TOOKMOOCK'S CHAPEL

town, it is plain that the capital had not been diminished since the year 1523, notwithstanding the tax levied for its discharge, and this circumstance was one cause of the general discontent which prevailed. An agreement had now, indeed, been concluded, by which the privileges granted in 1523 were to be confined to Lübeck, the town consenting that the debt should be paid by instalments within four years; but even this arrangement rendered neces-

sary the employment of extraordinary means. Imitating an example which had already been set in Denmark, a baronial diet held at Upsala in the early part of the year 1530 resolved that, from all the town churches of the kingdom, one bell should be taken towards the cancelling of this debt. The municipalities acceded to this measure, and in the following year the same requisition was extended to the rural churches, the bells being redeemable with money, at the option of the parishes. Agents specially commissioned by the council settled the conditions of arrangement with the commonalty of the various districts; engaging, on the king's part, that what was thus collected should be applied only to the object specified, and that the expenditure of the sum should be accounted for by persons thereto appointed. The tithes for the years were besides exacted, with all the money and plate still remaining in the church coffers that could be spared. In this way the debt to Lübeck was entirely paid off; but its discharge cost the king a new insurrection. The Dalecarlians once more rose; took back their bells, which they had already delivered up; and despatched letters throughout the kingdom, in which they invoked the remembrance of the ancient confederation, request-

[1530-1531 A.D.]

ing that twelve men of condition from every hundred might assemble in a general diet at Arboga, on St. Eric's day (the 18th of May), 1531, in order to deliberate, and to come to a decision upon certain affairs of the commons, which concerned the interests of all men, more especially respecting the dissensions in the Christian church. The peasants in Gesticland, in a part of Vestmanland, and in Nerike, likewise resumed possession of their bells. The king with difficulty appeased the discontent of the Uplanders; subsequently he employed their chiefs, with the magistrates of Stockholm, in a negotiation with the insurgents of Dalecarlia. At the head of the latter, in the present attempt, appeared men who had heretofore been the most faithful adherents of the king. The peasants of the Dales, said these, would not again allow themselves to be pinned in a ring, as once upon Tuna Heath: to come across the Dal-elf at Brunbäck without the Dalesmen's leave, was what no king or lord of the land had ever dared, and even Gustavus should not come into their country without safe-conduct, or with a greater following than they themselves should appoint; nor would they suffer any officers to live among them, other than such as they had themselves consented to receive, and as had been born among them. All this they alleged to be the old custom of their country, and they now kept armed guard upon the borders. When the king came to hear this, he said that it was now the time of the Dalesmen, but that his own time was coming; and to the astonishment of all, he nominated one of the principal insurgent leaders to be governor of the Dales.

GUSTAVUS DEFEATS CHRISTIAN IN NORWAY

This caution was rendered necessary by the perils which threatened from another quarter. Christian II, though dethroned, was ever busied with plans for recovering the kingdoms of which he had been master, and he had more than once, for this purpose, collected troops, which yet he never had succeeded in keeping together. Meanwhile the dwelling of Christian in the Netherlands, where he lived under the protection of the emperor, was a point of reunion for all the Swedish malcontents and exiles. Here resided the former archbishop, Gustavus Trolle, who had carried off with him the old records of the kingdom; here were gathered Thure Jonsson, bishop Magnus of Skara, and Jon Ericson, dean of Upsala, who held communication with bishop Hans Brask, now likewise a refugee. In the year 1530 they bound themselves, by a special covenant, to replace Christian "by the arms of their adherents" on the throne, and invoked the aid of the emperor, "to free Sweden, for the boot of Christendom, from a tyrant who cared neither for God nor men, for word, honour, nor repute." By the end of October, 1531, Christian put to sea with a fleet of twenty-five vessels, and though these were dispersed by a storm in which several were lost, he was himself fortunate enough to effect a landing in Norway at Opslo. The Northmen, who had long been disaffected from Danish rule, perceived in Christian the instrument by which they might regain independence. The fate of Christian was, however, soon decided. His ships were burned by the united squadrons of Denmark and Lubeck; and the unfortunate prince was incarcerated in the eastern tower of the castle of Sonderburg, in a vaulted chamber of which all the apertures were walled up, one little window excepted, through which his food was introduced. In this abode of horror, where a Norwegian dwarf was his only companion, King Christian lived seventeen years, the first twelve without any alleviation of his misery. His imprisonment lasted in all seven and twenty years, and was only terminated by death.

THE LAST RISING OF THE DALECARLIANS

Such being the event of Christian's invasion, Gustavus obtained time again to turn his thoughts to the Dalecarlians, in whose territory all was for the present tranquil. The Dalesmen, weary of moving about in arms among their forests, had made an offer to the king, at the end of the year 1531, to redeem their bells with a sum of 2,000 marks, and were the more gladdened by his promise of pardon, as they regarded it as a silent confirmation of their privileges. They celebrated with feasts, say the chronicles, the old liberty of the Dales. But the king, on the other hand, had determined forever to extinguish their claims to peculiar privileges above the other inhabitants of the kingdom; and he was, besides, moved anew to indignation when the miners set at naught his summons to defend the kingdom against the attack of Christian, and held communications with his runaway subjects. These mutinous excesses were ascribed more especially to "Magnus Nilson with his faction," who — the real instigator of the bell-sedition — was at that time the richest miner in the Kopparberg, and of whom it is popularly said that he shod his horses with silver. In the commencement of the year 1533 Gustavus cited his own retainers, with those of the nobility, to meet at Vesterås. No man knew against whom this armament was really directed, although rumour spoke of new complots by the factionaries of King Christian. The king's injunctions to his captains were, "Wheresoever ye see me advance, thither haste ye speedily after." The expedition took its way to the Dale country, whose inhabitants had lately sent representatives to Vesterås. These the king detained, and in their stead despatched proclamations to the Dalecarlians, purporting that "he well knew that little of what had happened could be imputed to the common people; he came only to hold an inquisition upon the guilty, whom it was meet they should cast out from among them." He invited them all to come to a conference at the Kopparberg.

The king arrived as soon as the letters, and the commonalty assembled — some with good will, others by constraint. As on the previous occasion, troops encompassed the assembly; first several lords of the council spoke to the people, afterwards the king himself. He asked the Dalesmen whether they remembered their promise made six years before, when he had pardoned the revolt then commenced, or they supposed they might play this game with him every year with impunity. This bout should be the last. He would suffer no province in his dominion to be hostile; for the future theirs should be either obedient, or so desolated that neither hound nor cock should be heard in it. He asked them where they would have that border which their king must not dare to overstep, and whether it became them as subjects thus to master their magistrates. What was the true reason why the Stures, although the rulers of the land, had never ventured to cross the stream at Brunbäck without the leave of the miners? To such insolence he, at least, would not submit. After this fashion, the king spoke to them long and sharply, and during that time the whole of the commonalty were upon their knees. He called upon them to deliver up the instigators of the last sedition, which was forthwith performed. Five of them were tried and executed upon the spot; the rest were carried prisoners to Stockholm, where, in the following year, three of them, pursuant to the judgment of the council and the town magistrates, were put to death — among them Anders Person of Rankhytta, in whose barn Gustavus had once threshed. The forfeited property of the offenders was restored to their wives and children. Thus ended the third and last rising of the Dalecarlians against King Gustavus.

[1533-1536 A D]

LÜBECK'S LAST EFFORTS ARE SUBDUED

At this time Lübeck was calling up its last energies for the maintenance of its commercial power; for its citizens, who "wished to hold in their sole grasp the keys of the Baltic, looking only to their own advantage," had long seen with reluctance the Hollanders dividing with themselves the trade of the North. They had contributed to the overthrow of Christian II because he had favoured these rivals, but they had not reaped the fruits expected from his fall; and they ended by wishing to raise him from his prison to the throne. Gustavus had already, in 1526, formed a commercial treaty with the regent Margaret of the Netherlands, and although Christian had received support from that quarter in his last enterprise, the misunderstandings thereby created were eventually adjusted. Lübeck, on the other hand, demanded that Sweden and Denmark should declare war on the Hollanders, and in the mean time postpone the assertion of its own quarrel with them, in order to kindle a new one in the North. Marcus Meyer and Gorgen Wollenwever, two bold demagogues, were the men who, having ejected the old council of Lübeck and usurped the government in the name of the populace, ruined the power of their native city by the attempt again to make and unmake kings. By the death of Frederick of Denmark, on the 3rd April, 1533, and the disputes which afterwards arose respecting the succession, their plans were advanced. To excite new troubles in Sweden they employed the name of young Svante Sture, a son of the last administrator, who had fallen into their hands. The generous youth refused to be the tool of their designs, for which they found a more willing instrument in the count John of Hoya, whom Christian reckoned one of the persons "introduced into the government by the towns." Gustavus had united him in marriage with his sister, placed him in his council, and bestowed upon him a considerable territory in Finland. Estrangement seems to have first arisen between the count and his sovereign from the computation of the Swedish debt made by the former at Lübeck in 1529, fixing the amount at 10,000 marks higher than Gustavus would acknowledge. The debt was afterwards discharged within the period agreed upon, but the Lübeckers maintained that from 8,000 to 10,000 marks of the same were still wanting, while Gustavus asserted that the Lübeck commissioners had omitted just so much from their accounts, and applied the money to their own use. The consequence was that the Lübeckers seized a ship belonging to the king, whereupon he laid an embargo on all Lübeck vessels in Swedish harbours, the bitter hatred of the townsmen to him finding vent in speeches, writings, overt acts of hostility, and at last also in clandestine designs against his life. The count of Hoya fled, with his wife and children, from Sweden, and was received at Lübeck with public demonstrations of rejoicing. Associating himself with the other Swedish exiles, he took part with Gustavus Trolle and Bernard of Melen in the war which now broke out.

In the year 1534 began the Count's Feud, so called because the possessors of power in Lübeck placed Count Christopher of Oldenburg at the head of their attack upon Denmark. This was the last blow struck for Christian II, whose cause Lübeck pretended to lead.

Lübeck saw itself reduced, in 1536, to conclude a peace with Denmark, which brought the war with Sweden also to an end. But the dissatisfaction of Gustavus that Denmark should have concluded a separate peace, and under conditions by which he deemed his interests to be prejudiced in several points, the difficulties which arose concerning the payment of the loan wherewith he had assisted Christian III, and various other disputes, afterwards well-nigh

led to a rupture with Denmark. At length a good understanding was restored, and an alliance between the two kingdoms for twenty years contracted, at a personal interview of the sovereigns in Brömsebro. The Hanse Towns, on the other hand, after this unsuccessful attempt to restore their ancient influence in the North, never recovered their former privileges. In Lubeck, the party which had instigated the war was overturned. Among their plans was included a conspiracy against Gustavus: the king was to be assassinated, and Stockholm delivered to the Lubeckers. The plot was detected; and its authors, who were for the most part German burgesses, suffered (in 1536) the penalty of their crime.

THE ACT OF HEREDITARY SETTLEMENT

As early as the year 1526, when the council solicited the king to choose a consort, provision was made that, if God should grant him sons, one of them — and the eldest in preference — should be his successor, while lands and fiefs were to be settled on the others, as was befitting for the children of a sovereign. Eric and John (the king's firstborn son by Margaret) were presented to the council convened at Orebro on the 4th of January, 1540, along with several of the chief nobles and prelates. The king drew his sword, and the assembled peers, touching the blade, took an oath, administered by him and confirmed by the reception of the sacrament, in which they acknowledged his sons as the legitimate heirs of the kingdom. Four years afterwards, at the diet of Vesterås, this act was further confirmed, and the succession to the throne settled, according to priority of birth, upon the male heirs of the sovereign, the estates recognising and doing solemn homage to Eric as crown prince. The act of Hereditary Settlement passed at Vesterås, and dated the 13th of January, 1544, was drawn up in the name of all estates by order of the nobles, who here styled themselves "members and props of the crown of Sweden." At the diet of Strengnäs, in 1547, the estates declared themselves likewise ready to acknowledge and maintain "the testamentary disposition which the king's majesty has made or may yet make for the princely heirs of his body." The statute for this purpose was framed by the clergy, although it is plain, from various records, that the other orders also gave their assent to it. Now, for the first time after the beginning of the Reformation, we find this estate — no longer represented by the bishops only, but also by pastors of churches, both in towns and rural parishes — again mentioned as present at the diet; a proof that the greater number, at least, were now Protestants. After the act of settlement had been passed, an order was made, "that the king's majesty might not daily be burdened and troubled with so many affairs," for the councillors of state to be in attendance upon him continually, two every month.

. TROUBLES CONCERNING FINLAND

In 1554 the Russian war broke out on the borders of Finland. Gustavus had regarded this portion of his dominions with a paternal solicitude which was extended likewise to the more distant Laplanders. He forbade the oppressions practised by the trading peasants of Norrland and Finland upon this wild and defenceless race, and sought to disseminate Christianity among the Lapps by missionaries. By the labours of Michael Agricola, a Finn by birth and the pupil of Luther and Melancthon, whom Gustavus appointed ordinary of Åbo, the Finlanders obtained the Bible, prayer-book, psalms, and

[1551-1559 A.D.]

the first books of instruction in their language. Their manners were still marked by much barbarity and lawlessness. The king was obliged, in 1551, to chastise the Tavastrians, who had surprised and burned the newly established settlements of the Swedes, already flourishing, in the forests of East Bothnia. Dark and extraordinary crimes are mentioned, and the remoteness of situation, tempting by the prospect of impunity, led to great outrages on the part of the possessors of fiefs and the royal bailiffs, as is shown by the king's letters to the Flemings, who then exercised great power in Finland. The peace subsisting with Russia since 1510 had been last confirmed in 1537; but the frontier was undefined, and in desolate Lapland it was unknown to either side. Yet disputes speedily arose which produced quarrels between the bailiffs respecting the collection of the crown dues, and at length mutual plundering, homicides, and burnings. As early as 1545, Gustavus, in a letter to Francis I, complains of an inroad of the Russians into Finland. This was returned with equal damage from the Swedish side, though without the king's orders, and brought on an open war, in which the grand master of the Livonian knights and the king of Poland promised their aid to Gustavus against the czar Ivan Vasilievitch II. The king himself repaired to Finland in the following year, with a fleet and army. But mutual devastations, from which Finland suffered most, composed the whole occurrences of the war. The Russians laid fruitless siege to Viborg with a very large army, and carried off with them a crowd of captives. Their chronicles relate that a man was sold for ten copecks, and a maiden for fifteen. The war occasioned great outlay, and disease raged among the soldiery. These causes, coupled with the failure of the promised help from Livonia and Poland, led first to a cessation of arms, and thereafter to a peace, concluded at Moscow (April 2nd, 1557), for forty years. The disputed boundaries were to be determined by special commissioners.

Designs on Livonia from this side were soon to set the whole North in flames. The Russian giant was now beginning to struggle towards the sea, whence fresher air might stream upon his sluggish body. Gustavus kept aloof from the discords which were soon engendered. His sons, however, did not share his own caution, and his knowledge of their character filled him with apprehension. Heavy was the weight of care which accumulated upon his last years. He complained that his old friends had departed, and that he felt himself lonely in the world. He had lost, in 1551, his beloved consort Margaret Lejonhufvud, who had borne to him ten children: five sons and five daughters. He married again, after the lapse of a year, the young Catherine Stenbock.

In February, 1559, after the Russians had plundered the whole country to Riga, Ivan Vasilievitch II was informed by his commanders that Livonia lay in ashes. Before this invasion, commenced in the year previous, fell the old but now shattered dominion of the sword-knights; and as aid was sought from Poland, the emperor, Denmark, and Sweden, the country was now about to become — as throughout a whole century it continued — the theatre for the settlement of their contending pretensions. He was already opening that series of wars beyond the Baltic in which Sweden was to be engaged; and it was not without good grounds that he who is justly styled the father of his country scrupled to enter on a path so full of uncertainty. All the sentiments recorded as having fallen from him in his last year show that he viewed with the profoundest anxiety the prospect of Sweden's future. The very expedient he adopted, to avoid setting her all to hazard in the dangerous hands of Eric, involved risks which undoubtedly did not escape his penetration. All around,

[1558 A.D.]

clouds were darkening the political horizon. He had received information that another last attempt was about to be made on behalf of the family of his old enemy Christian; and, on the side of Denmark, under the new king Frederick II the chances of war seemed so imminent that Gustavus kept his army and fleet in readiness. Those who now invoked his assistance for Livonia, the granting of which would have provided a new war with Russia, were the same who deserted him in his former war with that country. He discerned only one Swedish interest at stake in the whole quarrel — that of setting bounds



A FEMALE SCHAMAN

to the augmentation of the Danish power in this quarter, after Reval had offered, in 1558, its submission to King Christian III — and beyond question this was his motive in binding himself to support the grand master of the order by a loan, obtaining that town as security; unless it was a mere pretext on the king's part to take the matter out of the management of his sons. For we know that John also, who had formed connections with Reval by giving shelter in Finland to the pirates of this town (the sea thieves of Reval, as Gustavus calls them), was negotiating with the grand master to furnish a loan upon the security of certain fortresses, and had made an engagement to this effect without his father's privity.

The king had observed, as he declared, that his son had some clandestine matter on his mind, and made him earnest representations on this subject. "Seeing thou well knowest that Finland is not a separate dominion from Sweden, but that both are counted as members of one body, it becomes thee to undertake nothing which concerns the whole kingdom, unless he who is the true head of Sweden, with the estates of the realm, be consulted thereupon, and it be approved and confirmed by him and them, as thy bounden duty

points out, and Sweden's law requires." But John turned for counsel in this design, not to his father, but to Eric. The latter informed his brother, who was still busied with his embassy to London, that he had given orders to his secretary with Clas Christerson Horn to negotiate with the grand master for the delivery of the castles of Sonnenburg and Padis, for the sum of 50,000 dollars, of which 10,000 was to be raised in Finland. "And when the king our father hears that this matter has had a happy issue," he added, "and we hold the keys of the castles, doubt not that he will lay out the rest for us; or it can be procured in some other mode." He pledged himself to further the scheme, according to the engagement he had made, "even should it move the wrath of the king." Eric gave command for the immediate equipment of ships in Finland, which drew forth a letter from the old monarch, forbidding any obedience being given in matters of importance to "what Eric or our

[1560 A. D.]

other children may order without our knowledge and sanction." Thus we see the sons united against the father on the very point which was to enkindle a deadly enmity between them.

THE DEATH OF THE KING

On June 16th Gustavus came to Stockholm, and informed the estates, by message, that he would meet them at the palace on the 25th of the month. On the appointed day he took his place in the hall of assemblage, accompanied by all his sons — King Eric, Duke John, Duke Magnus, and Duke Charles. The last, who was still a child, stood at his father's knee; the others on his left hand, each according to his age. The king having saluted the estates, they listened for the last time to the accents of that eloquence so well liked by the people. Upon the 14th of August, the very day of Eric's departure, Gustavus lay on his death-bed.

When his confessor began a long discourse of devotion, the king bade him cut it short, and instead of that bring him a medicine for a sick stomach and a brain that felt as if it were burning. He was heard to exclaim that he had busied himself too much with the cares of this world, but with all his wealth he could not buy himself physicians. Such of his bailiffs as were incarcerated for debts owed to himself, he now restored to freedom. His mood was capricious and changeable: now harsh and morose, so that his children trembled in his presence; now soft even to tears; at other times merry and jesting, especially at the endeavours of those who wished to prolong his life. When one asked him if he needed aught, his reply was, "The kingdom of Heaven, which thou canst not give me." He seemed not to place overmuch confidence even in his ghostly advisers; when the priest exhorted him to confess his sins, the king angrily broke out, "Shall I tell my sins to thee?" To the bystanders he declared that he forgave his enemies, and begged pardon of all for anything in which he had dealt unjustly with them, enjoining them to make known this to all. To his sons he said, "A man is but a man; when the play is out, we are all alike," and enjoined them to unity and steadfastness in their religion.

The consort of the dying king never quitted his side. During the first three weeks of his illness he spoke often, sometimes with wonderful energy, on temporal and spiritual affairs. The three following weeks he passed chiefly in silence and, as it seemed, with no great pain; he was often seen to raise his hands as in prayer. Having received the sacrament, made confession of his faith, and sworn his son to adhere firmly to it, he beckoned for writing materials, and inscribed these words, "Once confessed, so persist, or a hundred times repeated" — but his trembling hand had not the power to finish the sentence. The confessor continued his exhortations, till, as life was flying, Sten Ericson Lejonhufvud interrupted him by saying, "All that you talk is in vain, for our lord heareth no more." Thereupon the priest bent down to the ear of the dying man and said, "If thou believe in Jesus Christ, and hear my voice, give us some sign thereof." To the amazement of all, the king answered with a loud voice, "Yes!" This was his last breath, at eight of the clock in the morning, the 29th of September, 1560.^e

FRYXELL'S ESTIMATE OF KING GUSTAVUS

King Gustavus I was a tall and well-made man, somewhat above six feet high. He had a firm and full body without spot or blemish, strong arms,

delicate legs, small and beautiful hands and feet. His hair of a light yellow, combed down and cut straight across his eye-brows; forehead of a middle height, with two perpendicular lines between the eyes, which were blue and piercing; his nose straight, and not long; red lips, and roses on his cheeks, even in his old age. His beard in younger years was brown and parted, a hand-breadth long, and cut straight across; in later years growing at will, till it at last reached his waist and became hoary like his hair. As his body was faultless in every respect, any dress that he wore became him. Fortune favoured him in all that he undertook: fishing, hunting, agriculture, cattle-breeding, mining, even to casting the dice, when he could be induced to take part in it — which, however, was very seldom.

As in his body, so in his soul was King Gustavus endowed with the most noble qualities. His memory was so strong that, having seen a person once, after the lapse of ten or twelve years he recognised him again at first sight. The road he had once travelled he could never mistake again; he knew the names of the villages; nay, even those of the peasants who lived there during his youthful excursions. As was his memory, such was his understanding. When he saw a painting, sculpture, or architecture he could immediately and acutely judge its merits and defects, though he had himself never received any instruction in these arts.

When there was a crowd of people at the Castle,¹ he spoke with each, and on the subjects which those he addressed best understood; all were familiar to him. No man in the kingdom was so well acquainted with it as himself; none knew as well as he did in what its deficiencies lay. For this reason, and because in the beginning he was entirely without well-informed and capable officers, he was obliged himself to compose every ordinance and decree which he enacted, and the kingdom was not a loser by it.

He was prudent in the highest degree. But once, when Gustavus Trolle was about to take him prisoner at Upsala, did he show himself careless or credulous. Otherwise he was so provident that he might rather be called suspicious. "Look well before you. Think well of all men; but most of yourself" — thus he exhorted the people; and it was thus true, as an old author says of him, "he calculated every step, and could stand firm as a mountain at each."

Firmness and perseverance in what he undertook were striking features in his character. Example sufficient of this we find in his long, vehement, but honestly conducted struggle with the power of popery. Most others would have wearied, or desired by a blow to decide the matter with violence. Gustavus let time and reflection work for him; though slowly, he went ever forwards. Seldom or never did he change his resolution; it was an adage of his which he often repeated: "Better say once and remain by it, than speak a hundred times."

He was a stern and serious gentleman, and well knew how to preserve his dignity. It was not advisable for any, whether high or low, to attempt to encroach upon it; in such circumstances he rebuffed peasants, bishops, or kings, with equal severity. He was just, but severe, with the men he had placed in civil charges; on which account many abandoned him. When any one laboured to show off his talents and capabilities in the hopes of ingratiating himself, or others commenced extolling such an one, the sharp-sighted king would answer: "He is but a dabbler with all his pound from our Lord."

¹ Or palace. The palace at Stockholm is still called the Castle.

[1506 A.D.]

Gustavus was careful of money; for, said he, "it costs the sweat and labour of the subjects." His court was very frugal. He generally lived at one or other of the royal estates, and consumed their produce. His children were kept strictly. Hams and butter were sent from the country for the supper of the princes at Upsala; the queen herself sewed their shirts, and it was considered a great present if ever one of the princesses got a blank riksthaler. Gustavus' love of money seduced him to several injustices, which, however, were not so striking in those days as now. He sometimes permitted parishes to remain without rectors, having them administered by vicars, and appropriated their returns to himself. He forbade the export of cattle to his subjects in general, buying them himself at a low price from the peasants, and selling them abroad with great profit. This last circumstance was one of the chief causes of the Dacke Feud.¹

Several things of this kind which are less creditable to him are related; but the people overlooked them for the sake of his many virtues. They also knew that this money was not uselessly squandered. Herr Eskil's Hall, and the other vaulted chambers of the treasury, were full of good silver bullion at the king's death. When, however, pomp was required, he did not spare; but showed himself the equal of other kings. "The Lord's anointed," he said, "should be girded with splendour, that the commonalty may view him with reverence, and not imagine themselves to be the equals of majesty to the small profit of the land."

A pure and unaffected piety dwelt in his heart, and showed itself in his actions. Prayers were read morning and evening in his apartments; divine service he never neglected. He was better informed of the contents of the Bible and the catechism than most of the priests in his kingdom. Therefore Le Palm, his chief physician, wrote of him to Paris: "My king is a God's prince, who has scarcely his equal in spiritual and temporal measure. He is so experienced in the Scriptures that he can rectify his priests; and none understands the government of the kingdom like himself." During the Dacke Feud Gustavus wrote to the rebels as follows: "Ye can threaten us as much as ye will; ye can drive us from our royal throne; rob us of estate, wife, and children — ay, of life itself; but from that knowledge which we have attained of God's word, ye shall never part us, as long as our heart is whole and our blood is warm."

He was equally venerable in his domestic life. No vice stains his memory. He liked the society of handsome and agreeable women; but no mistress, no illegitimate child, not the slightest foible can be laid to his charge, though he was forty-one before he married for the first time. His marriage vows he kept inviolate. Gluttony, drunkenness, gambling, and idleness were what he could never endure in others, much less in himself.

As he in his younger years was of a cheerful temper, when business was done he kept a gay and lively court, though in all sobriety. Every afternoon at a certain hour the lords and ladies assembled in the great hall where the king's musicians made music for them while they danced. "For," said he, "youth shall not be clownish, but gallant to the ladies and to all." They were often out together, to walk or to hunt. Once a week a school for fencing

[¹ The Dacke Feud was a formidable rebellion headed by Nils Dacke, a peasant, the chief seats of which were Småland and Oland. The rebels chiefly kept to the forest country, whence they plundered the wealthier landowners. They professed to have taken arms in order to restore the old form of worship and endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to persuade Svante Sture, son of Sten Sture the younger, to become their leader and Gustavus' rival for the crown. The rebellion, which had begun in 1542, was finally suppressed in the summer of the following year.]

[1560 A.D.]

was open for the young nobles; tournaments were afterwards introduced, at which the victors received their rewards from the hands of the fairest ladies at court. They often entertained themselves with music, song as well as playing on stringed instruments, the latter especially, in which the king delighted. He made and himself played several instruments, of which the lute was his favourite. There was never an evening when he was alone that he did not occupy some hours with it.

He often travelled through the country, chiefly to great markets and other meetings, where he addressed the people; sometimes instructing them in matters of faith; sometimes regarding their house-keeping, agriculture, cattle-breeding, and so on. The peasants soon learned that the king's advice was good, and listened to him willingly; also on account of his extraordinary eloquence. His voice was strong, clear, expressive, and pleasant in sound. No king of Sweden has ever been or deserved to be more beloved by the common people than he was. Every peasant who possessed any fortune used to leave, by will, some silver to the king, so that at his death no inconsiderable store of bequeathed silver was found in the treasury; and in the unquiet years which followed the people used ever to speak with regret of "old King Gustaf" and his happy days.

Gustavus loved and protected learning. He was, however, supremely desirous of the instruction of the people, and sought by every means to get a sensible and well-informed peasantry. His own children received a careful education; so that they were amongst the most learned of their day. Like his children were their descendants, the whole Vasa dynasty as far as Christina; so that the royal house was the first, not only in pomp and bravery but likewise in science and knowledge, and in this last respect not in Sweden alone but in all Europe.

When the king grew older and his children were growing up, he used often after meals to sit before the fire, and conversing with them give them useful exhortations on many points. It was a royal school in its teacher, disciples, and doctrines. "Be steady in your faith; united amongst yourselves," said he. "If you fail in the first, you anger your Maker; if you neglect the second, you will fall a prey to man. Make war by compulsion — peace without compulsion; but should your neighbour threaten — strike. From my very childhood, and ever since, I have been at war; oftenest with my countrymen, sad to say! and I have grown grey in armour. Believe me, seek peace with all!"

When he saw them proud and vain-glorious of their royal birth and descent from Odin, he said: "One like another — when the play is out we are all equal." Another time: "Ye shall reflect on all things well, execute with speed, and remain by it, deferring nothing to the morrow. The resolves which are not carried at the right time into execution resemble clouds without rain in long drought. Let everything be done in its right time; time will then be sufficient for all — for the man in office, as for all others downwards; otherwise there will be provocation, hurry, and postponement in every part." Again he would say; "It is the fault of the rulers if the governed do not obey, for the law must be followed without partiality, and always. Let no one do what he pleases, but what he ought. No one in office is to be endured who is not frugal, useful, and industrious. The morning hour has gold in its mouth. Away with the idler; but honour and reward to the faithful labourer in the vineyard. Your men must live in discipline and the fear of the Lord, paying reverence to old age. He who does not may be expelled like the slanderers. Surround yourselves by answerable men of a pure life, for it will be believed

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of you as it is known of these." Of the nobility he said: "Virtue, sense, and manliness make the noble."

"The Swede," he would say again, "is often proud in the wrong season, and greedy to govern. They require a bold king with a manly mind; they cannot abide injustice, slavery, or a coward easily. They require a merry king, but a stern one; not one who looks through his fingers. In war they must fight — no parleying; they shame where little is done. Love therefore and honour this old kingdom whose inhabitants have been far and wide, and rebuked both east, south, and west. Encourage and found hospitals and schools, and your forces both on sea and land. Love and honour agriculture, mining, commerce, even books and the arts, and your subjects will willingly do so likewise: they will follow you. Therefore love yourselves, and keep your subjects to the pure word of God, prayers, and church-going; much depends upon these for the peace both of the soul and the country. Love your subjects; the right-minded among them will love you, and with them you will govern the rest. Thus have I done, dear children! I have, with God's grace, laboured on your fitting education. Remain such for the well-being of yourselves and others; and remember that the memory of a king ought not to die away with the sound of his funeral bells, but remain in the hearts of his people."

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TIME IN SWEDEN

Frugality and simplicity in every-day life, extravagant pomp, often both tasteless and ridiculous on solemn occasions — such were the marks of the times. Many of our conveniences were wanting; glass was very rare, and instead of the wooden shutters once in use, fine net-work, linen, or parchment was now taken to supply their place. Hearths instead of stoves were used for a couple of hundred years longer. Carpets, very coarse with the poor, embroidered with gold and silk with the rich, covered the coarsely timbered walls. Thick benches were attached to them round the room, oaken in the houses of the rich. Before them stood long heavy tables equally thick; no chairs, but loose benches and small stools were moved about the room. Plates were scarce, and were never changed if the dishes were ever so many and so various; every guest had to bring his knife, fork, and spoon along with him. Clocks were so rare that when the grand duke of Muscovy at this time received one as a present from the king of Denmark, he thought it must be an enchanted animal sent for the ruin of himself and his kingdom; wherefore he returned it with the utmost despatch to Copenhagen.

Dinner was eaten at ten; supper at five; between nine and ten they went to bed, to rise the earlier in the morning. Wearing apparel was mostly woollen; linen was barely used next the skin. Holiday dresses were costly, but substantial; the same petticoat often served mother, daughter, and grand-daughter for festal occasions. The women had their hair combed back, and long tight-fitting gowns with stiff high ruffles; the men wore the Spanish dress. Their hair was in the beginning long, and the beard shaved; but this was soon changed, so that the clergy alone retained the long hair and smooth skin; the others adopted short hair and long beard. Wax-lights were only used in churches, tallow-candles by the richest and greatest, torches of dry wood by the people. The beds were broad, fastened to the wall, and few in number; the guests were laid several together, often with the host himself. This was the case even in the houses of princes. The roads were so bad that carriages could seldom be used; besides, the first coach was not introduced

till the reign of John III. Most journeys took place on horseback, and when it rained the princesses were wrapped in wax-cloth cloaks. High titles were not in use. The king was called "his grace"; the princes *Junker* (young lord) the princesses *Fröken* (young lady). The nobles did not use their family but their fathers' names; for instance, instead of Thure Roos, or Lars Sparre, one wrote and said Thure Jonsson, Lars Siggesson, etc., or still shorter, Herr Thure, Herr Lars.

There was much of savage wildness and disorder yet amongst the people, partly a consequence of the times and of the long domestic broils. Club-law was more resorted to than the law of the land. Arms were in continual wear and exercise. According to an old custom the knights entered the bridal bed

in full armour; but like the knights of old they were generally ignorant in the highest degree, especially the elder amongst them. Many of King Gustavus' officers and governors were unable to read, still less to write; they were obliged to keep a clerk on purpose to read and answer the king's letters. The Romish faith was done away with, but many of its superstitions remained, and that not alone among the people, but even the great ones of the land believed in witchcraft, fairies, elves, brownies, nixies, etc. The art of medicine consisted chiefly in prayers and exorcism.^f



TAILOR OF VESTERGOTLAND, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ERIC XIV,¹ JOHN III, AND SIGISMUND

The second monarch of the Vasa dynasty exhibited, from the first, occasional aberrations of mind. In everything he was capricious, and peculiarly so in his courtships. Elizabeth of England, Mary of Scotland, the daughter of Philip, landgraf of Hesse, were pursued at the same time and with equal want of success. At length he took to his mistress a country girl,

whom he saw standing in the market-place of Stockholm, and whom, in the last year of his reign, he married.

One of Eric's first acts was to create the hereditary titles of count and baron for certain families. He had the imprudence to interfere in the troubles of Livonia, which was always destined to be the theatre of contending powers. There was one party in favour of the Danes, another of the Russians, a third of the knights, and now a fourth power, Sweden, must be called in to increase the elements of strife. His arms had little success; but his demonstration drew on him the wrath of the czar, who embarrassed him both in Livonia and Finland. With his Danish wars we shall deal when we come to the reign of Frederick II.

But the greatest enemies of Eric were at home. From the first the design of dethroning him, or at least of obtaining a share in the administration, seems to have been indulged by his brother John, duke of Finland. That ambitious

¹ It would puzzle a Swedish antiquary to account for this numeral. If all the Erics of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were added together they would amount to about the number. Such, as we shall have occasion to show, is also the case with the kings named Charles.

[1568 A.D.]

man, by marrying the daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland, and fortifying himself by other alliances, incurred the jealousy of Eric. Åbo, the capital of the duke's government, was taken by stratagem; and John, being conducted with his wife, his family, and his domestics to a Swedish dungeon, was tried for high treason, and condemned to death, unless the king should be graciously pleased to forgive him. That he was guilty cannot be denied, and Eric, who durst not venture on the experiment of executing him, sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. If any faith is to be placed in the chronicles of the time, the king, who had frequent opportunities of learning that, even in captivity, his brother was to be feared, sometimes went to the dungeon to perform the task of executioner with his own hands. But on looking at the duke his heart smote him, and he begged pardon for the crime which he had intended to commit. In about four years, he consented, at the express instance of the estates, which beheld with dismay the existence of so much fraternal discord, to enlarge him on certain conditions, among which was the renunciation of the duchy which their father had left him. How this clemency was repaid will soon appear.

But the most disgraceful part of Eric's reign was his persecution of the Sture family, which had given administrators to Sweden. Nils, the representative of that house, was suspected, apparently with much injustice, of being an accomplice in the designs of Duke John. With Eric, suspicion was proof, but it was not so to the senate; and he could only exhibit his whimsical rage by making the nobleman ride through the streets of Stockholm with a crown of straw on his head, exposed to the derision of the lowest portion of the mob. The indignity was felt by the whole family; but it did not shake their loyalty, though it made them murmur. Baffled in this purpose, Eric now determined to sacrifice all the Stures. He was led to this atrocious project by an astrologer whom he maintained at his court, without whose advice he undertook nothing of moment, and who represented the obnoxious family as destined to occasion his downfall. By the intrigues of this worthy, charges were made against all of them; and forged documents were produced to confirm the charges. They were arrested and committed to close confinement; but, as the evidence was manifestly insufficient to ensure their condemnation, Eric adopted the summary way of removing them by assassination. With his own hand he stabbed Nils, who, in token of his loyalty, had presented him with his dagger. The deed was concealed; but the remorse of the king drove him frantic. He ran into the woods; he howled like a wild beast, and for some time eluded the search of his court. When discovered, his mistress alone had influence enough to bring him back to the palace. He now endeavoured to allay the pangs of conscience by heaping riches, honours, and favours of every kind on the kindred of the man whom he had so barbarously destroyed.

That the duke should be an inattentive spectator of these events was not in his character. It was his constant object to organise a conspiracy for the downfall of his brother; and he masked his proceedings with so much art that, though he was undoubtedly suspected, there was no evidence to criminate him. When the time for action was come, when he saw the public mind weaned from his brother, and knew that he could depend on the support of the chief nobles, he resolved not to delay a moment in executing his long-concerted scheme. He took advantage of the festivals given at Stockholm in honour of the king's marriage to seize the fortresses, three governors of which were in his interest.

The civil war now broke out. In the first action Eric triumphed; but the

[1568-1587 A.D.]

two dukes (for John was joined by his brother Charles) now overran several of the provinces, penetrated to Upsala, and finally invested the king in Stockholm. The place might long have held out, but little reliance was to be placed on the garrison, and still less on the citizens. They even informed him of their intention to surrender; and though he threw himself into the citadel, he was persuaded to capitulate. His life and liberty were to be secure on his abdicating the throne. But no sooner was he in the power of his enemies than they consigned him to a dungeon, where ill-usage was employed to hasten his end. But the vigour of his constitution enabled him to survive, until he was made to swallow poison by order of the usurper, after an imprisonment of ten years. For some time he applied himself to music; but even this indulgence was at length taken from him. He then devoted his time to literary occupation. He wrote a treatise on the military art, translated into Swedish the history of Johannes Magnus, and versified some of the Psalms. It is impossible not to feel the deepest commiseration for his fate.

JOHN III (1568-1592 A.D.)

No sooner did John make his triumphant entry into Stockholm than he was declared king by the senators assembled. Early in the following year his title was confirmed by a general meeting of the estates, which sentenced the unfortunate Eric to perpetual imprisonment, and deprived his children of the rights of succession. How came John to an influence so unbounded, yet so sudden, over the nobles of the kingdom? The answer must, doubtless, be sought in the senators whom he had bribed, in the hopes which a new reign always engenders, in the dislike borne to Eric by those who had suffered from his caprice, and in the powerful armed body of followers who were ready to assist him in any enterprise. Besides, in Sweden, as everywhere else, revolutions are, in general, the work of a minority: the bulk of the people regard them with comparative indifference. There was, however, one discontented noble, Duke Charles, to whom John had promised a share in the government. For some time the duke could obtain nothing; but an apprehension lest he should take part with the dethroned Eric led to his restoration to the provinces of Vermland, Sodermanland, and Nerike, which, however, he was to hold with such restrictions on his authority as to render him merely a dependent functionary. The man who was behaving to one brother with so much brutality was not likely to be just towards another.

To the wars of John with Denmark we shall allude in relation to Danish history. Those with Russia were almost equally striking in themselves, though less so in their results. The scene of them was generally Livonia, sometimes Finland; and the advantage was ultimately with the czar. This, indeed, was the period when that barbarian power began to interfere in the general affairs of Europe. If its efforts were long isolated, they were bold enough to inspire its neighbours with alarm, since they indicated an ambition beyond all bounds, and a feeling which despised the ordinary maxims of justice. Fortunately for John, Russia was at war with the Tatars, who more than once poured their wild hordes over the empire; and he himself had an able general in Pont de la Gardie, a Frenchman who had entered his services, and to whom he was indebted for the only successes of his reign. The election, too, of his son Sigismund to the throne of Poland (1587) strengthened the eastern barrier against Russian aggression. Independently of his affection for a country over which he was one day to rule, Sigismund felt that he had as much need of Swedish help as Sweden had of his. Yet with all these advan-

[1587-1592 A.D.]

tages, in 1592, the last year of the Swedish monarch's reign, the preponderance of Russia in Ingermanland and Livonia was manifest. The blood and treasure of his reign were therefore wasted on objects which, though they might be obtained for a moment, could never be preserved.

More interesting than their indecisive however interminable hostilities were the disputes about religion. John had married Catherine, daughter of Sigismund II, king of Poland, and therefore a Roman Catholic. As her influence over her husband was great, she had little difficulty in prevailing on him to attempt many innovations in favour of her church. Her object was, doubtless, to favour its restoration to most of its ancient privileges; his was apparently confined to a union of the two churches, or, if that could not be obtained, simply to toleration and an equality of civil rights. How, considering the prejudices of the Swedes, he could hope to succeed in either view is not very clear. From the very first he encountered an opposition which forced him to look cautiously before him.

To some of his meditated designs he anticipated little resistance. The Lutheran clergy were no less fond of power than their predecessors; and they readily sanctioned maxims which elevated the church in the social scale, by rendering it less dependent on the state. And amongst them were some liberal men. They saw no harm in the colour of certain vestments, in the sign of the cross, in confession, or even in the mass — for did not Luther himself celebrate it to the last? Did he not believe in the real presence? The ceremonies of the church were purely arbitrary, and therefore indifferent: why, then, object to them? As the Romish church was the most ancient in Christendom, it had so far a fair claim to respect: many of its rites, and some of its tenets, might be the invention of later times; but still it possessed, however disguised, the essentials of Christianity. Thus reasoned many of the clergy, who at the king's request were induced to restore many observances of the fallen church. But a considerable number stoutly resisted every concession to anti-Christ; they condemned what they termed the lax spirit of their brethren, and declared that the Confession of Augsburg was worth all that had ever appeared before it. The nobles, who apprehended that if this spirit went on they might, in the end, be compelled to restore the lands which they had usurped from the church, were more sturdy in their resistance.

At their head was Duke Charles, who hoped that, by espousing their cause, he should win a support that might one day place him on the throne. At his instigation the diet gently remonstrated with the king on the course which he was pursuing; besought him not to favour popery; and hoped that Prince Sigismund would be placed exclusively under the care of reformed tutors. Sigismund, however, was too deeply imbued with his mother's spirit to admit any dictation on this subject: he refused to compromise his principles; and declared that he should prefer a crown in heaven to one on earth. But the opposition was, for this time, so strenuous, the intrigues of Duke Charles so manifest, that John was compelled to pause in his career, and even to profess for the Lutheran faith a respect which he did not feel. After a time, however, he recovered all his former zeal. He prepared a new liturgy, the very title of which sufficiently indicates its spirit — "Liturgy of the Swedish Church, conformable to the Catholic and Orthodox Church." Yet it was not agreeable to the pope, who considered it as bad as the Lutheran, while, by the more zealous reformers, it was execrated as a portion of anti-Christ.

Had John continued to act with moderation he might, indeed, have failed in his object, but he would have created no exasperation. But he became a persecutor of all the clergy who refused to adopt his ritual; and, what was

[1586-1592 A.D.]

worse, he became more of a Romanist as he advanced in years. The mission to Rome of Pont de la Gardie, to obtain the papal sanction of his liturgy, had been viewed with much displeasure by the people at large. The arrival, in 1578, of the Jesuit Possevin, in Sweden, ostensibly as the ambassador of the emperor but in reality as nuncio of Gregory XIII, was still more loudly condemned, especially by Duke Charles. A synod of the clergy subject to this prince assembled at Nyköping, and declared their adherence to the reformation. Still the king persevered; and in 1582 he prevailed on the greater part of the Swedish church to revise its liturgy, to declare all who refused guilty of schism, and to inhibit Duke Charles from continuing his opposition to measures which had been sanctioned alike by the church and the monarch.

But that ambitious prince was not to be restrained. Having connected himself by marriage with the count palatine of the Rhine, he formed a league with Holland, England, Navarre, and the reformed states of Germany — outwardly for the defence of their common faith, but really to dethrone his brother. Neither of these circumstances was hidden from the king, who again paused in his hazardous course. The death of his queen, and his marriage with a Lutheran lady, conspired to the same end — *viz.*, increased moderation. But Duke Charles, who attributed it to hypocrisy, continued to harass him so much by intrigue, or open disobedience that he summoned him to answer for his conduct before the estates of Vadstena. Charles obeyed the citation; but it was at the head of a strong body of troops, with whom to overawe the assembly, that he encamped near the town. Civil war was averted through the interference of the nobles; but there was no harmony, since, in the following year (1588), he again prevailed on the clergy of his duchy to reject the new liturgy more decisively than before. To make head against open and secret hostility, John turned for aid to his son Sigismund, king of Poland; but the interview between the two monarchs had no other result than to make the duke more powerful by connecting him more closely with the Lutheran party. Harassed by continual cares, and by still greater apprehensions, the king now saw that his only hope of security lay in a cordial reconciliation with his brother. The price was a dear one — a share in the government of the kingdom; but it had been promised before the dethronement of Eric, and nothing less would have satisfied the other.

One of the last public acts of John was to demand vengeance on some nobles who, he asserted, had not only fomented the long misunderstanding between him and his brother, but had conspired against the royal family, and even intrigued with Russia. The justice of the accusation is not very clear; and as they were protected by the duke, he could not proceed with much severity against them. In 1592 he ended his agitated life — agitated by intrigues, disgraced by duplicity, and embittered by remorse for the murder of his elder brother.

Whether he was much attached to the Romish church may be doubted: probably he had a philosophical indifference for both churches; and in his advances towards the ancient one was actuated by the hope of making the Catholic powers of Europe his allies against the invincible hostility of Denmark, no less than by the affection which he bore to his first wife, a princess of that communion. It is certain that, after his union with his second wife, a Protestant, he exhibited less zeal for the cause than he had previously shown. Such, however, was his obstinacy of temper, that he would never wholly change, though he would modify, his policy. It is worthy of remark that his death was for some time concealed by his queen and some of the senators,

[1592-1594 A.D.]

even from Duke Charles, now regent of the kingdom during the absence of Sigismund, king of Poland, who rightfully succeeded to the Swedish crown. The object of this policy was soon shown by the robbery of the public treasury no less than of the palace: everything that could be carried away was shared between the queen and the nobles in her confidence.

SIGISMUND (1592-1604 A.D.)

That the reign of Sigismund would be nominal rather than real, and of short duration, might have been foreseen by the least prophetic. His absence in Poland, his religion, and, above all, the talents of his uncle, now grey in duplicity and intrigue, were insurmountable obstacles to his enjoyment of the regal power. One of the first acts of the regent was sufficiently indicative of his long-cherished design: he ordered the Swedish officers in Esthonia not to deliver up the fortresses to Poland, even if the king should command them to do so. In the same view he endeavoured secretly to detach the leading nobles from their allegiance to his nephew. To the multitude, and to all who had profited by the robbery of the church, he was agreeable, as the great champion of the Reformation. To show his zeal for its interests, though in reality he cared as little for it as he did for Romanism, he induced the synod of Upsala (1593) to abolish the liturgy which the late king had employed so much time to introduce. The ecclesiastics who had defended that liturgy were deposed. Another blow at the royal power of Sigismund was of a still heavier kind: it prohibited all appeals to him whenever he should not be in Sweden; and if he refused to confirm both decrees, he was not to be regarded as king of Sweden. That he should long remain ignorant of the intrigues directed to deprive him of one of his crowns was impossible; many, indeed, of the discontented nobles (and what governor was ever without them?), and many who preferred their loyalty to the seductive offers of the duke, either hastened to him in Poland, or communicated with him. He soon found that his return to Sweden was necessary, and he obtained, without much difficulty, the consent of the Polish diet for that purpose.

But he had the imprudence to select as his confidential adviser Malaspina, the papal nuncio, who was suspected — probably with much justice — of having obtained his consent, and even the promise of his assistance, in the restoration of the ancient church. And in the first diet which he convoked he had the still greater folly to propose the revocation of the decree made by the synod of Upsala — that which abolished the ritual introduced by his father. He insisted, too, that in every town there should be a Catholic church, where its votaries might worship in peace. The Lutheran ecclesiastics, sure of his uncle's support, now declaimed against him with vehemence. In the diet of Upsala, where he was crowned (1594), Charles appeared with an armed force, and compelled him to make some concessions to the popular voice; but in that of Stockholm, which was held immediately afterwards, he exasperated the Lutherans by the undisguised manner in which he attempted to promote the interests of the church. Disgusted with men whom he could neither persuade nor force to his will, and discouraged by the intrigues of his uncle, he listened to the cry of the Poles for his return, and left Sweden in the utmost confusion (July, 1594).

By the retreat of Sigismund, Charles was the regent, though some portion of his authority was divided with the senate, and he determined not to relax his labours until he had obtained the title with the authority of king. The

birth of a son, who became famous in history as Gustavus Adolphus, confirmed him in his purpose.^c

Astrology was at that epoch both fashionable and respected. In every court there was a mysterious man clothed in a robe sown with constellations, and wearing a pointed hat, and who spoke the tongues of Asia, living alone in the highest room of the castle tower, a stranger to earthly things, his eyes constantly fixed on the heavens. This man claimed the power to foretell, by following the march of the stars, the destinies of his fellow beings. His predictions were given, as is the case with all prophets, in ambiguous terms, lending themselves to double meaning and thus to some interpretation justified by the development of events. And so the whole cohort of ambitious men, and intriguing women besieged the door of his laboratory in crowds. Even those whose talents placed them at the head of affairs, came like the most ordinary minds, to lend an eager ear to the charlatans' lies — so difficult is it for man, however vast the extent of his intelligence, to shake off the yoke of prejudice.

The astrologer of the court of Stockholm had scarcely learned of the prince's birth, when he drew his horoscope and predicted, they say, that this prince would be king, that he would widely extend the limits of his kingdom, that he would die a violent death, and that his name would shine after him.

So far back as 1572 Tycho Brahe, had announced that the comet then appearing in the constellation Cassiopeia, presaged the birth, in Finland, of a prince who would confer a great benefit upon all those of the reformed religion.

This famous astrologer inhabited in 1594 his magnificent palace of Uranienborg on the island of Hven which he owed to the liberality of Frederick II. From this lone rock in the Sound his great voice resounded and found an echo from the whole world. On learning of the event which had caused such joy in Sweden, he declared to his numerous pupils, gathered from the ends of the earth to listen to his learned discourse, that the new-born child was really the great prince whose birth the comet had predicted twenty-two years before. When someone objected that the child had come into the world in Sweden, not in Finland, he replied that the duchess of Sodermanland having spent some time in the latter province, the child was conceived there, and even if he was born on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia, the prediction could be perfectly well applied to him. Chronicles further relate that Tycho Brahe, dowered with marvellous divinatory powers traced in a still famous lecture the future life of the man of genius whose coming he had announced. It would appear, however, that his predictions were much less understood in his lifetime, than after his death, from the fact that the famous astrologer, after having incurred the disfavour of Christian IV, and being compelled to leave his native land, found at the court of the emperor Rudolf, devoted to alchemy and astrology, a generous hospitality, and kept to the day of his death the friendship of this prince. Is it likely, is it possible that the emperor, restless and suspicious to a degree, and knowing the jargon of this profession, would have granted so many favours and shown such good will to a man who had complaisantly prophesied the ruin of his house? It is certain that all that was said and done about the prince's birth has been exaggerated, but man likes to surround the cradles of genius with marvels and mysteries, and if Gustavus Adolphus had been an ordinary sovereign many details which have given place to all sorts of commentaries would have passed unnoticed.

Throughout Europe, but especially in the North, the Christmas and New Year festivals, which were celebrated together, were the signal for universal

[1594 A.D.]

rejoicing. The duke of Sodermanland was naturally pious, but his antagonistic position to Sigismund compelled him to give his piety an outward show that was perhaps a little too ostentatious, and history has accused him of making his religion serve his ambition. It is true that, to impress the people and make them more devoted to his son, he let it be understood that to the child's cradle was attached the fate of the nation, as had been the case with Moses' cradle. The ceremonies of the young prince's baptism were, to this end, mingled with the fêtes with which the nation celebrated the birth of its Redeemer, and gave these, indeed, a new éclat. We have already said that the child received the combined names of both grand-parents, Gustavus and Adolphus. Finally, to bind his destiny indissolubly to that of Protestantism, the duke of Sodermanland founded, on the same day in his domain, and within the influence of his patronage, the celebrated University of Upsala whose devotion to the established church, and firmness in repelling the liturgy, have made it the victim of spoliations and persecutions without number. This clever and salutary measure was all the better received, since the Swedish clergy, justly alarmed at Sigismund's threatening projects, were not quite sure about the duke, whom they suspected of leaning towards Calvinism. In linking the famous school, whose professors bore the title of "Pillars of Protestantism," with the destiny of his son, was it not his purpose to establish beyond a doubt his intention to educate the boy in doctrines of the purest orthodoxy? It is thus that the people reasonably explained the duke's conduct.^b

At any rate he was encouraged to renew a career of alternate duplicity and defiance, of which there is scarcely a parallel in the annals of princes. One of his first steps was to depose from their dignities all who were favourable either to Sigismund or to the Roman Catholic church. His next was to make peace with the czar, in direct opposition to the commands of the king. Emboldened by the obsequiousness of the senate, and by the attachment of the large towns, he convoked the estates at Soderkoping, and caused a decree to be passed that the Confession of Augsburg should be the only rule of faith observed in Sweden; that all Romish priests should be banished in six weeks; that Swedes who had embraced the religion of Rome prior to the accession of Sigismund might remain in the country — but they should be excluded from all posts of honour or emolument, no less than from the exercise of their worship; and that all, in future, who should declare for the obnoxious opinions, or who should not conform both outwardly and inwardly to the established creed, should be banished forever. In temporal matters the proceedings of this diet were equally insulting to the king. No ordinance issued by him was to be obeyed, or even promulgated, until confirmed by the duke and senate. He was deprived of the power of deposing any Swede from office without the sanction of the senate. Nor could he appoint to any dignity or post: in every vacancy three names were to be sent to him, and he had the privilege of electing one of the number. In accordance with the ecclesiastical portion of these regulations, the priests, the monks, the nuns, and three fourths of the laity repaired to Germany, or to Poland, or to Finland.

That Sigismund should be incensed at these proceedings was natural; but he saw the necessity of temporising; and he sent messengers to detach the senators and nobles from the party of his uncle. In the first object of their mission they succeeded completely; in the second, partially. The means employed on this occasion are purely matter of conjecture. Probably they were not slow to perceive that a ruler at a distance was preferable to one at home; that if Sigismund retained the sovereignty, their own authority

[1597-1604 A.D.]

must necessarily be secure; while under the iron yoke of Charles they had nothing to expect beyond servitude. Nor was the same consideration lost on many of the people, who knew that, in affairs unconnected with religion, the sway of Sigismund was far milder than the regent's. Hence the authority of the latter declined, especially when the former conferred on the senate alone the administration of the realm. But that prince was not thus to be baffled in the great object of his ambition. He was still at the head of a strong party; and he had influence enough to prevail on the diet of Arboga (1597) to restore him. When the senators refused to ratify this act, he expelled them from the kingdom, or rather, to avoid a worse result, they exiled themselves. His next step was to gain possession of the royal fortresses, which he garrisoned with his own creatures, whom he enjoined to let no one enter, not even at the command of Sigismund. Yet all this while he pretended great zeal for the service of his liege lord, and threw all the blame of these measures on the senate, who, he asserted, were endeavouring to dethrone the dynasty of Vasa. By that mixture of cunning and violence in which he was so great an adept, he prevailed on the diet of Stockholm to ratify all that he had done, and to declare the absent senators traitors to their country.

Sigismund had still two or three fortified places in Finland; and when he heard that his uncle was besieging them, and was openly inculcating disobedience to all his mandates, he no longer hesitated to equip an armament for Sweden. He landed at Kalmar, and several provinces immediately declared for him. But he had not the degree of military talent necessary for one in his position, or perhaps he relied too much on the universality of the feeling manifested in his favour. In Linköping he suffered himself to be surprised by his active enemy: his guard was forced, his own person in danger. But to destroy him was not the object of the artful regent, who made overtures of peace — insisting, however, that five of the senators then with the king should be surrendered to him. To this hard condition Sigismund was compelled to accede, and to confirm Charles in the regency. All matters of dispute between the two and the fate of the imprisoned senators were to be decided by the estates — that is, by the creatures of Charles, who thus obtained every wish of his heart, without incurring the odium of wanton violence.

Sigismund, as was doubtless foreseen, protested, on his return to Poland, against the convention of Linköping; and, by so doing, enabled his uncle forever to throw off the mask which had been so long worn. Under his influence, the diet of Stockholm renounced its allegiance to the king, and offered the crown to Wladyslaw, son of Sigismund, on the impossible condition that, within a year, the young prince should repair to Sweden and be instructed in the Lutheran faith. If he refused to comply, then he, his father, and their descendants were to be forever excluded from the throne. To be prepared against the probable hostilities of his nephew, Charles entered into an offensive alliance against Poland with the czar, reduced more of the Finland fortresses, and put to death many adherents of the king. In the diet of Linköping (1600) he caused sentence to be pronounced and executed on the imprisoned senators, whose loyalty would have procured them favour with any other prince, and with any other people than the Swedes, who were now become the merest slaves of the usurper. The same obsequious assembly declared the throne vacant, and invested Charles with absolute power. Though he looked to the name as well as to the reality, he acted with consummate duplicity. In an assembly of the estates at Norrköping (1604), he

[1604 A.D.]

proposed to resign the cares of government in favour of Prince John, a younger brother of Sigismund, and, consequently, his nephew. John, who had made his private arrangements with the regent, and been invested with the duchy of Östergötland, refused a gift which would have required a large army to retain it a single month, and proposed his uncle. The farce ended, as everybody saw it would end, by the election of Charles and by the designation of his son for his successor.

Thus ended the short and venial authority of Sigismund over Sweden. In his administration (if such it could be called), we see little to blame beyond his imprudent zeal on behalf of his co-religionists. Whether he hoped to obtain for them anything beyond mere toleration, is, notwithstanding the allegations of his enemies, exceedingly doubtful. But even in this object he was censurable enough, considering the progress which the Reformation had made in the kingdom. It was essentially Lutheran; and he had no right to disturb the unanimity of his people by the introduction of doctrines which they had long renounced, and to which they had vowed an unextinguishable hostility.

CHARLES IX¹ (1604-1611 A.D.)

The short reign of this prince was signalised by successive wars — first with the Poles, and then with the Danes. In Livonia his generals obtained

some advantages; but they were lost as soon as won.

Equally unsuccessful

were his intrigues in Russia

to procure the

crown vacant by

the death of Boris

Godunor, for a

prince of his own

family. The Poles

were nearer than

he to the scene of

ambition, and enabled

to obtain more

advantages — among others

the election of

their prince Wladyslaw

to the throne of the czars.

But even they had little

reason to congratulate

themselves on this event; for

Wladyslaw was soon

expelled, and the barbarian

sceptre transferred to the

dynasty of Romanov.

The Swedes had still less

cause of triumph, in thus

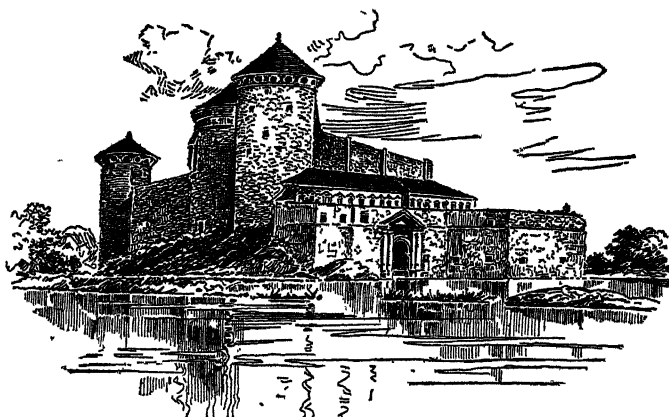
embarrassing themselves in

wars of which the issue

could not fail to be disastrous.

A nearer enemy found

them, during the rest of this



OLOFSBORG CASTLE, FINLAND

¹ How the native historians of Sweden contrive to place eight sovereigns of this name before the present one, is curious enough. There are but two authentic rulers of the name, as kings of all Sweden; but in the Egyptian darkness prior to the tenth century, there is room for any number of any name. Probably the Goths and Svear, the two great branches of the paternal family, had petty chiefs after the German name; but we have conjecture only for their existence.

The Kalmar War

The northern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, as already noticed, had been peopled from the remotest times by nomadic tribes called Finns or Owenas by the Norwegians and Lapps by the Swedes, from which their territory derived the name of Lapland. These aboriginal inhabitants retained their primitive manners, language, and religion, unaffected by the progress of Christianity in the North. No definite boundary separated the adjacent kingdoms of Sweden and Norway from the dreary wilderness occupied by their less civilised neighbours who subsisted by hunting and fishing. The progress of conquest had gradually pressed them nearer to the borders of the arctic circle, but still even under the Union of Kalmar their territorial limits remained undefined.

The tribes scattered along the coasts beyond the North Cape paid tribute to Norway as early as the reign of Harold Harfagr. The Laplanders round the gulf of Bothnia were subdued by associations of fur-traders, to whom the exclusive monopoly of their commerce and government was granted by Magnus Ladulås; and so far had these merchants abused their privileges and thrown off their dependence on the Swedish crown that they styled themselves "kings of the Lapps." Gustavus Vasa expelled these usurpers, and reduced the natives to the condition of tributaries. Charles IX after his accession assumed the title of "king of the Lapps of Norrland," and founded the new city Gothenburg (Goteborg), near the mouth of the Gota, to the inhabitants of which he granted the privilege of fishing on the northern coasts of Lapland.

These measures, added to the interruption of the Danish commerce with the ports in the gulf of Riga, awakened the jealousy of Christian IV of Denmark, who stationed a convoy in the Sound to protect all vessels navigating the Baltic, in which he claimed not merely freedom of mercantile intercourse but a right of dominion such as had been immemorially asserted by his royal predecessors. In vain did he remonstrate with the king and the senate against these encroachments upon the interests of his crown and the immunities of his people; Charles evaded all proposals for redress, and in 1611 commenced that sanguinary struggle between the two kingdoms usually called the war of Kalmar. Before taking the field, Christian despatched a herald-at-arms with a declaration of hostilities against Sweden, but Charles refused to admit him into his presence, and detained him as a prisoner; whilst his own messenger reached the enemy's camp, where he presented a counter declaration, repeating the arguments advanced in the Danish manifesto and endeavouring to throw the odium of the rupture upon his adversary.

The national land-forces of Denmark at this epoch consisted in the feudal militia, composed of the nobility and their vassals, the tenant of every crown fief being compelled to serve in person on horseback, and also to furnish a certain number of his serfs for the infantry, which was divided into regiments, or "banners," of six hundred men each, commanded by a captain, and subdivided into twelve companies, headed by as many lieutenants. These levies furnished an army of sixteen thousand native troops, and they were increased by four thousand mercenaries, consisting of German cavalry, with English and Scottish infantry. The defence of Norway was confided to the national militia. The whole naval force was divided into two squadrons, one of which was sent to cruise in the Kattegat, and the other to blockade Kalmar, the key of Sweden on the Baltic frontier.

Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Christian laboured under

[1611 A D]

certain obvious disadvantages; the Danish nobility grudged the pecuniary supplies; the nation had not heard the sound of war since the Treaty of Stettin in 1570; whilst the Swedes, on the other hand, had been constantly engaged in hostilities with Poland and Russia.

One division of the Danish army, under Steen Schestedt, grand-marshal of the kingdom, penetrated through Vestergotland to Jonkoping; and the other, commanded by Christian in person, laid siege to Kalmar, which was soon obliged to capitulate, the king himself mounting the breech at the head of his troops. The garrison retreated into the citadel, but the town was given up to be plundered by the soldiery. Charles, and his son Gustavus Adolphus, who had surprised the principal military depot of the enemy, advanced by rapid marches to the relief of the place, whilst Admiral Gyldenstiern arrived with a superior naval force, and threw a considerable supply of men and provisions into the besieged citadel. Schestedt was recalled from Vestergotland, but the Swedes, determined to attack the Danish entrenchments before the arrival of this reinforcement, broke the enemy's lines, whilst the garrison made a sortie, set fire to the town, and penetrated to the royal camp.

On this occasion Christian signalled his personal courage, presence of mind, and other great military qualities, for which he was distinguished. After an obstinate combat, the assailants were driven back to their original position; and Schestedt, arriving in the midst of the battle, decided the fortune of the day. A short time afterwards the Swedes abandoned their camp in the night, and withdrew to Risby, in the expectation of receiving additional supplies. Their retreat compelled the surrender of the citadel, in which was found a vast store of bronze artillery, with other munitions of war.

Exasperated by these misfortunes, the Swedish monarch sent a cartel to Christian, accusing him in the most bitter and reproachful terms of having broken the peace of Stettin, taken the city of Kalmar by treachery, and shed a profusion of innocent blood in an unjust cause. Every means of conciliation being exhausted, he offered to terminate the quarrel by single combat. "Come then," said he, after the old Gothic fashion, "into the open field with us, accompanied by two of your vassals, in full armour, and we will meet you sword in hand, without helm or harness, attended in the same manner. Herein if you fail we shall no longer consider you as an honourable king or a soldier." Christian answered this extraordinary letter in terms still more reproachful, declining to accept the challenge of "a paralytic dotard," whom he sarcastically counselled to remain by a warm fire with his nurse and physician, rather than expose himself to combat in the open field, with his younger and more



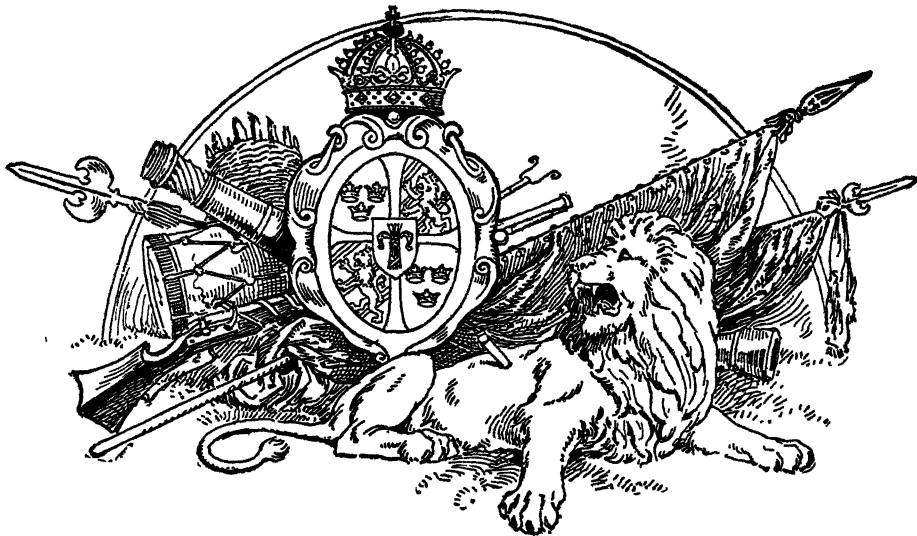
LAPLANDER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

robust competitor. This severe reply the king followed up by attacking the Swedes in their entrenchments at Risby; but after three days hard fighting, he was compelled to retreat, and set sail for Copenhagen, where he remained during the winter. Charles did not long survive these exertions, dying at Nyköping in 1611, worn out with fatigue of body and mind.⁹ During this war the sixteen-year-old prince, afterwards distinguished as Gustavus (II) Adolphus, won his spurs. Commanding a separate division of the army, he accomplished the destruction of Christianopol, the principal arsenal of the Danes in Skånia, and reconquered Oland. These victories were perhaps the most notable achievements of the war.^a

GELJER ON CHARLES IX

One quality was ever pre-eminent in Charles, and in some measure it should mitigate our judgment of his blood-stained path: this was his inborn striving to reach across every limit, beyond every goal to set another. He struggled to win for himself a crown. At this point another would have halted; to him it was so far from being the greatest, the ultimate conquest, that he left it insecure. The strife ensuing, which from Sigismund's slowness and irresolution might, for some time longer, have been waged by words and manifestos, he straightway removed out of Sweden to Livonia, Poland, and Russia; nor did the outbreak of war with Denmark prevent him from mustering in his last gaze, as it were, the members of a future league against the papacy and the house of Habsburg; for we find that in his testament he especially recommends to his children friendship with the evangelical princes of Germany.

Thus in the soul of Charles, perchance more than in any of his contemporaries, laboured the burning future which burst forth in the Thirty Years' War; and not without significance was he wont to observe, laying his hand on the head of the young Gustavus Adolphus, "*Ille jacet!*" (He will do it!) Such men verily there are, full of the hereafter, who, with or without their own will and intent, carry the nations onward at their side. Except his father, no man before him exercised so deep an influence on the Swedish people. More than a hundred years passed away, and a like personal influence was still reigning upon the throne of Sweden. The nation, hard to move save for immediate self-defence, was borne along, unwilling and yet admiring, repugnant yet loving; as by some potent impulsion, following her Gustavuses and Charleses to victory, fame, and to the verge of perdition. This is neither praise nor blame; but so it was. And as I write the history of the Swedish people, I feel convincingly that it is the history of their kings.^e



CHAPTER IX

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

[1611-1633 A D.]

THE ACCESSION OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

THE illustrious hero whom history has rendered immortal under the name of Gustavus Adolphus was a minor at the time of his father's death; but he had given such proofs of precocious wisdom and valour that the estates did not hesitate to suspend, in favour of a youth of eighteen, the fundamental law of the realm, by which the expiration of the king's minority was fixed at twenty-four years of age. The state of perplexity and confusion in which the affairs of the nation were found at his accession required all the talent and energy of which he was possessed. The campaign in Russia, under the conduct of De la Gardie, had been attended with brilliant success; but although that general had made strong efforts to have Charles Philip, second son of the late monarch, elected czar, in opposition to Wladyslaw of Poland, the negotiations for procuring him the imperial dignity had made little progress. Whilst Sweden was menaced with formidable enemies on every side, her only support at home consisted of weak friends, ill-paid armies, and empty treasuries, exhausted by a series of wars and revolutions. In this feeble condition, it was of the utmost importance to secure internal tranquillity; and, accordingly, the diet prevailed with Duke John to confirm his renunciation of all claim to the throne, and allow the young prince to take upon himself the sole administration of the government.

The first acts of Gustavus' reign impressed his subjects with a favourable opinion of that singular penetration and capacity for business which marked the whole of his extraordinary career. The celebrated Oxenstierna was made chancellor, and every post, civil and military, was filled with equal discrimi-

[1611-1617 A.D.]

nation. To carry on the foreign wars in which he was engaged, he resumed all the crown-grants, and ordered an account of the produce of tithes and feudal lands to be delivered annually into the royal exchequer. The peace concluded with Denmark allowed him to devote his attention, for a short interval, to the study of civil affairs. He concluded a treaty of commerce with the Dutch, and established a society of trade at Stockholm, every subscriber to which advanced certain sums to the crown on being released for the space of three years from all taxes, duties, and imposts. To encourage

agricultural industry, he absolved peasants and farmers from the obligation of supplying the government with horses and carriages. An edict was published to abridge the tediousness and expense of litigation, especially in affairs of regal judicature; and no measures were omitted that could improve the national institutions or ameliorate the condition of the people. Within three years after his accession, Gustavus assembled the estates at Helsingborg, to deliberate on the proceedings necessary to be adopted for the speedy adjustment of the dispute with Russia. The whole northern quarter of that great empire had expressed a desire to have a Swedish prince, in the hope of extending their commercial



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS
(1594-1632)

relations with the Baltic; but Charles Philip had no ambition to become the ruler of a nation of barbarians. The scheme, which for some years had been a favourite object at the court of Stockholm, was now finally and suddenly defeated (1613) by the election to the dignity of czar of Michael Feodorovitch, a native prince of the Romanov family, remotely connected with that of the Ruriks, and founder of a new dynasty, which has continued ever since to sway the sceptre of that immense empire.

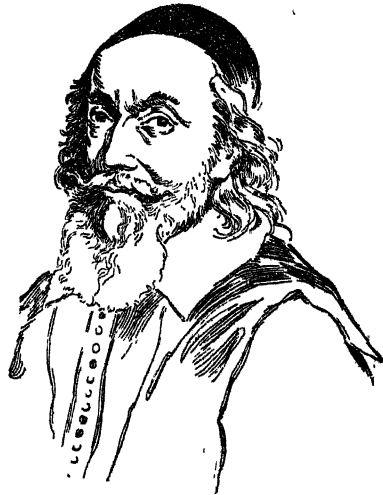
Determined to revenge this affront, Gustavus obtained the concurrence of the estates in a resolution to compel the Muscovites to refund the debt they had contracted under the late reign. Their haughty refusal led to immediate hostilities; the indignant monarch entered Ingermanland at the head of an army, took Kexholm by storm, and was laying siege to Pskov, when James I. of England offered his mediation, and succeeded in restoring peace (1617), on condition of Russia's making payment of the loan and ceding the contested provinces of Ingermanland and Karelia to Sweden. Brief as was the duration of this war, it is memorable as the school where Gustavus learned the rudiments of that art which afterwards made him the admiration of Europe.^d

[1617-1625 A.D.]

THE POLISH WAR

It was impossible to get Sigismund, king of Poland, to agree to renounce his claims to the Swedish throne, and to recognise the reigning dynasty in that country. He continued to take the title of King of Sweden and to give Gustavus Adolphus that of Duke of Sodermanland, Nerike and Vermland, the provinces which had formerly formed Charles IX's appanage. Sigismund also sought to incite trouble by introducing clandestinely ordinances and letters, signed by himself, and spies, into the realm, but he went no further. At the moment of Charles IX's death, Sigismund could at least have taken Esthonia while Sweden and the young king were occupied with threatening wars. He did not take the slightest advantage of the favourable opportunity, however, either because of his natural slowness, or because the Polish estates-general showed themselves little disposed to uphold him. The Polish and Swedish troops, face to face in Livonia, in small numbers and in bad condition, remained in complete inactivity, and truces continually succeeded one another. Thus the years passed from 1611 to 1617.

Gustavus Adolphus had had the good fortune in this interval to terminate his wars with Denmark and Russia, and was disposed to turn all his forces against Poland. Sweden, however, desired peace in this direction also, in order to put an end to the sacrifices demanded by a war which had lasted nearly sixty years. The young king himself felt the necessity for this. He proposed reasonable conditions to Sigismund, but the latter responded with such exorbitant demands as the renunciation by Gustavus Adolphus of his father's throne. These pretensions, on the part of a prince who could



AXEL OXENSTIERNA, CHANCELLOR OF SWEDEN
(1583-1654)

not even defend his own frontiers, aroused great anger in Sweden. The diet assembled at Orebro in 1617, and Gustavus Adolphus gave proof of his pacific intentions and of Sigismund's unjust claims, and caused to be read a letter from this prince, addressed to [the latter's half-brother] Duke John, and written with the intention of fomenting troubles in the kingdom. The estates-general, irritated by Sigismund's conduct, declared that, in spite of the great necessity there was for peace, they would grant the subsidies asked for to chastise "the insolent king of Poland." The war against that country recommenced with new vigour, and lasted twelve years. Its principal arena during the first eight years was Livonia and afterwards Polish Prussia, particularly in the vicinity of the lower Vistula. During 1617 and 1618 there was nothing but insignificant skirmishes, after which a truce was concluded, to last until 1621. By this time the negotiations for the marriage of Gustavus Adolphus with Maria Eleonore, sister of George William, elector of Brandenburg, were finished, and the kingdom had recovered some of its strength; so the war was renewed with spirit. From 1621 to 1625 there was fighting in Livonia and Courland. Gustavus Adolphus seized these two provinces, took Riga,

[1626-1629 A.D.]

a commercial city of great importance, made an excursion into Samogitia, and defeated the Poles in several encounters.

Again the question of peace was raised. The Lithuanians, dreading a Swedish invasion, were disposed to some sort of an arrangement; but the Poles proper allowed themselves to be influenced by Sigismund, and the negotiations came to nothing. Gustavus Adolphus then determined to act more vigorously, in order to inspire the Poles and their king with thoughts of peace. He transferred the seat of war to Prussia, to make the Poles realise what misery it could bring with it. His plan was to seize all the ports, to impede the enemy's trade, and turn all the customs revenue to his profit. Jakob de la Gardie and Gustaf Horn were charged with the defence of Livonia against the Lithuanians, and acquitted themselves with honour. On the 15th of June, 1626, Gustavus Adolphus landed not far from Pillau, and seized the same year Königsberg, Braunsberg, Elbing, Stuhm, Marienburg, Mewe, etc. He returned to Sweden for the winter, rejoined the army in the month of May, 1627, and again measured his strength with the Poles—first near Dantzic, and then in the vicinity of Dirschau. He would have obtained very great advantages, if wounds had not twice prevented him from giving his troops the inspiration of his presence. He returned again to his country for the winter, coming back to the army in 1628, and pushing his conquests as far as the Polish frontier. His light troops marched all around Warsaw, spreading universal terror. The king would perhaps have won more signal victories with the main body of his army, if he had not made it a principle in all his wars to keep as close to the shore as possible, in order always to be within reach of relief from Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus passed the following winter in his kingdom, and it was during this interval that Hermann Wrangel won the important victory of Gorzno. This series of defeats made the estates-general of Poland more and more disposed to peace; but Sigismund was not yet willing to renounce his claims, all the more as he expected the emperor's long-promised help. In fact, ten thousand auxiliary troops arrived from Germany in 1629. Gustavus Adolphus had also received fresh troops from Sweden. Bloody conflicts took place near Stuhm and Marienburg, but without decisive victories for one side or the other. At the same time, a pest broke out in both camps, which was more deadly for the Poles. Misunderstandings arose between the Poles and the Germans; and neither the former nor the latter seemed disposed to let themselves be killed in support of Sigismund's preposterous claims. This prince was, therefore, forced to arrange, in September, 1629, a six years' truce, afterwards prolonged to twenty-five years.

The superiority of the Swedish troops over the Polish became more apparent as the war lasted from year to year. The Polish troops maintained themselves with great difficulty in Prussia, whose inhabitants began also to show a particular personal attachment to Gustavus Adolphus. He was often received in the towns with the acclamation, "Our king has come!" Had it not been for his wounds and the rainy summer of 1628, it is most probable that all Prussia would have been conquered, as well as Livonia. It must not be forgotten, however, that the stubborn defence of Dantzic contributed much to save the country.^e

SWEDEN AS A MILITARY MONARCHY

Sweden had enjoyed no peace since the days of Gustavus I. There had been fraternal war and civil war; two kings had been overthrown. Charles

[1611-1629 A.D.]

bequeathed to his son a blood-besprent throne — and war with all his neighbours. And if we cast our glance forwards — war, again war, without intermission, during long times to come! Through Gustavus Adolphus, the weight of the Swedish arms was to be felt over the world. It is a foreground lighted up by the flames of war. But the fame which may outstand the probing gaze of history must possess other claims to the homage of the afterworld than the splendour of arms alone.

We begin with what concerns most nearly the constitution itself. The greatest change in this respect was the hereditary monarchy, and the contest which it had called forth was scarcely yet fought out. This was carried on under circumstances which instructively show how, in politics, the word "liberty" is not always a sure indication of the presence of its real benefits. Who can doubt that in Sweden, during the union, this idea was represented by the insurgent peasants and the lawless power of the administrator, and that the magnates employed all the liberty known to the law of Sweden only to preserve for the union-kings the name, and for themselves the exercise, of power? Gustavus Vasa stamped legality on revolt, and suppressed it afterwards; but found himself, on the instant, directly opposed to that party which so long had used the cloak of the law for its own advantage. Thus was the foundation of royal power in Sweden, as everywhere, at the commencement of modern history, the work of stringent absolutism; and yet, who can deny that the unity and self-rule, thus established, was in the very deed the mainspring of freedom? With Charles' consolidation of his father's work, men in Sweden seemed to have ascertained the dangers of extremes clearly enough to return to a middle way; and the royal warranty (*konungaförsäkran*) of Gustavus Adolphus may be termed a new form of government, which aimed at confining power on all sides within the bounds of law.

This warranty was founded upon the king's oath introduced in the ancient law-book, but contains besides divers more exact definitions and limitations. The arbitrariness to which, under the foregoing reign, so much calamity was chargeable, now gave occasion to a more express confirmation of the principle sanctified by the law, that no one should be apprehended or condemned upon a mere allegation, or without knowing his accuser and being brought face to face with him before the judgment seat. The king was to ensure to all orders, especially that of the nobility, due respect, and to every office dignity and power, dismissing no man from office unless he should be lawfully adjudged culpable. The enactment in the Land's Law (*Landslag*) that, without consent of the people, neither a new law should be made nor a new tax imposed, was ratified anew with the addition that the assent of Duke John, of the council, and of the estates, should likewise be requisite thereto. Without this, neither war, peace, truce, nor alliance, could be made. The council was reinstated in its position of mediator between king and people, and the estates deprecated their being burdened with too frequent holding of diets. Hereby, in the great necessities of the crown, the right of the estates to tax themselves was brought into jeopardy, especially as the expressions of the king's oath respecting the taxes are very indefinite, namely, that "they shall not be imposed without the knowledge of the council and the consent of those to whom it belongeth." Thus was the power of the council augmented both from the side of the king and that of the people; and, in proof thereof, the provision of the old regal oath which forbids the king of Sweden to alienate or diminish the property of the crown, was omitted from the form of warranty pronounced by the young Gustavus Adolphus.

King John III declared, in 1573, that every nobleman who was more than

[1611-1629 A.D.]

seventeen years old, and unable to discharge his horse service, should, if he would retain his shield of nobility, at least serve for pay, since in the service of the crown he must be. Charles IV required that all sons of noblemen, when they had reached the lawful age—even those whose fathers had been beheaded or banished—should come to the weapon show and follow him to the war; wherefore we hear thenceforward of noble volunteers and “youngsters of gentry” who served as common soldiers, even on foot and for pay. The nobility of Sweden included all having command, whether civil or military, and almost all the public servants of the realm in the secular departments. Hence, the nobles looked upon their claim to offices of state as their highest right. At the same time, theirs was properly a military order; for every noble was at least a common soldier, if nothing else, and thereto born. Charles had strengthened the influence of the army by summoning to the diets a number of officers as its representatives, a practice which continued long afterwards. Axel Oxenstierna mentions this as a custom peculiar to Sweden. The military, which sent deputies from among both the officers and the privates (though they had no votes), strengthened the nobility at the diets, where every nobleman who had come to lawful years was bound to give his attendance. Add hereto long and prosperous wars, and the military monarchy is complete. Such a military monarchy had Sweden now become; and under this aspect it was regarded by its greatest statesmen. The military spirit pervaded all. With such a spirit and a young hero wearing the crown, we may not wonder at that claim of pre-eminence, so nearly coinciding with reality, made by the nobility, or its assertion that the nobleman was immediately, the peasant only mediately, the subject of the realm—claims which, finally led to the formally expressed dogma of the nobility, that “it could not be out-voted at the diets by the other estates.”

After the close of the Danish war, in January, 1613, Gustavus caused a declaration to be drawn up for the right understanding of the nobility's privileges, which he committed to the custody of John Skytte. Those of the nobility, the declaration ran, who neither themselves bore part in the Danish war, nor fulfilled their horse service, but slunk away, while the king himself lay afield against the enemies of the realm, should lose their baronial freedom, unless they had lawful excuse and by grace obtained a new confirmation. They were reminded that inheritable estates, as well as fiefs, were subject to the burden of horse service. It was noted as an abuse that the nobility released their peasants, not only within the free-mile round their mansions, but generally upon their lands held in fief from the crown, from portages, lodgment, and other works of succour (*hjelp*); that they built as many seats (*satesgårdarna*) as they pleased, and claimed for them the same immunities as for their individual place of abode, thus also withdrawing a large number of persons from conscription; that, whereas the houses of the nobles in the towns were free from all civic burdens, they unlawfully, either themselves or by others, pursued civic callings, maintaining even in some cases tap-rooms and places of dissolute resort; that they had abused likewise their toll-free right for inland traffic and foreign commerce, as well on their own account as that of others; with much else to the same purpose.

A statute passed in Gustavus' second diet, of the year 1612, provided that all fiefs conferred at pleasure should be revoked till the investigation of the grounds of tenure was completed; “since, in a word, the largest portion of the income and rents of the realm is bestowed in fiefs.” This statute remained on the whole without effect; and naturally enough, seeing that such infeudations, however great the inconveniences they entailed on both governors

[1611-1629 A.D.]

and subjects, constituted from of old the payment for the entire service of the state, and the remedy of the evil would thus have required a new regulation of stipends in every department. For this, the wars that had broken out left no time, and the confusion of the finances, no means. We see the king for the most part reduced to the necessity of giving with one hand what he had taken back with the other. Great merits and brilliant proofs of bravery called for rewards which he, least of all men, could refuse; and the conquests of the Russian and Polish wars supplied new channels for his generosity. The erection of the Swedish House of Barons (*Riddarhus*) took place in 1625. The king gave his assent to the petition of the nobility on this subject, in recompense for the readiness wherewith they had received the royal proposals, respecting the maintenance of a standing army, made to the estates at the diet of that year. At this point the horse service virtually ceased to be the ground of freedom of nobility, and the old contest regarding it became at least of smaller importance. Nobility, as completely hereditary, was separated from the other gentry, although left open to merit of every kind; but its destination mainly for warlike objects continued the same, and, hence, in Sweden a standing army and a permanent house of barons were contemporary institutions. What Gustavus, looking into the future, designed by the great dignities wherewith he surrounded his throne, what he purposed with the nobility of Sweden, is as uncertain as what he intended with Sweden itself. Everywhere we find the tracks of greatness, but no goal—scattered premises to a conclusion cut off by death. That he held control over his work (which without him became something entirely different in character), is certain. The officers of the army continued to be called to the diets. The statutes were passed in the name of the “council and estates, counts, free-barons, bishops, nobles, clergy, military commanders, burgesses, and common folk (*menige allmoge*), of the realm of Sweden,” but the military commanders, although not named in the ordinance for the House of Barons, were reckoned of the nobility.

With all this enhancement of the influence of the nobility, the king yet possessed, in respect to all the estates, the power, requisite to a ruler, of having the last word in deliberations and resolutions. The forms appointed for a Swedish diet of estates, in 1617, were little different from the oldest in which the king spoke to the country's army, and acclamation decided the adoption of the statute. Nor was the plan of representation by estates yet fully developed. This can properly be said only of the first estate, which outweighed the rest, much was yet indeterminate. The presence of all the nobles, unless hindered by years, sickness, or the public service, was, though required by law, hardly possible. From the clergy, were commonly summoned the bishop of every diocese, with a member of the chapter, and a minister from every hundred; from the burgesses, the burgomaster and one of the council or the commonalty in every town; of the yeomen, one or two from every hundred.

The old popular right of self-taxation had become more and more a subject for the arbitrary disposal of the governors. These relations suffered little change under the first kings of the Vasa family; especially as, according to the country's law, supply was not yet a question for the diet in the later sense, and the representation long continued to oscillate between provincial and general estates. The crown, with augmented power, naturally intervened; and thus we see that Gustavus I sometimes levied heavy taxes, with no reference except to the consent of the council. The numerous diets of Charles IX in part changed this relation, and at the diet of 1602 we observe

that even the amount of a tax was fixed, although it was to be paid in wares. But this was not the rule.

Over the grave of Gustavus Adolphus it was said: "He received his kingdom with two empty hands, yet deprived no man of his own by violence; but what the necessities of the realm required, that did he let his people know on their days of free assemblage, that they might consider the matter, and give tribute to the crown according to its need." In comparison with earlier times, this judgment may be viewed as correct; and it belongs to the undying renown of this king that he, the greatest warrior of the Swedish throne, was, among all the rulers of his house, the least given to violence. Those who speak so much of the weight of taxes with which he loaded the country, should at least reflect that what under him was done by the law, was before him often done against law, and that arbitrariness, heretofore almost the rule, now appears the exception. No Swedish king before Gustavus Adolphus demanded and received greater sacrifices from the nobility. The hardest sacrifice was the abolition, by the diet of the year 1627, of all exemptions from conscription previously allowed. Complaints of the pressure of the public burdens were not unknown; and the new burdens were not introduced without disturbances. In 1620 representations were made that the contributions which heretofore were paid to the crown had occasioned discontent and must be reduced, seeing that the poor and indigent paid equally with the rich and prosperous, whereby many were impoverished and their farms made waste. Therefore the cattle and field tax, which was now levied, was paid according to every man's ability. But to ascertain each man's circumstances, ministers, bailiffs, and the six-men of the church in each parish, had to enrol the cattle and seed-corn of every yeoman; and it was soon found that this brought with it great inconvenience. The land tax and excise imposed restrictions hitherto unknown in Sweden, on the industry of the country. Barriers, with gates and toll-houses, were built at the outskirts of every town, and inspectors appointed; the same forms being observed at the market-places throughout the country. The most ordinary household business, brewing, baking, or killing, could no longer be pursued freely in the towns. All this caused at the outset great discontent. The rigour of the levies was most keenly felt during the long period of war. Provinces occasionally made contracts with the crown, to avoid these levies; but they did not generally cease until the days of Charles XI. The militia contracts then entered into with the provinces were made yet more burdensome by the frequent returns of the conscription under Charles XII.

The sufferings of Sweden in those times and during wars of such long continuance pass our conception. The resources of the country appear to have been little answerable to its great undertakings; and the inadequacy of the income is best shown by the extraordinary means to which the government was compelled to resort, especially to procure ready money, whereof was great want for carrying on the war; when the crown revenues were mostly paid in produce, or consisted in the performance of personal services. The extraordinary means were loans, sale and mortgage of the crown estates, and monopolies; and these enforced expedients of supply are to be reckoned among the most grievous measures of this reign. They multiplied what the Swede sees with impatience — middle powers in his relations with his rulers. All who possessed influence through property — as lenders, holders of land-fiefs, farmers, managers of profitable enterprises — became intermediate powers, on which the government, no less than the subject, was dependent.

On the other hand, no administration evoked more abundant energies;

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in this respect the reign of Gustavus Adolphus forms an epoch for Sweden. This is apparent not less in reference to the industry and education of the people, than in the executive and legislative functions of the state. We quote the judgment of a foreigner upon the country and its inhabitants at this day. "This kingdom," observes William Usselinx of Sweden, "has many advantages above other countries in sea-ports, timber, victuals, the wages of labour, copper, iron, steel, pitch, tar, shot, and other munitions of war. The inhabitants of the country are a hardy folk, who can endure cold and heat; they are docile, active, quick. They are, besides, obedient to their rulers, and little bent to sedition and revolt, wherein they excel many other nations and peoples. They have the qualities, if they would but exert themselves, of expert seamen; for they have no defect of intelligence, dexterity, and courage; and if they had a little practice, they would easily become good ship-builders, the more so as almost all of them know how to handle the axe. In respect to various manufactures of fine linen, cloth, worsted, baize, bombazine, and others, there is little of this kind done in the country, partly because impulse and materials are wanting, and partly also because there are no means for exporting their wares. But of skill and shrewdness they have no want, for we find peasants able at all sorts of handiwork. They are carpenters, joiners, smiths; they bake, brew, weave, dye, make shoes and clothes, and the like, wherein they surpass all other nations of Europe, inasmuch as in other countries hardly anyone will attempt to put hands to any craft that he hath not learned. Their wives and daughters make many curious devices in sewing, weaving, and other pleasant arts, whence it appeareth that they are very knowing and wise-minded. True it is that they cannot arrive at the perfection which is found in other countries, when a man ever remaineth in one trade and becomes inured to it by long time, man after man, from father to son. But it is not to be doubted that he who hath wit and memory to learn in haste, and thereafter himself to invent, would become perfect in his trade, if from his youth upward he practised one thing and kept himself faithful thereto. Some are of opinion that this nation is given to intemperance in eating and drinking, as also to sloth, and therefore will not apply themselves to any steady labour. But concerning this I pronounce no judgment."



A COSTUME OF THE VALLEY OF AURE

Sweden for the first time, under this reign learned to know in what the rule of officials consists. In earlier times we see but the contest between the power of the magnates and the arbitrariness of the kings; it was the former of these which obtained the sanction of law in the Swedish Middle Age. The old order, or disorder, of administration was in the hands of a polycracy of feudatories. This barbarous method was gradually abandoned, but at first only by the employment of violent and illegal means, and substituted by

[1611-1639 A.D.]

what we may call the secretary government, directly dependent on the king. Under it, in the country, was created the office of bailiff, confided, as was the secretary government of the towns, out of mistrust of the council and lieutenants (*sîthållarna*), to persons of mean condition, dependent on the king alone, and who, though often inculpated, were yet a necessary evil. Thus matters remained under the first princes of the house of Vasa, until Charles IX broke the old power of the lieutenants, those "kings in their districts," as he himself named them; and after him Gustavus Adolphus ventured to collect around his throne great but subordinate legal authorities. The tension which the kingdom felt in all its members required the reins of government to be tightly drawn. We discern a stricter unity of power in the highest place, with its inevitable condition: a greater division of labour in the administration, so far as the preponderant demands of military affairs allowed. These arrangements (afterwards developed by Axel Oxenstierna in the form of government of 1634) — a complete gradation of offices, with powers in several respects even impairing the old political rights of the people; the five high officers of state at the head of as many departments assisted by royal councillors appointed thereto, and standing boards or colleges now first brought into intimate connection with the prefectures — all belong to the period of Gustavus Adolphus.

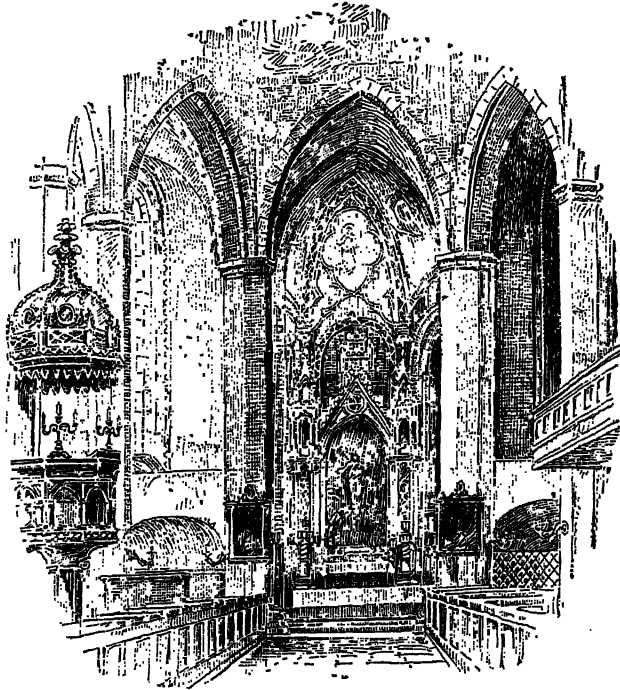
The king's absence, occasioned by the wars, too often hindered his own watchfulness over the judicatory. The council of state was in fact the supreme tribunal. In a period so unsettled, so small an amount of litigation is not a little wonderful. Such a fact lays open to our glance the inner moral life of the people, and indicates at the same time that hidden fund of strength which must have existed somewhere in the country, to outlast exertions so great, distress and unquiet so trying. Such a fund lay in the public morals; and in this respect, as in others, the era of Gustavus Adolphus presents the true transition from the Middle Age of Sweden. The old blood-feuds disappeared before the power of law; but the ties of kindred still retained all their natural freshness and force, purged of violent excess, and operating only to beneficent ends. No one was desolate; for all might reckon upon home, kindred, and help in need. Much was borne, but borne in common, and Sweden was as one man. Nor was the condition of the people at the king's death by any means such as might be imagined after so many years of war. D'Ogier, who visited Sweden in the winter of 1634, in company with the French ambassador, Count D'Avaux, says in his journal, that he does not remember having seen in the whole country any one naked or in rags. Peasant lads and lasses sprang gladsomely about the sledges; and though he had free portage, the yeomen showed themselves not at all slow in forwarding him on his way — probably, he adds, because in other matters they are not heavily taxed. On a journey to the Copper Mount, he saw the people gathered at a church in the Dale country, and exclaims: "These country folk are neither ragged nor hungry, as with us." And yet they were people with whom it was no uncommon thing to mix bark in their bread. They felt no unhappiness. A great present, a great future, quickened the spirit of all.

This trust in the future Gustavus Adolphus himself showed in nothing more clearly than in his immortal institutes for general education. In the University of Upsala the dissensions among the teachers, especially between Messenius and John Rudbeck, with their factions among the students, continued under the first years of this reign. The mode in which the king restored order, as well as the wisdom and bounty which marked his care of the university, redound to his honour. Messenius and Rudbeck, both men as hot-

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tempered as they were able, were removed, but to honourable and weighty charges; and the work of instruction continued to be a main object of the king's solicitude. In the year 1620 he proposed to the bishops the question as to the manner in which art and knowledge might be furthered in his dominions, taking notice that the university and schools were ill-conducted, so that there were few fit for the office of the ministry, and none at all for affairs of government. The magistrates of the towns were so ignorant that they could not write their names; the students were hindered by their poverty from making progress; and instruction at the university was impeded by too many holidays.

The teachers were ecclesiastics; and as the clergy did not understand matters belonging to government and civic life, they could not teach these branches. There was a yet greater want of competent persons to do the work of the country than there was of money to repay them. Therefore the bishops were commanded to state how many royal schools and seminaries were needful in the kingdom; what course of education was most desirable to be given there; how good teachers might be obtained, and one general method of instruction introduced; how the so-called parish-rounds (*sockne-gangar*), by which the students



CATHEDRAL OF ÅBO

begged their sustenance in the hamlets, might be abolished, and in their stead a fixed contribution, to be collected by the ministers, established. They were to declare how many professors were required in the university; and as there was a want of learned men at home, from what places these should be invited: how the professors should be paid, since the manner now in use — by the church tithes — was ineffective, yielding more one year, another less; how the community of the students, the privileges of the university, and the rendering of accounts by the professors, might be arranged. Lastly, the king required their opinion respecting the hospitals; especially as the grievous infection of leprosy was beginning to spread, chiefly in Finland, and what the crown expended upon hospitals was embezzled, and the poor were treated worse than dogs.

The reply of the bishops is fantastical and silly. But the king put his own hand to the work, and to his individual liberality the University of Upsala owes its existence. The first *gymnasium* in Sweden was erected at

Vesterås in 1620, and enlarged in 1623 and 1627; the second at Strengnäs in 1626; the third at Linköping in 1628. The same year Finland, which had possessed the gymnasium of Viborg since 1618, obtained another at Åbo. Thus was this great king in the midst of his wars the founder of Sweden's system of education. No hopes are nobler or more elevating than those which Gustavus Adolphus opened up to a future generation by his institutes. They were not less important for their political than for their scientific results; for if Sweden, from this time, continually saw men rising by their knowledge and merits from the hut to the highest dignities of the state, it was the work of Gustavus Adolphus.¹

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR¹

Within a very few years the king, seconded by his youthful chancellor, Oxenstierna, had established the best organised representative monarchy of his time in the country so lately distracted by civil war. *Lagerquist* (Laurel Bough), *Oernflycht* (Eagle's Flight), *Erenrot* (Root of Honour)—such were the proud names of the great families which, like the aristocracy of the whole Baltic coast, were loth to bow their stubborn neck to the yoke of the monarchy. This hard-handed aristocracy was won over to the service of the crown, with amazing readiness, by the alluring prospect of military glory and spoil; any nobleman who, in time of war, stayed at home, "*den kericht zu huten*" (to look after the dustbin) forfeited the fief he held of the crown. Hence it was possible to impose the heavy burden of military service on the loyal peasantry too, and every year the clergy read out from their pulpits the names of the young men who were called upon to join the militia. The king directed the whole administration by means of five great central bureaux. He permitted freedom of debate to the four estates of the diet, but after the royal decision was once given he required unquestioning obedience, for "no martial laurels grow amidst these eternal brawls and wrangles." Thus, in firm reliance on his people, he undertook to end the three wars his father had bequeathed to him; and in the school of nineteen years of warfare he trained an army accustomed to conquer.

Against the Danes, he maintained his position with difficulty. Evading his most formidable foe, he turned his arms against the Muscovite, drove the Russian robbers from their haunts on the Baltic, subjugated Ingermanland, Karelia, and all the maritime provinces of the Gulf of Finland, and, hard by the site where St. Petersburg now stands, erected the column which proclaimed to the world that here Gustavus Adolphus had set the frontier of the kingdom. He next led his trusty vassals against Poland, where he met the legions of the Counter-Reformation for the first time. For all her pride of victory, he inflicted on Poland the first great defeat she had suffered for two hundred years; he conquered Livonia, secured the Protestant church in her precarious tenure, and gained a foothold in the harbours of Prussia. The guiding idea of his life stood more and more plainly revealed: the scheme of a Scandinavian empire, which should unite all the countries of the Baltic under the dominion of the blue and yellow flag. Gustavus Adolphus had gained all these successes without any interference on the part of the western powers, for as yet there was no state system. The tract of central Europe—that Germany which was destined at some future time to bind the east and west of Europe into an organic association of political entities—was prostrate

¹ For a full account of the Thirty Years' War, and the part taken in it by Gustavus Adolphus, the reader is referred to volume XIV, pages 339-368.]

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and bleeding from a thousand wounds, torn asunder by furious party strife; and not until his triumphal march brought him close upon the German frontier was Gustavus Adolphus drawn into the whirlpool of the great German war. For thirty-three years Germany had lived as in a dream, under the protection of the Religious Peace of Augsburg — a fallacious peace, which brought about no genuine reconciliation, and left all the burning questions of the law of the empire unresolved. Wholly preoccupied with the dreary quarrels of Lutheran and Calvinistic theologians, the German Protestants had looked on idly while the Jesuits, careless of the Peace, brought large districts in the south and west of Germany once more under the sway of the church of Rome; and while the Dutch, to the north of the German river, took up the desperate struggle against the Habsburg empire, William of Orange uttering the warning cry: "If Germany remains an idle spectator of our tragedy, a war will presently be kindled on German soil which will swallow up all the wars that have gone before it." The most ghastly of all wars began — ghastly not only by reason of the hideous havoc it wrought, but by reason of its utter barrenness of thought — for while the empire was tossed distractedly between four parties, religious and political contentions grew tangled into an inextricable maze, and of the lofty passions of the early days of the Reformation little survived beyond the gloomy malevolence of sectarian hatred.

Austria and Spain, the two branches of the house of Habsburg, made common cause in the struggle with heresy; they allied themselves with Maximilian of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic League in Germany, with Italian princes, and with the crown of Poland. Almost the whole of Catholic Europe, with the sole exception of France, placed its mercenaries at the service of this imperial policy, which strode resolutely towards its goal, daring and favoured by fortune, commanding the admiration of even Gustavus Adolphus by its ruthless strength of will. "The emperor," he often said, "is a great statesman; he does what will serve his purpose." All the emperor's hereditary dominions, including even Bohemia, that ancient home of heresy, and the Protestant peasantry of Upper Austria, had been coerced into conformity with the Roman Catholic faith. South Germany was already subjugated, the elector palatine exiled from his lands and lieges; Spain held command of a series of strongholds along the Rhine, and was thus able to send her mercenaries safely from Milan through the Tyrol and Germany, to make war upon the Netherlands. The little armies of the partisans of Protestantism in the north were crushed, even the Danish duke of Holstein was driven back. The emperor's legions pressed forward to Jutland, as they had done in the days of the Ottos. His victorious banners, bearing the emblems of the Virgin Mary and the double eagle, floated on the shores of both the seas of Germany, and his commander-in-chief, the Czech Wallenstein, was at work on the project of a maritime empire — he was going to link the Baltic and the North Sea by a canal between Wismar and the Elbe, and establish a naval port of the empire in the bay of Jade (where Wilhelmshaven now stands) at the very doors of the rebel Dutch.

In the year 1629 the imperial policy uttered its last fiat. The edict of Restitution excluded Calvinists from toleration under the Peace of Augsburg, and directed that all religious institutions which had joined the Calvinistic church since the date of the Peace, all the old "immediate" bishoprics of the ancient *Germania Sacra* of the north — Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Bremen, Lubeck — as well as the provincial bishoprics of Meissen, Brandenburg, and countless others, should be delivered over to the Romish church. What a

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prospect! The peaceful development of two generations wiped out at a blow; the people of these whilom ecclesiastical territories, with their thoroughgoing Protestantism, once more under the sway of the crozier, while an archduke should make his entry into Mainz as Catholic archbishop! The success of such a project would have struck a blow at the very root of German Protestantism, in its ecclesiastical no less than its political aspect; and nothing would have been lacking for its utter annihilation but that the illustrious Protestant dynasties of the empire — the electors of Brandenburg and Hesse, the elector Palatine and the Askanian Anhalts (the Aschersleben line) — should forfeit their fiefs to the empire as rebels and heretics, like the dukes



LENNART TORSTENSON, SWEDISH GENERAL
(1603-1651)

of Mecklenburg and Brunswick and many other Protestant princes, who had been driven into exile and seen their ancient hereditary dominions fall a prey to the arbitrary rule of imperialist commanders. Never had Germany been so near a condition of political unity. "We need no more princes or prince electors," was Wallenstein's threat. But unity so created, by Spanish priests of the Society of Jesus, by *condottieri* and hordes of mercenaries who had renounced their nationality, would have destroyed all intellectual liberty, would have gone far to annihilate the essence of the German *ego*. A cry of horror rose from the whole Protestant world. And yet, whence was rescue to be looked for? The only two Protestants who still wore the electoral hat — the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony — saw their dominions flooded with imperial troops; they were paralysed by the weakness of their own will and

by their traditional loyalty to the emperor — a feeling honourable even when mistaken — paralysed by the insubordination of the provincial estates, which obstructed every serious attempt at military preparation. There was no help for it; the dissensions and inertia of the German Protestants had brought things to such a pass that nothing but foreign intervention could save them.

The king of Sweden had no alternative. He realised the vast co-ordination of European affairs; he had long vainly striven to induce the free Protestant powers of Northern Europe — England, the Netherlands, and Denmark — to league themselves together against the Habsburgs; and during his Polish campaign he had already met the imperial troops in one unsuccessful engagement. If the sway of the brutal imperial soldiery were to extend farther along the Baltic, it would not only shatter the great septentrional monarchy of his hopeful dreams, but would endanger the little throne of his own dominions; for there was no question but that Austria's allies, the Polish Vasas, would endeavour to make good their claims to the crown. "In the safety of our neighbours," he said to his loyal estates, "we must secure our own." And in

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glowing language, he, who had never learned to dissemble, added, "I will deliver our oppressed co-religionists from the papal yoke." His political and religious duty both pointed to the same goal; but in this, as in all epoch-making crises, the issue was determined by the obscure promptings of genius, by the mysterious presentiment of prodigious successes, and by the call of divine providence.⁹

Leipsic, Lützen, and the Death of Gustavus

Gustavus negotiated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I agreed to send the king of Sweden six thousand men. These troops were raised in the name of the marquis of Hamilton and supposed to be maintained by that nobleman, that the appearance of neutrality might be preserved.

The most necessary supply that Gustavus received was an annual subsidy, from Cardinal Richelieu, of twelve hundred thousand livres — a small sum in our days, but considerable at that time, especially in a country where the precious metals are still scarce. The treaty between France and Sweden was a masterpiece in politics. Gustavus agreed, in consideration of the stipulated subsidy to maintain in Germany an army of thirty-six thousand men; and bound himself to observe a strict neutrality towards the duke of Bavaria and all the princes of the Catholic league, on condition that they should not join the emperor against the Swedes, and to preserve the rights of the Romish church, wherever he should find it established. By these ingenious stipulations, which do so much honour to the genius of Richelieu, the Catholic princes were not only freed from all alarm on the score of religion, but furnished with a pretext for withholding their assistance from the emperor, as a step which would expose them to the arms of Sweden.

Gustavus had entered Pomerania when this treaty was concluded, and soon after made himself master of Frankfort-upon-the-Oder, Kolberg, and several other important places. The Protestant princes, however, were still backward in declaring themselves, lest they should be separately crushed by the imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their assistance. In order to put an end to this irresolution, Gustavus summoned the elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days; and on receiving an evasive answer, he marched directly to Berlin. This spirited conduct had the desired effect: the gates were thrown open, and Gustavus was received as a friend. He was soon after joined by the landgraf of Hesse and the elector of Saxony. Gustavus now marched towards Leipsic, where Tilly lay encamped. That experienced general advanced into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagonist, at the head of thirty thousand veterans. The king of Sweden's army consisted of a nearly equal number of men; but the Saxon auxiliaries were raw and undisciplined, and fled at the first onset. Yet Gustavus, by his superior conduct and the superior valour of the Swedes, gained a complete victory over Tilly and the imperials. The consequences of the victory at Leipsic were great; nor did the conqueror fail to improve that success which he had so gloriously earned. He was instantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical union, determined at last to throw off the imperial bondage. The measures of the Catholic league were utterly disconcerted; and Gustavus made himself master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine, comprehending a space of near one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns. The elector of Saxony, in the meantime, entered Bohemia, and took Prague. Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of

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the Lech. Gustavus soon after reduced Augsburg, and there re-established the Protestant religion. He next marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almost every city thrown open on his approach. When pressed to revenge on Munich the cruelties which Tilly had perpetrated at Magdeburg, to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to ashes, he replied: "No! let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths our ancestors, who have rendered their memory detestable by abusing the rights of conquest, in doing violence to humanity, and destroying the precious monuments of art."

During these transactions, the renowned Wallenstein, who had been for a time in disgrace, but had been restored to the chief command with absolute powers soon after the defeat of Leipsic, had recovered Prague and the greater part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle near Nuremberg; but the cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king of Sweden was repulsed in attempting to force his intrenchments. The action lasted for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swedish army, not excepting the body of reserve, was led on to the attack. The king's person was in imminent danger, the Austrian cavalry sallying out furiously from their intrenchments on the right and left when the efforts of the Swedes began to slacken; and a masterly retreat alone saved him from a total overthrow. Gustavus afterwards attacked Wallenstein in the wide plain of Lützen, near Leipsic, where a great battle was fought and the Swedish monarch lost his life in the height of a complete victory, which was improved by Bernhard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, his lieutenant-general.

No prince, ancient or modern, seems to have possessed, in so eminent a degree as Gustavus, the united qualities of the hero, the statesman, and the commander — that intuitive genius which conceives, that wisdom which plans, and that combination of conduct and courage which gives success to an enterprise. Nor was the military progress of any prince ever equally rapid. under circumstances equally difficult, with an inferior force against warlike nations and disciplined troops conducted by able and experienced generals.^h

AIMS AND CHARACTER OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

What was his aim? This, posterity has striven to learn; this, it has fancied it has discovered. From generation to generation the story has gone — gathering assurance as it went, and being handed on and on with fresh embellishments — that he came down upon the empire from the North to save and protect the Protestant religion; that he aimed at uniting Protestant Germany and being himself the Protestant emperor. But the tale we have told points to other aims than these. Long after the death of Gustavus Adolphus the royal chancellor said to Bengt Oxenstierna, "King Gustavus Adolphus wanted the Baltic coast; he aspired to be one day emperor of Scandinavia, and his empire was to embrace Sweden and Norway, Denmark as far as the Great Belt, and the Baltic provinces. With this end in view, he first concluded a peace with Denmark on the most favourable terms he could get, and then one with Russia respecting the Baltic coast. By means of lucrative duties he took the coast and river mouths away from the Poles. He then attacked the German emperor, and demanded Pomerania and Mecklenburg as a war indemnity from the Protestant princes, who were to receive Catholic provinces in exchange. Denmark was to be reduced to the territory beyond the Great Belt, and Norway was to be ours. By such means this great king

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aimed at founding an independent empire. But it was not true (as report says) that he wished to make himself emperor of Germany."

His contemporaries were full of admiration for his soldierly courage and his wisdom as a general. For a general he was, bold almost to foolhardiness. A dagger in his hand would arouse all the Northman, "the Goth," in him; then he showed that he belonged to the Vasa brood. How often did he not stake his life on a chance before he finally threw it away in a rash skirmish! From the very beginning of his reign his improvements and innovations in military arrangements were the constant subjects of his thoughts. The embassy to the Netherlands in 1615, which has furnished so many personal details about Gustavus Adolphus, gives a list of these. "Nine large new ships" are mentioned, as well as the militia brought up to the strength of forty thousand men; there is, besides, an account of a new arsenal of great cannon and weapons of every description. The young king had begged of their high mightinesses "that the controller monier" might come to him for a time in Holland, bringing with him engineers, artillerymen, gunners, and other such people. His admiration for the military spirit of the prince of Orange impelled him to this step—to complete his armament after the Orange pattern, and with the assistance of Orange workmen. And how often in his German wars did he take Orange for his example, not only in operations in the field, but more especially when he had a fortress to besiege. He showed the envoys a piece of ordnance he had invented, which he wished to try in their presence. It weighed only twenty pounds, and threw balls of the same weight. He told them he hoped to make it still lighter. Europe witnessed the rise of a warlike star in the North. Spinola had already said at the battle of Prague, "Gustavus Adolphus is the only Protestant sovereign whom one must be cautious not to offend." The only history which appeared of him during his life echoed the universal contemporary judgment: "There are few men to be found in Christendom at the present day whose experience in war equals his."

And this determined, rough, reserved, hard ruler — this *leo arcticus* — taller than the tallest of his countrymen, broad-shouldered, white-skinned and with the fairest of fair hair, slow in his movements, which in later years when he became rather too corpulent were somewhat unwieldy, loved soft music and songs of the simplest kind, and would often sit, lute in hand, lost in the dreams which its tones awakened. We like to compare him, separated from us by a distance of over two centuries, with those who are nearer our times; and who is not strangely moved by the remembrance of how the conqueror of Silesia dreamed in restful solitude over the soft-toned lute? Concentrated will, energy pursuing a great end, sought an instant's pause, while genius lulled them musically into the short slumber the pressure of the time allowed. Like an *aurora borealis* Gustavus appears — great, wonderful, luminous, and cold.²

Geijer's Estimate of Gustavus Adolphus

Gustavus Adolphus was taken away in his thirty-eighth year. Never has one man's death made a deeper impression throughout a whole quarter of the world. Wheresoever his name had been heard, a ray of hope for the oppressed had penetrated. Even the Greek, at its sound, dreamed of freedom; and prayers for the success of the Swedish monarch's arms were sent up at the Holy Sepulchre. What then must he not have been for the partners of his faith? We may conceive this; nay, rather, it is no longer possible to do

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so. The feelings with which the inhabitants of Augsburg, with streaming tears, crowded to the evangelical worship restored by Gustavus Adolphus; the feelings with which the people in Saxony, on bended knees, stretched out thankful hands to the hero, for the second time their saviour, are become strange to the world in which we live. In those days men felt their dangers, and knew how to requite their deliverer worthily. We speak of the people whose champion Gustavus Adolphus was by his cause as well as by his qualities. The agency of both extended far, and burst even the bonds of hate and prejudice; for he is perchance the only man (so great was the might of his virtue) whose image is reflected with truth, even in the portraiture of his enemies.

It is not only Axel Oxenstierna who has said of him, "He was a prince God-fearing in all his doings and transactions, even to the death." Lutheran theologians have wished in some sort to exalt him into a saint of their persuasion. If withal he had too much of Cæsar and Alexander (whom he admired), we must acknowledge, on the other hand, that he was better than his spiritual advisers, and far above his age in Christian tolerance. The manner in which the future juggled with his life-work, frustrating his designs and letting his plans die with him, belongs to the common lot of mankind, and may silently be added to the immeasurable sum of hopes unfulfilled. One is conscious of a higher power working through the whole life of Gustavus Adolphus. There was in him that boundless reach of view which with conquerors is inborn, and he accepted without amazement his own fortune. His profound belief in his own destiny is conspicuous in all the transactions of his life; and yet, though nothing hardens the heart so much as prosperity, Gustavus Adolphus was humble and meek. In his vocation he acknowledged guidance from on high. He was far from looking upon himself as indispensable, however; for his goal was placed far above his own personality. Therefore was he, like the high-hearted Roman, not niggardly of his great life. "God the almighty liveth," he said to Axel Oxenstierna when that statesman warned him, in Prussia, not so rashly to expose himself to death. More cheerful and heroic courage never walked on earth.

What, besides, did he purpose? A great monarchy, without doubt; for whose future props in Germany he counted upon the young Frederick William of Brandenburg, afterwards the great elector, and Bernhard of Weimar, intending for the one the hand of his daughter, for the other that of his niece. Probably even a Protestant empire was not foreign to his contemplations. For the rest, nothing was determined, even in his own breast. The sphere of his vision stretched far and wide; and it was his pleasure to hold in his hand the threads of many possibilities. Thus we see him entertain the proposal that he, after Sigismund's death, should himself be elected king of Poland, through the Polish dissidents. Thus we find him in alliance with the prince of Transylvania, the Crimean Tatars, and Russia, for the weakening of the Austrian interest as well in Poland as in Germany. Great designs were extinguished with his life on the battle-field of Lützen.



CHAPTER X

CHRISTINA TO CHARLES XI

[1632-1697 A.D.]

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1648 A.D.)

CHRISTINA, who succeeded Gustavus (II) Adolphus on the throne of Sweden, was only six years of age when her father fell upon the plains of Lutzen, and a council of regency, consisting of five great officers of state, at the head of whom was the chancellor Oxenstierna, was placed over the realm.

It was expected by the Catholic party that now, when the hero of the reformed cause was no more, and that the elector of Saxony, one of his best supports, was about to pass over to the imperials, the war in Germany would be a short one. They were woefully deceived. It raged with alternate glory and disaster down to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. Gustavus had trained in his school a host of generals who were fit for every emergency; and the statesmen whom he had instructed were in no respect inferior. Horn, Banér, Torstenson, and Wrangel, assisted by Duke Bernhard and the landgraf, gathered laurels in the field, which would not have disgraced even the coronet of Gustavus.

For most of these successes, indeed, Sweden was indebted to other causes than even the ability of her generals or the discipline of her brave veterans. The ablest generals of France were also contending with the Catholic powers of Europe. But these events belong to German or to European history, rather than to that of Sweden. We will not, therefore, detail them, but will

[1654 A.D.]

pass at once to the celebrated treaty which restored peace to Europe. That treaty was most honourable to Sweden. Five millions of crowns were conceded to her, as some indemnification for the expenses of the war. She was confirmed in the possession of Bremen and Verden, which were secularised. She was allowed to retain Upper Pomerania, a part of the Lower, with Rügen, Wismar, and three votes in the German diet. This was a glorious result; yet it was less glorious than the war itself, which had raised Sweden from an obscure state to one of the first of European kingdoms — which had disciplined her troops, established her martial character, and rendered her formidable in the eyes of Europe. Before the conclusion of this war, Sweden increased the number of her enemies by a sudden irruption into Holstein. The circumstances and end of this new war we shall give in a future chapter. It, too, contributed as much to the triumph of Christina as to the disgrace of her royal neighbour.

THE ABDICATION OF CHRISTINA (1654 A.D.)

But the most remarkable event of Christina's reign is her voluntary abdication. Though fond of power, the cares which surrounded it and the duties which it involved were too much for her inclination. Affecting a peculiar love of retirement, a peculiar devotion to birds, to antiquities, to the fine arts, to criticism, and to philosophical reflection, she lamented a course of life which interfered with the attainment of her wishes, and expressed her intention to abdicate, long before she carried it into effect. Her vanity was delighted with the homage paid to her by literary men; she corresponded with all of any note, and invited several to her court; she pensioned such as she thought ready to extend her reputation; she purchased, at an immense price, the rarest editions of old books, and the choicest specimens of art. Her subjects were not well pleased with her prodigality; they condemned her tastes; they lamented her unchastity; and sensibly advised her to marry and attend more strictly to her duties as a sovereign. Against marriage, which would have subjected her caprice to restraints that she would have felt to be intolerable, she indignantly remonstrated, and declared that she would retire into private life. This resolution alarmed her people, who were proud of the glories that illustrated her reign, and who loved the daughter of their hero. Her ministers, especially Oxenstierna, remonstrated with her on a resolution which, if carried into effect, must, as they were well convinced, end in their fall from power. Under such a woman, they were the virtual sovereigns of Sweden; but her designated successor, Charles Gustavus (the son of the hero's sister by the count palatine), was a bold, active, enterprising prince, who would reign alone. Though she yielded for a time to the entreaties of her advisers, she never renounced her purpose; and in 1654 she announced it so energetically that all opposition was felt to be unavailing.

It was in the diet of Upsala, held in May, 1654, that Christina made this irrevocable annunciation. In the event of her successor's dying without issue, she wished the sceptre to devolve on the count de Tott, one of her paramours, and descended from a daughter of Eric XIV; but she met with little encouragement in such a project. In the following month, wishing to imitate the illustrious example of Charles V, she publicly resigned all the ensigns of her dignity into the hands of her cousin, whom she exhorted to a right fulfilment of the royal duties. For the gratification of her pleasures, she reserved to herself the revenues of ample domains. Her subsequent life was not like that of the renowned emperor.^b

[1656 A.D.]

She had reserved to herself her own independence, an absolute authority over such of her subjects as should accompany her, and the revenues of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, with those of several Swedish provinces. Quitting the habit of her sex, and taking the words *Fata viam invenient* as a device, she left her kingdom, traversed Denmark and Germany, and established herself at Brussels. Here she remained for nearly a year, signalling her sojourn by the private renunciation of Lutheranism, which she afterwards solemnly and publicly abjured at Innsbruck. From Innsbruck she went to Italy. She entered Rome on horseback, was received, confirmed, and baptised Alexandra by Alexander VII, and was lodged in the Palazzo Farnese, where she surrounded herself with artists and amorists, with philosophers and mountebanks. In 1656, having quarrelled with some members of the college of cardinals, she made her first trip to France, where she had much success as a spectacle, called on the king at Compiègne, was lodged at Fontainebleau, and stayed for some time in Paris. She was most gracious with the men of letters and science, but she outraged all the women by her expressions of contempt for their sex and themselves (which called forth many illiberal remarks concerning her spare figure and humped shoulder), and declared that Ninon de l'Enclos was the only one of them worth her regard. She also attempted to instil a few of her own political theories into the bosom of Mazarin; but that subtle diplomatist resisted, and when in the following year, after a journey to Italy, she attempted to renew her visit, he found means to have her detained at Fontainebleau. It was here that, after writing to Cromwell, who would none of her, she caused her favourite Monaldeschi, in revenge for the betrayal of her secrets, to be put to death by the captain of her guard.^c The French historian Catteau-Calleville gives the following account of this famous incident.^a



QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN
(1626-1689)

CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN AND MONALDESCHI

Attached to the queen were Count Sentinelli, her captain of the guard and first chamberlain, and the marquis Monaldeschi, her grand equerry. There reigned great jealousy between these two Italians, both desirous of keeping Christina's favour. The princess, however, had been for some time suspicious of Monaldeschi's conduct, and having intercepted his correspondence found that he was betraying her interests and at the same time attempting to lay at another door the treason of which he was guilty. She feigned innocence in the matter and asked the marquis one day what punishment

treason deserved. "Your majesty," he replied, "should have the traitor executed on the spot without mercy." "Good," said the queen, "remember these words; and for my part I tell you I shall never forgive him."

On the 6th of November she summoned to her, in the *Galérie des Cerfs*, Father Lebel, the Mathurin prior, and put into his hand a packet of papers sealed in three places and bearing no address, with the charge that he was to return it to her whenever she called for it and requesting him to make note of the day, hour, and place he had received it. Meanwhile Monaldeschi observed that several posts had passed without his receiving any letters; and becoming mistrustful took several steps which looked like preparations for flight. But the queen forestalled him, and on the 10th of November she called him into the *Galérie des Cerfs*. He arrived trembling, pale, and haggard. After some irrelevant remarks by the queen Father Lebel entered by a door which was immediately shut, while through another entrance came Sentinelli the captain of the guard, and two soldiers. The queen asked the prior for the packet she had committed to his care, took out the letters and papers which she showed and read to the marquis, asking him in a firm but passionate voice if he recognised them. The marquis denied they were anything but copies she had made herself. "You have, then," she asked him, "no knowledge of these letters and writings?" Leaving him to think for a minute, she produced the originals which she showed him, exclaiming, "O you traitor!" After several attempts to justify himself Monaldeschi threw himself for pardon at Christina's feet. At the same time the captain and his soldiers drew their swords. Monaldeschi came closer to the queen, who listened a few moments but soon told him his arrest had been ordered and requested the prior to prepare him for death.

She left the gallery and withdrew to an adjoining room. It appears, from Father Lebel's narrative, that Sentinelli himself interceded for the culprit, or at least he made a pretence of doing so. This proceeding producing no effect, the marquis implored the prior to intercede for him; and the latter did go to the queen, whom he found with calm and unruffled countenance. He threw himself at her feet, and in a voice choked with sobs begged her for the sake of Christ's sufferings to deign to show a little mercy. She represented to the good man how sorry she was not to be able to grant what he asked, pointing out the blackness of Monaldeschi's crime, and adding that so guilty a man had no forgiveness or mercy to hope for and that many who deserved less than this traitor had been broken on the wheel. Whereupon the prior, who has himself given an account of this whole circumstance, took the liberty of observing that she was in the palace of a great king and that she should give careful thought as to whether the king would approve of what she was about to do. This remark of the prior's instead of moving Christina, only wounded her pride. She replied that she had the right to dispense justice; that the king was not treating her as a prisoner and fugitive; that she was mistress of her own wishes and could punish her own officials for anything and at all times; that she was responsible for her conduct to God alone, and that this particular act of hers was not without precedent.

The prior argued that there was a difference, and that if princes had done such things they did them on their own territory and not elsewhere; but, fearing to irritate her, he continued: "It is for the honour and reputation which your majesty has acquired in this kingdom, and for the hope which the nation has conceived of mediation that I humbly beg of you to consider that your action, entirely just as it maybe from your majesty's standpoint, might be regarded by others as an act of hasty violence. May your majesty

[1658-1660 A.D.]

do rather a deed of generosity and mercy towards this man by delivering him to the justice of the king and letting him stand trial in due form." "What," the queen cried, "I, who have sovereign and absolute judicial power over those who serve me, be reduced to plead at law against a traitor of my household of whose treason I hold the proof in my hands!" "That is true, madam, but your majesty is an interested party." "No, no," she replied, "I will tell the king about it. Go back and look after his soul. I cannot in conscience do what you ask." The priest, noting the change of tone with which she uttered these last words, remarked that perhaps she would have given in if things had not gone so far.

The priest returned to the gallery and announced the confirmation of arrest to Monaldeschi, whom he confessed, but who, preserving still some hope, addressed himself to the queen's chaplain who had arrived during his confession. But all attempts were unavailing and Monaldeschi was put to death by the soldiers and the captain of the guard, his rival for the queen's favour. As he wore under his vestments a thick coat of mail, he received several blows before expiring, and the gallery was stained with his blood. Finally a dagger was plunged into his throat and he was dead. The prior was charged with the burial ceremonies. The queen sent a sum of money to the monastery and had masses said for the repose of the marquis's soul. He was buried with the usual ceremonial in the parish church of Avon.^d

CHRISTINA DIES (1689 A.D.)

In 1658 Christina returned to Rome; and, the Swedish revenues coming slowly in, Alexander allowed her a pension. In 1660 Charles Gustavus died, and Christina returned to Sweden, to claim the throne she had quitted so lightly and regretted so bitterly. But the Swedes had lost their old reverence for the daughter of Gustavus; her new religion and her treatment of Monaldeschi had made them weary of her; and she was compelled to sign another and more binding deed of abdication, and once more to retreat to Rome. She reappeared in Sweden some six years afterwards; but the exercise of her faith was denied her, and she withdrew to Hamburg, where she begged in vain the empty crown of Poland, and whence she made for Rome once more. In that city she lived for some twenty years, quarrelling, intriguing, and collecting, corresponding with men of letters and founding academies, active in the Molinist controversy and in the cause of the Venetians besieged by the Turks, consumed by the desire of that political power which she had thrown away, and endeavouring to assert her vanished influence to the last. She died, with great composure, in 1689, and was buried, under a sonorous epitaph, in St. Peters.^e

CATTEAU-CALLEVILLE'S CHARACTERISATION OF CHRISTINA

The "daughter of the great Gustavus" as she called herself, had a throne for a cradle; born and educated to reign she held the reins of government with glory for ten years. She had not yet attained the age of thirty, and the faculties of her mind were in their full vigour, when she abdicated her power, seeking rest, leisure, independence, and perhaps still more a fame that might belong to her alone. But this resolution, praised by some, was condemned by others who foresaw its consequences. Christina found herself out of that sphere in which birth, education, and the exercise of power had placed her.

The qualities, even, with which she had been endowed by nature, and which had shone upon the throne, were now a burden and became completely changed under the new circumstances in which she was placed. Her pride, her greatness of soul being constantly irritated by contradiction, she was led into suspicion, jealousy, and fits of passion. Her perspicacity, her discernment, having no occasion to apply themselves to the great interests which decide the fate of nations, descended often to petty intrigue and insignificant combinations. Her imagination, as extensive as it was lively, could no longer work upon matters of real importance and lost itself in a labyrinth of illusionary projects.

But if the picture of Christina's life after her abdication offers several less attractive features, it presents others which cannot fail to win our admiration. In the painful struggle which she was obliged to undertake against obstacles and difficulties, Christina proved more than once that superior souls are masters of destiny and rule over events. Until the last moments of her life, she gave the highest proofs of elevation of sentiment, of force of character, and strength of mind. She had a resource at her disposition which she knew how to profit by, and which no reverses and no disappointments could take from her — in the bosom of literature and art she found compensation and consolation. Surrounded with masterpieces of genius, and being able to appreciate them, she forgot the caprice of fortune which she no longer had the means to thwart, now that she had renounced supreme power. The homage which learned men of letters and artists paid her kept alive the passion for interesting occupation having for aim the extension of the sphere of knowledge and the exercise of the faculties of the mind, by the gift of greater energy and the opportunity for higher flights.

Christina, who, according to her own words, possessed nothing in Rome but herself, made herself beloved by some, feared by others, and esteemed by all. Gilbert Burnett, who during his sojourn at Rome had several audiences with her and who has given an account of his travels, represents the palace of the queen as the home of good manners and good taste. "Her conversation," he says, "and the great variety of topics with which she is familiar make her the most wonderful thing to see in Rome, among the rare things to be found there." Christina's generosity was shown on all occasions. Learned men and artists received proofs of it, and the unfortunate never solicited it in vain. The queen employed more than four hundred people in Rome, and the grief shown by the people at her death proves how much they were attached to her.^d

The following description of this strange woman is one of those quoted by Arckenholtz in his memoirs of Christina.^a

BIELFELT'S CHARACTERISATION OF CHRISTINA

I am going to draw the portrait of Christina. I have studied her long enough to flatter myself that I shall do it with truth, if it were not so difficult to keep from being carried away by affection for her.

Christina's youth showed the superiority of her mind and the greatness of her soul — a thousand talents were born with her and almost as many weaknesses. A certain trait of enthusiasm manifested itself very early in her manner and even in her words. Christina did not know how to be amiable, disdained to be so, or would be so only after her own manner. The girl was always a statesman. Everything that could put her above human nature aroused Christina's admiration. Her soul leaned always towards great things, but her imagination, over sensitive to strong impressions, made

[1632-1697 A.D.]

her sometimes take on the appearance of greatness for its own sake. Extraordinary in all things, she wished but to distinguish herself by great deeds, and did not deign sufficiently to take notice of small ones.

Learned men, who sometimes embellish the mind, but more often spoil it, had perhaps too much control over her in her youth. She loved science with passion, and cultivated it with a success quite remarkable for her station; for she wished to know and fathom all. Tireless in work, assiduous in business, carrying out her plans with more firmness than prudence, incapable of revoking a resolution once taken, she wished to govern entirely alone.

What pleasure for a young girl to rule by the strength of her genius a council composed of old men who joined presumption to the wisdom of experience! To her mind gentleness was a vice and cowardice a crime.

With the most lively taste for pleasure she always shunned marriage, because she feared to find in it that which would bring her under the control of another. Although she knew friendship and her heart was not incapable of tenderness, all her passions were subordinate to the love of glory. This passion, which does not always lead great souls to the best things but often to extremes, is the base on which her whole life rested. She gave up the throne through disgust, say some; for political reasons, say others, or through her licentious life if we must believe the libertines. For me, I think that the desire to do a unique action was the most powerful motive for her abdication. Alexander wished to conquer the whole world. Christina wanted to abdicate an empire. After treating Europe to this astonishing spectacle, she gave it another, less striking, it is true, but quite as extraordinary as the first, in renouncing the faith of her fathers. It was as much through coquetry as curiosity that she travelled in foreign countries.

In Sweden, under control of the law, she had known none, even when she no longer had the power of making them. Monaldeschi was sacrificed less to her glory than to the fierceness of her vengeance, or perhaps to the pleasure of commanding the highest act of authority in the palace of the prince who was most jealous of her power. Everywhere she thought and acted as a queen; she could not suffer her person to be less respected than her dignity and did not hesitate to use her power to make herself obeyed. Such reverses as try the pride of men were added to her own — she supported them with as much insensibility as she had scorn for the great powers. The prince who gathered the fruit of her abdication made her repent it — but what this repentance was we are left to guess. There were contrasts in her character and traits impossible to reconcile, as in the majority of heroes. The great are not gods but only great.^e

REIGN AND WARS OF CHARLES (X) GUSTAVUS

Charles Gustavus, born at Stockholm, son of John Kasimir, duke of Zweibrücken, and the princess Catherine, eldest daughter of Charles IX, had no right to the crown, for though the daughters of a king might succeed to the throne in virtue of the resolution of the diet of Norköping, they and their children were excluded from the succession on their marriage. Nevertheless, at Christina's recommendation, this prince was elected successor to the throne by the estates in 1649. The whole of his reign, which was of brief duration, was disturbed by wars, which prevented him from turning his attention to the finances of the state. By a resolution of the diet of 1655 the recovery of the crown lands, which had been alienated since the death of Gustavus Adolphus, had been determined upon. But the character of Charles Gus-

[1656-1658 A.D.]

tavus and the circumstances in which he found himself turned his thoughts to other enterprises than the consideration of financial questions.

John Kasimir, the son and successor of Sigismund, refused to abandon his pretensions to the crown, and in order to compel him to do so Charles Gustavus invaded the dominions of his enemy with an armed force. The Polish troops, which consisted for the most part of vagabond hordes, offered him but a faint resistance. He was even proclaimed king of Poland by some of the nobles of that country, but as far as his principal object was concerned he had gained nothing. The victory won by the Swedes near Warsaw, after a three days' battle, brought matters no nearer to a decision. Such advantage as he gained by it was largely due to Frederick William [the Great], elector of Brandenburg, who was induced to ally himself with Charles Gustavus by



CHARLES X
(1622-1660)

the rapid progress of the Swedish arms. In virtue of a treaty concluded at Königsberg on the 7th of January, 1656, the elector recognised the duchy of Prussia as a fief of the Swedish crown and promised to pay that power 4,000 ducats on his investiture and to furnish one thousand foot and five hundred horse for its service. This treaty was altered in that same year by the Treaty of Labiau, by which Charles Gustavus bestowed the sovereignty of the duchy of Prussia upon Frederick William on condition that it should revert to Sweden in case of the extinction of the male line of the house of Brandenburg. But Russia having broken the treaty of peace she had concluded with Sweden, and Denmark having declared war against her at the same time, Frederick William hastened to make his peace with the court of

Poland by the Treaty of Wehlau, concluded on September 19th, 1657, and received the sovereignty of Prussia at the hands of John Kasimir.

Charles Gustavus then found himself in a very embarrassing position. The manifesto of the court of Copenhagen was dated June 1st, 1657, and though it was too much to hope that the Swedish troops could be withdrawn from Poland and marshalled to meet those of Denmark so early, yet on the 23rd of July the king at the head of his army appeared within the borders of Holstein, where success followed upon success so rapidly that, having taken Fredericia by storm on the 24th of October, he found himself master of the whole of Holstein, and of all Schleswig and Jutland, with the exception of Glückstadt, Krempe, and Rendsburg.^f Charles' next enterprise may be given in the account of an eyewitness.^g

Terlon's Narrative of Charles X Crossing the Little Belt (1658 A.D.)

Charles X determined to attack the island of Funen, by taking advantage of the ice. As the severe cold which had lasted for several days seemed to offer him an opportunity, he decided to carry out his enterprise, provided the

[1658 A D]

ice was sufficiently strong to bear in safety his army and his artillery. He had sent Chief-Admiral Wrangel in advance, to assemble the troops and keep them ready to march. Arriving on the 8th of February on the shores of the Little Belt, he immediately made some squadrons cross with one hundred dragoons, to seize a small peninsula called Bogen, which stretches out midway into the Little Belt, between the towns of Assens and Middelfart, where the prince went this same day in a sledge, having done me the honour to take me with him.

But Admiral Wrangel learned from those whom the king of Sweden had sent to examine the ice, and to cross over to the island of Funen in case it was strong enough, that it was too weak in the direction in which they were marching. This was indeed true, for he had seen perish before his eyes some of his mounted men. Moreover the Danes, who had come down to the shores of this island with artillery, fired incessantly to break and weaken the ice; and as the Swedish army, which was unsheltered, was very much inconvenienced by the cannon-balls sliding over the smooth surface, except in some spots where there were mounds of ice and snow, where meeting with resistance they dashed violently, he warned the king of Sweden, who thought it best to retire and to put the expedition off till the following day, hoping that the ice would be stronger.

In the meantime the prince made his army encamp along the shore of the Little Belt, and during the whole of the night sent out small parties of men in all directions, to sound the ice and to find out where they could cross most safely. He awaited their news with much impatience and anxiety, taking no rest all night; towards two o'clock in the morning he was informed by the return of his parties and by the report of divers peasants that it had frozen severely all night, and that they could cross on the ice without danger to the island of Funen.

I was at that moment in his room and I saw him that same hour give the order for all his army to advance into the peninsula, which he had seized the preceding day; and to carry out his plan he gave orders for the fight, and commanded that the cavalry should lead their horses by the bridle, and should walk at some little distance from one another, that the cannon also should go at an equal distance so as not to break the ice by too great a weight, until they had passed beyond the current of the sea where it was weaker. He also commanded that the army should arrange itself in battle order when it had crossed, to advance against the enemy which was seen the whole length of the seashore. The king of Sweden crossed so far in a sledge, then he went on horseback, which also I saw as I was always near his person.

The king of Sweden would not advance too quickly, for fear lest the Danes, seeing all his army crossed onto the island, should gain the road which leads into Jutland and Holstein, on the side where the island faces these countries, and by the same road along which the king of Sweden had come into Funen, having left all his army baggage there, so as to go more freely on this expedition. This would have been a great advantage to the Danes, if they had had sufficient foresight to take this resolution, which would have caused much harm to the Swedes; and they would have done better to take this resolve, seeing that they could not prevent the king of Sweden from becoming master of the island as he did.

The king of Sweden, perceiving that the Danish troops were giving way instead of charging him, made the left wing advance briskly, all the more when he was informed that Chief-Admiral Wrangel had repulsed the Danes whom he found before him, and made prisoner the colonel who commanded

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them, with all the officers. This compelled the prince to hasten his march to approach the island, where he learned that Colonel Jens, who commanded all the Danish troops in the absence of General Guldenleu who was very ill, had posted himself in an extremely advantageous place, being sheltered by hedges on one side and by the sea on the other.

Having at last pierced the hedges, he ordered the markgraf of Baden to begin the attack with three squadrons, which he did with such success that he at first overthrew four Danish squadrons; and Chief-Admiral Wrangel, who was on the right of the king of Sweden, charged also at the same time, repulsed and broke likewise all that resisted him. It is true that in one spot, the ice breaking, two companies, one from either side, sank in the sea and were drowned. The king of Sweden lost in this same spot the coach which he generally used, and my chaise met with the same ill luck. The king of Sweden, having seen this accident, had reason to fear that the same thing might happen to him and to all his army, of which he was at the head; but being a dauntless prince, although he well knew the danger in which he was, instead of deciding to turn in the direction of the land, which he could have done without danger, he left the opening of the sea, where his horsemen had perished, on his left, and advanced to meet the enemies who were on the sea at his right; and for fear lest the Danes should make use of this circumstance to take Admiral Wrangel in the rear, the king of Sweden sent Count Toot against them with a Swedish regiment, who in this battle did all that a brave cavalier and a good officer could do.

After all the Danish squadrons were broken, Admiral Wrangel went himself to the Danish infantry who were on the ice, and who were guarding the post where the artillery was stationed, crying out to them to lay down their arms. Colonel Jens recognised him, and not being in a position to resist, begged quarter and gave himself up; the admiral willingly granted quarter to him and to all who wished it; for he felt esteem and friendship for brave officers and for soldiers who showed courage. Moreover, he knew that arms are fickle, and that the bravest are not exempt from the misfortunes of war. Thus all the Danish troops were defeated or prisoners, and flight did not spare two hundred of them.

When the king of Sweden heard of the prisoners who had just been taken, he ordered Major-General Berner to advance with a few regiments against the five hundred cavalry which had just joined the troops the prince had defeated, and General Archamberg was also ordered to go towards Middelfart where six hundred cavalry were on the road for the same purpose. They carried out their orders so well that all the enemy's troops, Danes as well as Germans, surrendered and went over to the side of the Swedish officers. Colonel Jens owned that all the troops in the island of Funen under his command amounted to more than three thousand horse, seven hundred German infantry, and fifteen hundred native militia. This battle made the king of Sweden complete master of the island of Funen.

Before the king of Sweden arrived at Svendborg he detached several small bodies of men to try to pass into Zealand and to ascertain if the ice would bear his army. When he left the table in the evening, some horsemen came and assured him that the ice was so strong that all his army and his cannon could safely cross; and to give a positive proof that they had been into Zealand, they brought before the king of Sweden some peasants whom they had taken prisoners. Thereupon the prince said that he had certainly thought that, since the messenger who had brought him the letters of Chevalier Medoué had been able to cross with his horse, he could also cross with his troops, but

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that very probably he would not have thought of it except for that. On the report of these men the king of Sweden gave orders to sound to horse, and set out accompanied by all his troops.

The intense cold from which I had suffered all day had forced me to retire to my quarters, as much for the sake of warmth as to take some rest. I had scarcely done so when they came to tell me that the king of Sweden had started. I immediately got into my sledge to follow him. I can in truth say that there was something terrible in marching by night on this frozen sea, because the large number of horses which were with the king of Sweden had, while cutting out a road, melted the snow, so that there were more than two feet of water above the ice, and one was always in fear of finding the sea open in any spot. Several of the parties lost their way in the darkness of the night and unfortunately perished, because the ice was either too weak or too shaken along the road which they took. I did four leagues in this way, uncertain whether at every step I took my sledge would not sink into the sea. However, I was fortunate enough to rejoin the king of Sweden.

The Peace of Roeskilde; the Renewal of War

The adventurous prince crossed the successive straits between the islands, and pushed on through the deep snowdrift to Kiøge, about eighteen English miles from Copenhagen.¹ In this extremity, Frederick III of Denmark, whose patriotic ardour was not supported by the Danish nobility, was advised by the rigsråad to sue for peace, and even to purchase it at the sacrifice of losing part of his dominions. Though elated with his singularly good fortune, the conqueror agreed to treat under the mediation of the French and English ambassadors; and within ten days after the landing of the invaders in Zealand the preliminaries were arranged and signed at the small village of Hage-Testrup. By the terms of this convention, affirmed by a definitive treaty subsequently concluded at Roeskilde (1658), the Danish provinces beyond the Sound, Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge, were irrecoverably ceded to Sweden, to which they have ever since remained attached, as also the district of Trondhjem, the northern part of Norway, and the island of Bornholm. The ratification of the peace was followed by an interview between the two sovereigns at the royal palace of Frederiksborg, where his Danish majesty had provided an entertainment for the foreign ministers.

But the grasping ambition of Charles was far from being satiated with this triumph over a rival state; he had observed its weakness, and secretly meditated a renewal of the war. Leaving his army under the command of Wrangel, he crossed the Sound, took possession of his newly acquired territories, and convened the Swedish diet at Gothenburg, to deliberate respecting the schemes of national aggrandisement which he had in contemplation; among which was a plan for the partition of Poland, between himself, the czar, the elector of Brandenburg, and the house of Austria. But Denmark was the object to which his views were more immediately directed. Accordingly, in defiance of the recent treaty, he repaired to Holstein, and being joined by his fleet he once more invested Copenhagen, to the astonishment and consternation of the inhabitants. Frederick threw himself on the patriotism of his people, and adopted the most energetic measures for a vigorous

[¹ In commemoration of this remarkable expedition, Charles caused a medal to be struck, with the legend on one side, "*Transitus gloriosus maris Baltici*, d. 7, Februari, 1658"; and on the other, "*Natura hoc debuit uni*," in allusion to the rare occurrence of the sea being frozen at the passage of the Great Belt.]

resistance. The siege continued three months, during which Wrangel took possession of the strong fortress of Kronborg, the gallant commander being obliged to capitulate by the mutiny of his garrison. In October the long-expected succour from Holland, under Opdam, made its appearance in the Sound. Wrangel, who acted alternately as general and admiral, disputed the passage of the Dutch, and opened a fire from the castles on each side of the strait. The two hostile fleets came into immediate collision, and after an obstinate contest, memorable among the naval achievements of that age, the Swedish squadron was completely defeated and compelled to retire to Landskrona, where it was shortly afterwards blockaded by the enemy. Opdam pursued his course to Copenhagen roads, where he was received with transports of joy by the besieged, who anticipated instant relief. But their hopes were not immediately realised; the rigours of winter had set in, and the ice, whilst it rendered their floating defences almost useless, facilitated the approaches of the besiegers, who made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the city by storm.

During these proceedings, the Swedes were equally unfortunate in other quarters. They had been expelled from Holstein and Schleswig by the Poles and the troops of the elector of Brandenburg, then in alliance with Denmark. They were also driven from the island of Bornholm, and from the province of Trondhjem by an insurrection of Norwegian peasants. In the spring of 1659, an English fleet made its appearance in the Baltic, commanded by Admiral Montagu, whom the protector and the parliament had despatched to watch the motions of the Dutch and enforce an armed mediation between the belligerent powers. The negotiation proving unsuccessful, De Ruyter, who commanded a separate squadron under Opdam, attacked the enemy's fleet, for the purpose of compelling him to evacuate the Danish territory. A battle was fought near Odense, in which the Swedes, almost in sight of their king, were completely routed by the Dutch and the Danes. The fortress of Nyborg was next attacked, and compelled to surrender after a sharp engagement. Eleven regiments of cavalry, the best troops of Sweden, were made prisoners; and of seven thousand who began the action there escaped only the two generals, Saltzbach and Steinbock, with a slender retinue of domestics.

THE DEATH OF CHARLES X; THE TREATY OF COPENHAGEN

This fatal blow sunk deep into the heart of Charles Gustavus; he began to feel that fortune, the deity worshipped by military conquerors, had deserted his cause; but instead of listening to pacific overtures, he only affected to negotiate in order to gain time to concert a plan for the invasion of the southern part of Norway. With this view he once more crossed the Sound and convened the national diet at Gothenburg, that he might obtain the necessary supplies of men and money for the enterprise. But in the midst of these preparations he was seized with a fever, which was epidemic in the camp, and died on the 11th of February, 1660, on the same day and at the same hour when he had made the memorable attack on Copenhagen the preceding year. He expired in the arms of Oxenstierna, at the early age of thirty-six, having appointed guardians to the young prince, his son, who succeeded him under the title of Charles XI, with a regency nominated to govern the kingdom during his minority.

Charles Gustavus bears the character of a bold, warlike, undaunted, but rash monarch, whose ardour for military fame engaged him in the most unjust quarrels, and whose inventive genius, had he lived a few years longer,

[1660-1674 A.D.]

would probably have triumphed over all difficulties, and extorted honourable terms from the different nations with whom he was then at war. On his deathbed, he had earnestly advised the regency to make peace with all the enemies of Sweden; and these injunctions were eagerly fulfilled by the government, who saw in the depressed state of the kingdom sufficient necessity for the immediate cessation of hostilities. The celebrated Treaty of Oliva was concluded in April, 1660, by which the long and deadly feud between the Catholic and Protestant branches of the house of Vasa was extinguished. The late king had made a truce with the czar Alexis, and the Peace of Kardis put an end to the war with Russia. By the present treaty, John Kasimir of Poland finally renounced his shadowy claim to the Swedish crown, which had long before been repudiated by the nation. He ceded at the same time the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and the island of Ösel, which were confirmed to Sweden.

The peace with Denmark met with greater obstructions; but at length all differences were adjusted and the Treaty of Copenhagen was signed on the 10th of June, under the guarantee of the three mediating powers—France, England, and Holland. This pacification embraced the conditions of the late Treaty of Roeskilde, except that the district of Trondhjem and the island of Bornholm were restored to the Danes. The tranquillity of the North was thus established in a manner creditable to Sweden, considering the number and power of her enemies, the length of the war, and the distressing situation in which she was left by the sudden death of the late monarch.^h

CHARLES XI (1660-1697 A.D.)

During eleven years there was nothing to disturb the clear horizon of the kingdom. The regency acted as mediator in the disputes which arose between the maritime powers. They exhibited, too, a disposition to join in the triple alliance for the defence of the Netherlands against France, and they even signed an engagement to that effect; but the gold of Louis XIV was more powerful than the representations of English or Dutch; and a subsidy of 200,000 golden crowns per annum induced them to enter into a close alliance with that monarch. Disastrous was this alliance to the interests of Sweden: it plunged her into a war with Holland, England, Brandenburg, and the emperor, that crippled her energies during the whole of the reign of Charles XI.

In 1672 the king entered on the duties of government. Faithful to his engagement with France, his first step was to send a small army into Brandenburg, less to annoy than to overawe the elector. In 1674, however, he formally declared war against that prince, and despatched Wrangel, one of the veterans who had gained so much celebrity in the Thirty Years' War, to reduce the country. The command was obeyed with a degree of success indicative of the spirit which the great Gustavus had left behind him. The strongest fortresses were taken by capitulation or by assault. But the same year saw the end of these triumphs. During the sickness of Wrangel, the Swedish forces were defeated in several skirmishes and in one general action, and forced to retreat into Mecklenburg. These events led to results still more disastrous: they prevented the accession of states which would otherwise have served as allies; and they encouraged others openly to declare themselves against a power whose German possessions were tempting enough to invite aggression. Denmark, Holland, Luneburg, Munster joined Brandenburg, and put their troops in motion; and the Swedish possessions were

simultaneously assailed on several points, from Bremen to the eastern confines of Pomerania.

Fortress after fortress — Wollin, Wolgast, Wismar, Domgarten, Usedom — was reduced. In 1676 Visby received a Danish garrison. A Swedish fleet was defeated by the combined Danes and Dutch near the isle of Bornholm. Helsingborg, Christianstad, Landskrona, fell before the king of Denmark; Wenersberg and Kristianopol were equally reduced. The result of a great battle near Lund, where Charles and Christian fought in person, was doubtful; both claimed the advantage; but as the latter returned to Copenhagen for new troops, while the former succeeded in the object of the campaign — viz., the relief of Malmo — history must record it to the Swedes. But a naval action near Landskrona was disastrous to them; and they had the mortification of hearing that all the fortresses in Pomerania were, one by one, in the power of the elector of Brandenburg. But Charles was not discouraged: in a second land battle with his rival of Denmark, in which both kings exhibited extraordinary valour, he had the glory of complete success. In Norway, however, and still more in Pomerania, fortune was against him. On the whole, though Sweden never showed more valour, more constancy, she was not a match for all her enemies; and except for the triumphs of France, her great ally, she must have suffered for her imprudence by an alarming dismemberment. To the honour of Louis, he did not forsake his northern friend. In the separate treaties which he concluded with Holland and the emperor, he stipulated for the integrity of the Swedish possessions, as they had been left by the Treaty of Westphalia. The opposition of Denmark to the restoration of the conquests which she had made over her neighbour was overcome by the armed interference of France. In Pomerania and Livonia, as in Bremen and Sweden, Charles recovered, through the fidelity of his ally, that which he had lost through his own imprudence — or rather through the imprudence of his ministers, before he had reached an age sufficiently mature to weigh the consequences of his measures. A separate and subsequent treaty with Denmark, negotiated through the influence of the French ambassador, was strengthened by the marriage of Charles with Ulrica Eleonora, daughter of Christian.

During his minority, Charles had been taught to believe that the regents had abused their trust, and the senate encroached on the just prerogatives of the crown. In the former belief there was probably much truth; the latter served as a pretext for attempting a change in the government. By the constitution (if, indeed, the term has any meaning) the authority of the Swedish kings was extremely limited. They could not make peace in war, they could not impose taxes, they could not originate a law, they could not form or renew a treaty of alliance, they could not try a noble delinquent, without the sanction of the senate or of the diet. But the personal character of the monarch had more influence than custom. If he was of a bold, enterprising character, he could do whatever he pleased; and if his efforts were triumphant, he was never called to account for his outrage on the freedom of the other bodies of the state. If they were unfortunate, he was doomed to the same humiliation as other limited monarchs — to acknowledge his fault, to promise a better government in future, and often to bribe the leading members of the opposition against him. The history of the country is, in reality, a continued struggle between the crown and the other arms of the state. Gustavus I had reigned with absolute authority; so had the second of that name; so had Charles X; while Eric XIV, Sigismund, and Christina had been forced often to bend before the voice of the diet

[1680-1686 A.D.]

Charles XI wished that authority to be recognised by the law itself, and to pass unquestioned by posterity. Under the pretext of taking into consideration the general state of the kingdom, of reforming abuses, and of regulating the amount of taxation to be borne by the different classes of society, he convoked (1680) a diet at Stockholm. That he might encounter the less opposition to the measures which he contemplated, he reverted to the same mode of violence as the most tyrannical of his predecessors — *viz.*, he quartered in the city and its vicinity some of the regiments most attached to his interests. With such means of intimidation, he obtained a decree that the military force of the realm, the only sure support of arbitrary power, should, though in time of peace, remain on the same footing as during the late wars. To meet this charge, he obtained the levy of a tax on the rural population, and certain public bodies.

These measures were only preparatory to others more important. The first was to curtail the authority of the senate, against whom the accusation had been made that they had abused their trust. A commission, entirely of the king's creatures, was formed, to inquire into the origin and extent of that authority, and whether, in its existing state, it was commensurate or not with the spirit of the constitution. The result was a report that the senate did not form an independent or intermediate branch of the state, between the king and the nobles or the burgesses; that it was simply a royal council, with which he ought to advise. This was a severe blow at a body which, whenever the crown was weak or embarrassed, had arrogated to itself functions truly regal; but it did not satisfy him. He declared, and the diet sanctioned the declaration, that he alone was the judge of what affairs ought and what affairs ought not to be laid before it. He therefore raised himself above its influence, and entirely independent of its advice.

But even this was not all. In consequence of these changes, a new official board was appointed, called the grand commission, whose right it was to inquire into all transactions of the ministry, and to punish the excesses and usurpations of the senators. A college of provision was also established for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of lands and lordships granted, sold, mortgaged, or exchanged by preceding kings, either in Sweden or Livonia, since the year 1609, together with all the royal palaces alienated since 1655. An offer was at the same time made on the part of the crown to reimburse the proprietors for such sums as they had originally paid for them. By this proceeding a considerable augmentation was made to the royal revenues, but it ruined vast numbers of the nobility. The clergy likewise evinced their willingness to contribute towards the necessities of the government by offering a fifth of their income to the king, provided they might pay it in kine or brass money.^b The states were again convoked in 1681, contrary to the usual practice of their meeting, except on extraordinary occasions, only once in four years. This diet went further in their concessions than the preceding; declaring by statute that, although the sovereign was enjoined to govern his dominions according to the laws, this did not take from him the power to alter that constitution of his own authority, or to put the kingdom in such a situation as he might think most conducive to its interest and security. The authors of this decision, which rendered the monarch absolute, were the deputies of the burghers and peasants, who overlooked all consequences in their blind zeal to oppose the aristocracy, and bring them down to their own level.

Another blow was struck at this doomed order in 1686, by the extraordinary expedient which the government resorted to of liquidating the public

[1693-1697 A.D.]

debt by raising the nominal value of money without increasing its real worth. The effect of this single transaction was the ruin of thousands, as the state creditors lost by it above nine millions of crowns. These, with a variety of other new measures, so disgusted and irritated the nobility that they sent repeated petitions to court, insisting upon their ancient privileges being respected. Seeing no prospect of redress, they drew up a still stronger remonstrance, which was to be presented to the king by Captain Patkul, a gentleman of Livonia, and one of their deputies, who had already distinguished himself by his bold freedom of speech and his ardent attachment to liberty. The attempt was unsuccessful, and excited resentment instead of procuring relief. An accusation was drawn up against the whole of the remonstrants, all of whom were convicted of high treason; but the chief victim selected for ignominious punishment was Patkul, who was sentenced to have his right hand cut off, and to be deprived of his life, honours, and estates. The University of Leipsic formally declared their opinion that the condemnation was unjust; but neither he nor his colleagues could avail themselves of that decision; he contrived, however, to elude the vengeance of his enemies for a time, by abandoning his native country and taking refuge at the court of Poland.^b The violence of parties having thus thrown down every barrier that could check the unlimited exercise of the royal prerogative, an act was at length passed, in 1693, by which the king was made absolute, the sole depository of the sovereign authority, and entitled to govern the realm according to his will and pleasure, without being responsible to any power on earth.^h

The facility with which Charles thus obtained a legal confirmation of despotism will not much surprise us, if we attend to the condition of society in Sweden. According to Whitelock, the British ambassador at Stockholm during Christina's reign, not the peasants only but the burghers were so completely the slaves of the aristocracy that they durst not openly express any will of their own. Hence they were extending the royal authority, which was always a shield to them against the encroachments of the nobles.^b

The concluding period of this monarch's reign was spent in endeavouring to establish the peace of Europe, and in regulating the political and commercial affairs of his own subjects. To his mediation was owing, in a great degree, the congress at Ryswick, which terminated the war between France on the one side, and Austria, Spain, Holland, and England on the other, but his pacific labours were suddenly arrested by a disorder which cut him off (April, 1697) at the early age of forty-two.^h





CHAPTER XI

DENMARK AND NORWAY IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

[1559-1677 A.D.]

ACCESSION OF FREDERICK II (1559 A.D.)

WE turn back now to take up the story of Denmark and Norway where we left it in an earlier chapter, namely, at the time of the death of Christian III, in 1559.^a It was a novel spectacle in Denmark to see a king ascend the throne without opposition, and an election reduced to a mere formality. Long before his father's death, Frederick had been acknowledged by the two kingdoms. There was no longer any hope to the disaffected in Christian II, as that monarch had paid the debt of nature a few days after Christian III; nor in the discontent of the Roman Catholics, since the number in twenty-three years had so greatly diminished (the result of the entire suppression of their worship) that there were few of the communion left, and in another generation there would not be one. There had long been peace at home and abroad; and so long had the national prosperity increased. The throne of Frederick, therefore, was fully established; and much good was augured from his reign, especially as he had been for some years accustomed, by his prudent father, to the duties of administration.

This monarch has been praised for moderation: he had, however, quite as much ambition. Scarcely had he grasped the sceptre before he resolved to attempt something which should give lustre to his name. Near sixty years had elapsed since the unfortunate invasion of Ditmarsh; and though, owing to the troubles of the times, no effort had been made to wipe out the stain of defeat from the national honour, the design had never been wholly

abandoned. Christian III, indeed, had recognised the independence of the country in the Treaty of Lubeck, 1536; but what monarch ever regarded treaties when he could obtain some advantage by breaking them? To this enterprise Frederick was more induced by his kinsmen of Holstein — *viz.*, his uncles Adolf and John the elder, and his brother John the younger — all with the ducal title, and all eager to extend their territory by the conquest of a country so conveniently situated, and, in some respects, so fertile as Ditmarsh. The Danish nobles were induced, without much difficulty, to engage in a war which might be considered foreign; and an army of twenty thousand men, under the chief command of John Rantzau, led by the king and the dukes in person, took the field, after the publication of an elaborate manifesto, in which a brave and noble people were stigmatised as rebels. A herald was sent, according to the usage of the times, with a declaration of war against them; and such was their indignation that he would have been torn to pieces but for the interference of their magistrates. Owing to the same influence, their reply was a moderate one. They had never, they observed, been subjects of the house of Holstein; and, if any of their people had committed acts of violence on their princely neighbours, they were ready to make such compensation as the laws might award: why, then, should justice be sought by violence, when it was peacefully offered? In vain did they appeal to the common principles of equity: their subjugation was resolved; and their only hope lay in their own right arms.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants, they allowed themselves to be deceived by the report of spies whom they should have distrusted; and, in the belief that Hammer would sustain the shock of the main army, they left a small garrison in Meldorf. (The three fortresses of Tilsburg, Hammer, and Meldorf were the great defence on the side of Holstein — the only side accessible to an army.) The latter fortress was vigorously assailed by the whole army; and was no less vigorously defended. The paucity of defenders was partly compensated by the courage of the women, of whom many appeared in armour, and fought no less valiantly than their husbands or fathers. But the contest was too unequal; the place was carried by assault; and the inhabitants, women and children, as well as men, were barbarously put to the sword. The indomitable valour of the men may be illustrated by the fact that, among the slain, scarcely any were found with less than three or four wounds. But if they were good soldiers, they were bad generals, since they lost Tilsburg by a blunder similar to that which had led to the fall of Meldorf. Their greatest misfortune, no doubt, was the want of defenders in sufficient number; another was that, the season being uncommonly dry, they could not, as they had intended, overflow the country by opening the sluices.

Heide, their capital, and their last bulwark, was next invested. The defence was a noble one; assault after assault was repelled; and, though the besiegers were nearly equal in valour, and vastly superior in numbers, the place would scarcely have been reduced had not Rantzau caused it to be set on fire. Many perished in the flames, many were slain by the sword of the enemy, and many, convinced that resistance was hopeless, escaped. To spare the remnant, the elders tendered their submission. All the males capable of bearing arms — now reduced to four thousand — were assembled in a large plain, and compelled to do homage to the princes of Holstein as “lords of Ditmarsh.” It is some consolation to find that this brave, virtuous, and patriotic community suffered less by the loss of their liberty than might have been expected. Their isolated position still availed them, since it placed them beyond the reach of daily coercion by the myrmidons of government.

[1563 A.D.]

This success gave some *éclat* to the coronation of Frederick, which immediately followed. The capitulation did not much differ from those which had preceded it. He was not to admit any foreigner into the rigsråd, nor to imprison any gentleman, nor to undertake anything important, without the advice of his rigsråd; nor to ennoble anyone not belonging to the privileged classes. The article which declared the Danish monarchy elective was drawn up with more care, lest the claim of the eldest son after the father should be drawn into a precedent. The progress of events, however, was more powerful than the jealousy of the rigsråd; the royal authority was evidently gaining ground; for when Christian, the son of Frederick, reached his fourth year, the rigsråd first and the nobles afterward acknowledged him successor to the united crowns of Denmark and Norway. In regard to the latter kingdom, Frederick asked not for its suffrage: he relied on his father's decree, by which it had been declared an integral portion of the monarchy; and he received, at Copenhagen, the homage of the Norwegian deputies, just as if he had been at Trondhjem. Yet there was some inconsistency in this respect; for in 1582, when the election of the infant prince Christian was confirmed by the Norwegian nobles at Christiania, Frederick by letter thanked them for the act, and declared that it should not be drawn into a precedent injurious to the rights of the estates or the laws of the kingdom. The truth seems to be that, however zealously the Danish monarchs might endeavour to destroy the nationality of the country, they were often compelled to suspend their efforts, and treat it with something like respect.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1563-1570 A.D.)

The most prominent but by no means the most interesting feature of this monarch's reign was the war with Sweden. The position of the two countries to each other was naturally hostile. We have seen with how much difficulty those experienced rulers, Gustavus Vasa and Christian III, had curbed their desire for war. Their two successors were too young, too headstrong, too inexperienced to put equal constraint upon themselves. Both had reasons for complaint, which, though petty in the eyes of a wise prince, were great in those of a rash one. Frederick continued to use the arms of Sweden on his shield; he would not forego the pretensions which the Union of Kalmar afforded him to the crown of that country; and his anger was greater than the occasion required when he saw Eric, in revenge, assume the arms of Denmark. From this period, though the two kings signed a treaty of amity, they regarded each other with ill-feeling, which they still further embittered by a series of vexatious however trifling annoyances.

Frederick was the first to afford just ground for war. In 1563 he arrested three Swedish ambassadors, as they were proceeding to the court of Philip the Magnanimous, landgraf of Hesse, to bring the daughter of that prince to their royal master. The only cause for this rash act was a suspicion that one of the ambassadors was hostile to Denmark! Eric demanded satisfaction; but none was offered. Two other circumstances deepened the animosity, and rendered war inevitable. By some mistake, or rather by that national dislike which was more remarkable between Denmark and Sweden than even between the Scots and the English in the Middle Ages, a fleet which Eric had sent to Rostock, to bring away the princess of Hesse, was engaged by a Danish fleet. Which was the aggressor? This question cannot be satisfactorily decided: probably both were equally culpable. However this be, the Swedes were the victors.

[1568-1570 A.D.]

The mortification of Frederick was extreme; but chance soon placed in his hands the means of irritating his rival more effectually than by the loss of a battle. Eric was a fickle man—in his courtships more than in any other thing. At the very time he was on the eve of celebrating his marriage with the daughter of the landgraf, he was soliciting the hand of two queens, Elizabeth of England and Mary of Scotland. A letter to the former sovereign was intercepted by a Danish officer, who immediately sent it to Frederick. Frederick with joyful malice forwarded it to Philip. Philip contumeliously dismissed the Swedish ambassadors, and bestowed his daughter without delay on Adolf of Holstein. The mediation of friendly powers could no longer obtain a moment's notice; war was declared by both monarchs, and preparations were immediately made for prosecuting it with vigour.

Assisted by the nobles of Holstein and Schleswig, and by the republic of Lubeck, which was indignant at the diminution of its commercial privileges by order of Eric, Frederick, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, landed in Halland, and invested Elfsborg, on the site of which the modern Gothenburg is founded. At the same time a considerable fleet, manned by about five thousand seamen, was ordered to co-operate. On his side, Eric invaded Skåne, leaving a fleet to struggle for the sceptre of the Baltic. The result of the campaign did not correspond with the preparations of either: a naval action was indecisive; and the rest of the season was spent in devastating some portions of the neighbouring provinces. The following year the Swedes had much success in Norway; they even penetrated to Trondhjem; but they lost their conquests with as much rapidity as they were gained.

In the same manner the conquests of Frederick in the south and west of Sweden were equally transient; while a great naval engagement, in which both fleets exhibited all their skill and all their bravery, was no less indecisive. So frequently to both parties was the advantage of one day counter-balanced by the defeat of the next that the whole war might be called a regular alternation of success and failure. What instruction, what entertainment would be afforded by the detail of such events? It must be sufficient to observe that both nations displayed great valour; that the kings and generals of both covered themselves with fame; but that the people, whose resources were exhausted by the conflict, sighed for peace. Hostilities were sometimes suspended by the internal disputes of the Swedes, many of whom were justly dissatisfied with their king, whose capriciousness sometimes assumed a character of insanity. We have seen that a conspiracy, headed by his eldest brother, who assumed the name of John III, hurled him from the throne (1568).

Why the Danish king should remain an almost passive spectator of these disturbances — why he neglected to profit by them, seeing that his aid would readily have been purchased by both parties in the state — has been the subject of much conjecture. Whether he was bribed to this inactivity, or duped by the successor of Eric; whether (a more probable supposition) he hoped to see both parties so weaken themselves by this civil strife, as to become in turn his victims; whether, finally, he could have effected much with an army which often clamoured for arrears of pay, and sometimes broke out into open insurrection — would be idle to inquire. Probably all these considerations, though not equally, contributed to the result. At length, after many ineffectual attempts at mediation by the Protestant states of Germany and by the French king, peace was concluded at Stettin in 1570. The chief articles were that both kings might continue to use the obnoxious heraldic bearings, so that the one would not found upon them any pretensions to the dominions of the

[1580 A.D.]

other; that John should renounce all claim to Skåne, Halland, Gotland, and Blekinge, and restore his Norwegian conquests; that, in like manner, Frederick should restore his conquests, receiving, however, for Gothenburg and its territory (which he had for some time held) a considerable sum of money, payable in two instalments; that the limits of the two kingdoms should remain as they were in the time of Gustavus Vasa and Christian III. Thus a destructive war of seven years ended as most wars do end: both parties were impoverished by it, and both, in other respects, remained as they were at its commencement.

REBELLIOUS FIEFS

Frederick could not, any more than his predecessors, avoid some trouble in regard to Schleswig and Holstein. Three circumstances — the elective form of the government, the attachment of the nobles to their own inordinate privileges, and the partition of the states among the princes of Denmark, to be held by hereditary right — were the source of perpetual troubles. For these dissensions the princes themselves were most to blame. By making all their male children heirs to some portion of territory, by loading them with dowries to females, by lawsuits as to the succession in particular instances, and by constant efforts to render themselves independent of Denmark, they were always at variance, either among themselves or with the royal chief of the family. Much confusion, too, arose from the difference of constitution in the two duchies. Holstein was always a fief of the empire, and therefore subject to the imperial feudal law. Schleswig was a fief of the Danish crown. While the dukes of the former, therefore, did homage to the emperors, those of the latter owed no allegiance, except to the royal Dane. But, ever since the union of the duchies, Schleswig had claimed the same rights as the sister duchy; for the sway of the empire, or rather of the imperial diet, was infinitely preferable to that of the Danish kings. By solemn compact, indeed, the two duchies ought to have shared equal rights, and to have been equally administered. In both, the elective principle, the independence of the local noble, the non-obligation to military service beyond the confines of the territory, and the right of self-taxation were recognised; but unhappily compacts of this nature had seldom any good effect — they were violated by bribery or by open force. We repeatedly read of armed troops being brought into the neighbourhood to overawe the deliberations of a diet. But the means of such coercion were not always, or indeed generally, at hand; so that virtually there was more independence than might be inferred from the arbitrary nature of the royal pretensions.

Still there remained an everlasting apple of discord, the tendency of which it required all the influence of friendly mediators to counteract. In 1580 the elector of Saxony, the duke of Mecklenburg, and the landgraf of Hesse effected a sort of compromise between the rival parties. By it so much was conceded to the dukes that Schleswig was declared a hereditary fief — a principle for which they had vigorously contended, but which the Danish kings had always endeavoured to nullify. On the other hand, those dukes were to receive the investiture from those kings, their liege superiors; and, whenever the welfare of the kingdom required it, to transmit and maintain, at their own cost, a body of troops for its defence. In like manner, the king was to succour the duchy in case of need. As to the disputes between the co-heirs themselves, it was agreed that whenever one of them died the inheritance should not be seized by any of the rest, but that all the rest should

[ca. 1580 A.D.]

nominate commissioners to administer the vacant domain, until all should have amicably and legally determined the matter among themselves. In such agreements, we may observe, no one thought of the rights which had been so frequently and so solemnly guaranteed to the states. New states were treated as if they had no rights — none of deliberation, none of election, none of self-government; they were regarded as in hereditary vassalage to the dukes and the crown. That they should voluntarily concur in so monstrous an assumption was not to be expected. If by physical force they were sometimes constrained to receive the two-fold yoke, they sometimes evaded it. In general, the history of these duchies is merely a history of usurpations of their undoubted rights by the crown and the local dukes.

Frederick had also to encounter some resistance from Hamburg. This city, as we have before observed, was feudally dependent on the rulers of Holstein, to whom it was compelled to do homage. The mere act would have been felt to be derogatory by so great and prosperous a community; but other vassalitic duties were exacted from it. To escape from these obligations, which it was at all times more disposed to resist than to discharge, it petitioned the emperor to elevate it from a feudal to an imperial city — viz., to a position in which it should be recognised as dependent on the emperor only. The privilege was generally purchased from two persons — from the immediate superior and from the emperor; but sometimes it was bestowed as a gratuitous mark of favour. On the present occasion, the dukes seem not to have been consulted; and the emperor was sufficiently disposed to comply with the prayer of the municipality. One at least of his predecessors (Sigismund) had expedited letters patent, conferring on it two or three of the most important privileges enjoyed by the imperial cities. In spite of the protest entered by the dukes, Ferdinand confirmed these privileges, but he proceeded no further.

Nor was the Danish monarch without some anxiety as to Livonia. In the course of this history, it has been shown that some of the Danish kings held the feudal superiority over a portion, at least, of that region and of its immediate vicinity; but that its distance from the seat of power, the restless character of the inhabitants, and, above all, the intrigues of the military order, which aspired to the undivided sovereignty, had induced them to relinquish so precarious, so costly a dependency. So long as they had only pagans to oppose, these knights, though not without difficulty, maintained their establishment in the country; but when they had the archbishop of Riga, and still more the Russian czar, for enemies, they were compelled to solicit the support of foreign princes.

They first applied to Gustavus Vasa; but he was too cautious to embark in so hazardous an enterprise. Their next recourse was to Christian III, who consented merely to purchase the isle of Ösel and the province of Vick for his second son, Magnus. The bargain, however, was not concluded during the lifetime of that monarch, and Frederick on his accession, had the choice either of completing it or of surrendering to his brother a portion of Holstein. He chose the former; and after some negotiation purchased the isle in question, and the diocese of Courland from the Teutonic knights. Their object in the sale was to secure the aid of Denmark against the czar, who, they well knew, would soon disturb the new duke in his possessions.

On the other hand, the dislike borne by the inhabitants, not merely to the Russians but to the military aristocracy, which had so long tyrannised over them, seemed to afford an excellent opening for the establishment of a new and not inconsiderable empire in the vast regions on the eastern coast of the

[1583 A. D.]

Baltic. Magnus was received with much joy. The bishop and chapter of Revel, the governor of Sonnenburg, and other authorities, submitted to him. But the armies of the czar soon compelled him to forsake the continent, and seek refuge in the isle of Ösel. Deceived in his hope of a protector, Kettler, the grand master of the Teutonic knights, sold his superiority over Livonia to the king of Poland. The price was the duchy of Courland and Semgallen, which he was to hold hereditarily from the Polish king. This arrangement was a blow at the policy of Frederick, who was expected to arm in its defence. But he remained indifferent to events which only concerned his brother. Rend, menaced by the Russians, and despairing of aid from either of those princes, besought that of Eric, the Swedish king. Eric obeyed the call, raised the siege, and was acknowledged sovereign, not merely of that territory but of the greater part of Esthonia. To preserve the isle of Ösel and the small portion of Courland which still belonged to him, and for which he seems to have done homage to the Polish king, Magnus made overtures of peace to the czar, Ivan IV. Three years of tranquillity followed, which were employed by Magnus and his brother in spreading the reformed doctrines over the new duchy.

But Magnus had not the stability of character to remain quiet. His intrigues with Russia led to his recognition as king of Livonia by the czar, who sent him troops to expel the Swedes, the Poles, and the Germans. Though he was assisted also by his brother, he made no impression on the enemy; and the pacification of Stettin soon deprived him of Frederick's support. Add that he was unpopular with those whom he wished to subdue, and we may account for the coolness which the czar began to show towards his royal vassal. Nor was this the worst: coolness was succeeded by studied insult; he was once imprisoned — his life was in danger, and he fled with precipitation to the court of the Polish king, against whom he had hitherto been fighting. As the vassal of that monarch, he held Ösel, with two Courland provinces, until his death in 1583. Frederick now claimed the succession; so did the king of Poland: but, through the mediation of the duke of Prussia, a compromise was effected, by which Frederick retained the island, but surrendered the Courland domains to the Pole for 30,000 crowns. This was a wise arrangement: the latter could not long have been held by a power so distant and with so small a military force as Denmark.^b

THE LAST YEARS OF FREDERICK II

The remainder of Frederick's reign was devoted to the peaceful pursuits of internal administration. His active zeal for the Protestant religion, though doubtless sincere, was tarnished by bigotry and the intolerant maxims of the age. The unity of the Lutheran doctrines was jealously guarded by civil penalties; and one of the most learned professors in the University of Copenhagen, Hemmingius, was deposed for the imaginary offence of publishing in Latin a treatise on the Eucharist, which was supposed to lean towards the Calvinistic interpretation of that symbolical ordinance. The elector of Saxony had caused to be established, in his own and several other states of the empire, a "formulary of concord" (*Konkordienformel*), which he sent to Frederick; but the latter rejected it with indignation, as an element of discord, and even prohibited the introduction and sale of all books in which its tenets were explained or defended.

Denmark, like other Protestant countries, might have derived advantage from the arts and industry of the persecuted subjects of the Netherlands, exiled

[ca. 1583 A.D.]

by their bigoted princes for the crime of religious non-conformity; but they were expelled from her inhospitable shores by an edict requiring all foreigners settled in the kingdom to subscribe to the articles of faith professed by the national church, otherwise to be banished the realm. The intolerance of Frederick in theological matters was in some measure redeemed by his bountiful patronage of learned men, and especially of Tycho Brahe, the first Danish philosopher whose fame had extended beyond the narrow confines of his native land.^c

TYCHO BRAHE AT HVEN

King Frederick granted Tycho for life the free disposal and proprietorship of the island of Hven, situated three leagues from Copenhagen. The circum-



TYCHO BRAHE
(1546-1601)

ference of this fertile little island is about three leagues. Its principal building, which received the name of Uranienborg, was a veritable castle built on the central plateau of the island a quarter of a league from the sea. With the luxury of a great lord and the intelligence of a learned astronomer Tycho united to the formalities of a pompous existence all the conditions favourable to the study of astronomy. In apartments decorated with paintings and statues, ingenious inscriptions recalled the progress of the science of the heavens and the memory of the most famous astronomers.

In this retreat Tycho, raising himself above the pleasures of the world and the troublesome tumult of the court, set out to acquire a new nobility, of a kind unknown to his illustrious ancestors, and to give their name more brilliance than any he had received from them. Around the castle soon sprang up workshops for construction and repair, a printing establishment

for the publication of completed writings, and buildings of all sorts destined to receive numerous instruments whose delicate precision would have been deranged by the vibration of the castle floors. Finally chemical laboratories permitted, in accordance with the ideas of the age, the mingling of the study of the stars with that of the metals under their influence. About twenty young men chosen from the cleverest students of the Danish universities were employed in making observations and calculations. Real astronomical apprentices, they learned from seeing their master work; guided by the enthusiastic and communicative spirit of the chief, the little colony soon seemed to form but one family. Without jealousy as without personal ambition, these well-born young men, united by the same ties which bound them to science, preoccupied by the same problems, and interested in the same phenomena, inspired one another by mutual and cordial assistance.

The works of Tycho assure him a place among great scientists of all time, but it is especially on account of his patient application and incessant assiduity to the detail of each day's regular operations that astronomy is so indebted to him. His dearest ambition was the formulation of exact tables of the plan-

[ca. 1588 A.D.]

etary movements, and his entire life was one long preparation for this immense work, which he did not finish but of which he left us all the elements.

He brought the construction and knowledge of the use of instruments to a perfection unknown before his time, and these things still remain among his principal achievements, in spite of the immense progress of his successors. The first to realise the great importance of the circumstances under which measurements must be taken, he did not fear to have recourse to indirect determinations in seeking in calculation the data whose observation seemed to him very inaccurate. For Ptolemy's and King Alfonso's armillary spheres he substituted the mural circle to determine directly the declination of the stars. The imperfection of his time-keeping instruments did not permit him, it is true, to measure right ascensions directly; he had to obtain them by solution of the spherical triangle, and the resultant values, although far from exact, surpassed greatly in their precision all that had been obtained hitherto.

After thirteen years of constant labour pursued with indefatigable patience, the news of King Frederick's death came to disturb the little astronomical colony and to trouble its laborious and harmonious tranquillity. The heir to the throne, the young Christian IV, had always shown towards Tycho an affectionate esteem; but, although keeping their official status, the inhabitants of Uranienborg, distressed by cruel anxieties, no longer possessed the spirit of freedom necessary to their work. Tycho had preserved all the pride of his race, and in consecrating his life to science, he believed that he had not lessened its dignity and worth. Although naturally cordial and full of courtesy, he knew, on occasions, how to remind the haughtiest nobles that the king's will made him all-powerful on his island and to return disdain with disdain. He thus made many enemies. Physicians never forgave the often good advice he gave the sick or the remedies he prepared and distributed generously, even outside the limits of his island. These formidable enmities did not show immediately on the surface. They confined themselves to mingling artfully truth with falsehood, to slowly prejudicing the king's mind by the vague expressions of an almost universal malevolence. The little weaknesses of Tycho's pride were brought up, he was accused of affecting a complete independence and assuming an excessive and unlimited authority on his island. His detractors enumerated the privileges and uninterrupted liberties of fifteen years; they totalled up the sums expended in satisfying a vain ostentation and useless curiosity; they insinuated that it was time to put an end to such waste and prodigality; they bitterly criticised Tycho's pomp and style, the splendour and arrangement of his buildings, the richness of their equipment, and the sumptuousness of his hospitable board. After eight years of annoyance, public opinion declared against the astronomer and a commission was appointed to decide whether the establishment of Uranienborg, whose fame had attracted the attention of all Europe, had been of sufficient benefit to astronomy to justify the generosity of the late king.

Tycho, disdaining a useless fight, returned neither answer nor apology to his enemies. The commission, completely ignorant of astronomy and incapable of understanding the results achieved at Uranienborg, was still less able to foresee their consequences. They were declared unhesitatingly to be completely sterile and fruitless for the state. Tycho was retired on a royal pension, which meant that he had to leave his island, where the necessary expenditure greatly surpassed the resources that now remained to him. Tycho, indifferent to his interests and almost careless as to his own affairs, had added, without taking any account, his own private wealth to the benefits supplied by the king, and had gradually sold his patrimony and merged the

proceeds in the common fund. He was therefore threatened with utter ruin, but nevertheless remained full of dignity in his misfortune and wrapped himself in complete silence, making immediate preparations for departure. Protected by his renown and like a king driven into exile, he felt sure of finding somewhere an asylum and honourable hospitality. His misfortunes were moreover those of a great nobleman. He fitted out a vessel for himself and his belongings and embarking, with his wife, nine children, and a few devoted disciples, quitted forever the temple of astronomy where he was not to be permitted to end his days. He betook himself to his friend Count Rantzau, governor of Holstein, bringing with him his consolation and his glory — namely, the precious instruments and manuscripts accumulated during twenty-one years of assiduous observation and laborious calculation. The celebrity of Uranienborg attracted infrequent visitors for some years to the island of Hven, but the marks of its past greatness rapidly vanished. The buildings soon went to ruins, and their materials were taken away by the fishermen. And when in 1671 the Paris Academy of Sciences sent Picard to determine the latitude of Tycho's observatory, as Tycho himself had been sent to determine that of Frauenburg, there were no vestiges of the castle to be seen, and it was necessary to dig in the ground in order to discover the foundations.^d

THE MINORITY OF CHRISTIAN IV

In following out the story of the great astronomer, we have anticipated our chronology. There remained, however, nothing further to record of Frederick II, beyond noting his death at Copenhagen in 1588. He was succeeded, as already mentioned, by a son who became famous as Christian IV, and whose relations with Tycho Brahe have just claimed our attention.^e As Christian was only eleven years old on his accession, there was necessarily a regency. The office was claimed by the queen-mother, and by one of the king's uncles; but the senate excluded both, and resolved to elect a council of regency from its own body. Four of the number, including the grand marshal and the high admiral, were thus chosen; but they were not to undertake anything of importance without the concurrence of their sixteen colleagues (the number of senators was not fixed: it varied continually; but at the period before us it was twenty). They were, in fact, to exercise just the same degree of authority as the king himself would exercise when he reached his majority, *viz.* his twentieth year. All four were men of great experience and of acknowledged ability; and they exercised their trust in such a manner as to afford much satisfaction to the nation at large.

Minorities have generally been seasons of trouble; and if the present was not, the honour must be awarded to the able government of the regents. Many events occurred which would otherwise have disturbed the public tranquillity:

(1) The nobles were the first to show their dissatisfaction. Offended at their exclusion from the administration by the *rigsraad*, they hoped to gain their object by complaints of grievances which had no real foundation. Not only was redress denied them, but they were rebuked for their notorious selfishness, in preferring their own interests to the well-being of the community. (2) Pirates were infesting the coasts of Jutland and Norway; but they were soon dispersed. (3) But the most formidable antagonists of the regency were the nobles of Schleswig and Holstein. Now was the time for reasserting their ancient rights of election — a right which the armies of Danish kings had overpowered. When required to put the king and his brothers in pos-

[1588-1599 A.D.]

session of the territories which belonged to them, they replied that they could not recognise those princes and dukes of Holstein without a legal election. The ministers of Denmark were compelled to acknowledge the right: they agreed that when the king reached his majority he should guarantee the same privilege, and confirm all their other privileges. If he did not, then the homage now required from the estates should be null and void, and a new election might be made. With this guarantee the estates were satisfied; and they elected both the king and his kinsmen as dukes of Holstein. In regard to Schleswig, which equally claimed the right of election, there was less difficulty. This duchy was held to be a movable fief of the crown; and the dukes, when elected, were bound to receive investiture from the crown. On the present occasion, it was not a little singular to see the king himself, as duke of Schleswig, receive by his representative the ensigns of his dignity from the hands of the regents. After this act, the representatives of the king received the homage of both duchies in the diet of Flensburg. (4) Norway had its complaints, which every order of the estates, nobles, clergy, burgesses, peasants laid before the regency. This obstacle was removed with equal address. A guarantee was given that these grievances should be examined, and, if possible, redressed. There was confidence in the promise, and homage was done to the young monarch by the estates assembled at Christiania. Nor was the promise a vain one: every real complaint was redressed by the Danish senate. The manner in which the Norwegians had been treated may be inferred from one fact — that of all the crown fiefs in that kingdom three only had been conferred on natives. Henceforth, the natives only were to be invested with them. Yet the regency was not wholly blameless in its conduct towards this country. It, or rather the rigsråd, imposed contributions without the consent of the estates, or of the Norwegian senate itself. (5) Sweden was more difficult to manage; but some conferences between deputies of the two nations prevented the outbreak of hostilities. (6) The encroachments of Russia and Sweden on Norwegian Lapland were resisted — by negotiation, indeed, but not the less effectually. Nor were these the only benefits conferred on Denmark by the regency: it encouraged the arts, commerce, literature, and every branch of national industry. In short, it made the kingdom happy at home and respected abroad.^b

CHRISTIAN'S ACCESSION; THE KALMAR WAR

Christian IV assumed the government [the regency being terminated] in 1596. He was a monarch full of force and desire to do good, and possessed the qualities necessary to a prince who wishes to work successfully for his state. Norway, which had been so neglected under his predecessors, soon attracted the attention of the young king. From his very advent to the throne, he made one or more journeys annually to that country and continued them to an advanced age, even to the year before his death, without being deterred by the fatigues of the long sea trip.

During his numerous visits to Norway he worked, by judicial reform, by a rigorous maintenance of equity, and by a strict surveillance over the internal administration of the realm, to repair the mistakes of his predecessors. One of the most remarkable of these voyages was the one he made in 1599 with a fleet in which he himself served as captain. He sailed along the north coasts of Norway, rounded the North Cape, and went as far as the gulf of Kola, reconnoitring the shores, harbours, and mouths of rivers, and carefully exploring the northeast boundary of Norway and Sweden. The special purpose

[1600-1618 A.D.]

of this trying voyage, when he was once in danger of death, was the claim that Sweden had raised with regard to a part of Norwegian Finmarken. On another voyage he dismissed the government official Peter Grubbe, as he had previously dismissed Louis Monk, both of whom had been guilty of the most shameful injustice and exorbitant exactions. Between the years 1600 and 1604 all the judiciary officials (*Lagmænd*), with the exception of two, met the same fate on account of their corrupt administration.

The desire long nourished by the king of improving Norwegian legislation was realised in 1604, when the new Norwegian code, which for the most part was drawn up by the chancellor of Norway, Hans Pedersen Basse, was promulgated. This code was followed in 1607 by the ecclesiastical regulations for Norway. In fact, throughout the country where the influence of the *rigsraad* and nobility was slight, the king had freer hands; but in Denmark he had, from the first year of his reign to fight the opposition of the nobility in all measures of public utility. In 1604 Christian called together at Horsens representatives of all the Jutland towns, to discuss with them as to what could be done to further the prosperity of the towns and the progress of commerce; but as soon as the *Rigsraad* and the Jutland nobles got wind of this dangerous affair they addressed to the king such earnest and pressing remonstrances that he was obliged to countermand the assembly.

The misunderstanding that had long smouldered between Christian IV and the Swedish king Charles IX finally kindled into open hostilities in the Kalmar War [(1611), which we have already described in an earlier chapter of the present book].

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION (1613-1625 A.D.)

The fortunate issue of the Kalmar War was followed by the most prosperous period of Christian IV's reign, from 1613 to 1625, the date of his participation in the Thirty Years' War; and during this interval Christian displayed all the rare qualities which have accorded him so high a place among the kings of Denmark. Science, commerce, industry, legislation, and fortification — all were in the highest degree the object of his tireless energy.

In order to induce his own subjects to participate in the benefits of trade with Iceland which, up to now had been largely in the hands of foreigners such as the English and the members of the Hanseatic League, he founded the Iceland Company in 1602 to which the trade with Nordland and Finmarken was afterwards assigned. He also established a "drapers' company," from which all the servants of the court obtained their clothes; also "silkmen's" and "salters'" companies: the ships of the latter went to France and Spain after salt. Christian IV encouraged shipbuilders to construct large vessels for long sea voyages, and to arm with cannon not only for protection against the still numerous corsairs and pirates but for service, in case of necessity, in defence of the realm. These were the days when the Portuguese and the Dutch were rapidly growing rich in trade with the East Indies. The king, anxious that Denmark should share in this source of wealth, founded an East India Company in 1616.

It was for the sake of this trade that he sought to acquire some possessions in the East Indies and at the instigation of a Dutch adventurer named Boshouwer sent (1618) a fleet to Ceylon in command of Admiral Ove Gjedde. The attempt on this island failed, but instead the town of Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast was captured; here the fortress of Dansborg was built, and a flourishing trade kept up for a long time. Christian IV tried very hard to

[1619 A.D.]

get in communication with Greenland and recover the eastern colony (Öster-boigd), the route to which had long been forgotten. He sent out four voyages of discovery to the northern regions; the first two were under the command of Admiral Lindenov, the third of the Holstein navigator Richardson, and the fourth of Jens Munk (1619). This last expedition was a search for a passage by the north of America to Asia — a passage which all the maritime powers of Europe were actively looking for at that time, and which had a special importance for Christian IV, since he had acquired possessions in the East Indies and established commercial relations with those lands. Jens Munk did not succeed, but he immortalised his name on this voyage by his unshaken courage and the rare talents for navigation that he displayed. He reached 63 degrees north latitude and was then frozen in and compelled to winter on a desert island where the crew suffered so from the cold that two alone of his men survived with him. So desperate a situation did not discourage him, however. With his two companions he re-embarked in one of the two ships he had brought with him and reached Denmark in safety the following year. While these costly and perilous voyages did not attain their desired ends — the discovery of a northwest passage and the ancient eastern colony of Greenland — they were successful in discovering the western shores of that country where a Greenland company founded for that purpose began to send out ships for the whale fishery. Christian IV got more happy results from his other efforts in favour of Danish commerce, which became so flourishing in this prosperous period of his reign that several towns attained a high degree of wealth and the merchant fleets of Denmark were to be seen in the most distant seas.

In 1615 he established a standing army of five thousand men, the first Denmark had had since the abolition of the *thingmannalid*. The soldiers were recruited from the peasants of the crown and garrisoned in the towns, and they were constantly exercised in the use of arms under the direction of officers who had distinguished themselves in the Kalmar War. Their pay and equipment were furnished from the king's privy purse. In 1598 Christian had organised a complete burgher militia (*borgervåbning*) in the towns, where he also raised fifteen hundred boatswains (*baadsmænd*) who were drilled in all sorts of seamen's duties at the arsenal of Bremerholm (Copenhagen), and formed a permanent nucleus for the manning of the fleet. The "new huts" (*nyboder*) were built to lodge this permanent force and the School of Navigation was founded for their instruction.

Christian IV was likewise a most energetic legislator. Besides the Norwegian law (1604), and the ecclesiastical regulations for Norway (1607), he published the *Small Recess* in 1625; the *Law and Procedure of the Kingdom* (*Rigens Ret og Dele*) in 1621; the *Seignorial Laws* (*Birkeret*) in 1623; and in 1643, the *Grand Recess*, which included all the ordinances and laws issued



CHRISTIAN IV
(1577-1648)

since his accession in 1596. He did not limit himself to making laws, but looked after their execution as well.

CHRISTIAN IV AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

For twelve years Christian IV had devoted himself to the labours of peace, when he was a second time compelled to take up arms. The Thirty Years War was then desolating Germany, and the Protestant princes, who were on the point of being crushed by the imperials, appealed in their distress to Christian IV, who was elected director of the "circle" of Lower Saxony and commander-in-chief of the army. His German allies had made brilliant promises to decide him to take their cause in hand, but at the crucial moment they failed to keep them; nor did Holland, France, and England, which had promised him large financial aid, fulfil their obligations. The consequence was that the king, in spite of his courage and strategic ability, conducted a disastrous campaign. The success he had in the beginning came to an end when he fell from his horse from the top of the ramparts of Hameln, an accident that incapacitated him from command for a long time. After a desperate and long-drawn-out struggle which lasted from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon, he was vanquished by the Bavarian general Tilly at the battle of Lutter-am-Barenberge (1626). This defeat placed Denmark at the enemy's mercy, and the following year, under Tilly and Wallenstein, they seized Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland.

Wallenstein tried after this to make himself master of the Baltic and thus to complete the conquest of Denmark, but Christian IV defeated this plan with the aid of his fleet and prevented all attempts from that quarter. As he could expect no help from his allies, and as the situation of the kingdom was becoming more critical every day, and the rigsråd besides was pressing him by prayers and even threatening remonstrances to make peace, he finally, in 1629, resolved to conclude the Treaty of Lübeck. He promised to interfere no further in the affairs of Germany and gave up the dioceses of Bremen, Verden, and Schwerin, which he had previously acquired for his sons Frederick and Ulrik. The terms were comparatively favourable, but Denmark was left in a melancholy plight, all the resources of the state were dissipated, and half of the kingdom, Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, had been two years occupied by an enemy who had ravaged these countries to a frightful extent. A well-organized state, under such a king as Christian IV, would have recovered its forces, but Denmark was dominated by an egotistic and unpatriotic nobility, whose stubborn refusal to stand a share of the public expenditure brought to nothing all the king's attempts to restore the nation. So the situation became worse and worse; fourteen years later a still more ruinous war broke out, and still ten years later a third, which brought Denmark to the very brink of destruction. In this state of public distress it became evident that a new spirit was beginning to animate the people and that they were no longer willing to endure patiently the tyranny of the nobles.

Christian IV was constantly increasing the Sound dues, and he believed himself the more justified in doing this, since he fitted out annually and at great expense a considerable fleet for the protection of navigation in the Baltic during the general European war. This increase in the tariff, joined to the king's pretension of being master of that part of the North Sea which lies between Norway and Iceland, aroused much discontent and provoked many protests from all the maritime powers, especially the Dutch and the English. But all complaints remained without result while Denmark was

[1642-1644 A.D.]

flourishing and in possession of a formidable navy. When, however, the king, pressed for funds after the war with Germany, raised the Sound dues so that a ton of saltpetre, for example, had to pay 14 rix-dollars to the customs, in spite of the protests of the Dutch, that nation entered into a close alliance with Sweden and watched for an opportunity to get away from Denmark those provinces lying to the east of the Sound.

WAR WITH SWEDEN

Sweden was very sore against Denmark because Christian opposed her great schemes of conquest in Germany, and also because through his mediation an end had been put to the bloody Thirty Years' War in such a way that Sweden did not gain much advantage from it.

The able minister Oxenstierna determined to send against Denmark one of the Swedish armies then in Germany and thus compel the inopportune mediator to take part in the struggle — a well-arranged plan in view of the bad condition of Denmark, which was not at all prepared for war. Christian had long feared the hostile designs of Sweden and earnestly exhorted the nobility and the rigsråd to furnish him the means to put the kingdom in a state of adequate defence, but the rigsråd was as indifferent and lacking in foresight as the nobility were indisposed to make sacrifices for their country. When Torstenson made such ominous progress in Germany, in 1642, Christian renewed his insistence before the rigsråd and declared for his own part and that of his successors that he would not be responsible for what might happen; but the council refused to adopt measures for the security of the realm. And when the Swedish general made a sudden descent upon Holstein, in 1643, without war being declared, there was not the slightest preparation to resist the enemy. Duke Frederick betrayed Denmark a second time by making a separate peace with Torstenson, who in a short time occupied the whole Nordalbingian territory. At the same time another Swedish army invaded Skåne. Like the one in Jutland it had to be transported to the islands of the Belt by a Swedish-Dutch fleet, collected in order to complete the conquest of Denmark.

But Christian was watching over his kingdom; and, although sixty-seven years of age, he displayed in this hour of peril the same indefatigable zeal that marked the best years of his manhood. He rushed from one province to another, from the fleet to the army, and from land to sea, and wherever he was the enemy's efforts were unavailing. However, the squadron which was bringing the Swedish army to the islands put to sea, and appeared before the island of Femern. Christian with thirty ships went to meet the enemy's fleet of forty-six, and came upon them in the roadstead of Kolberg near Femern, where on the 1st of July, 1644, was fought a desperate battle, three times interrupted and recommenced. The aged king took the command himself in his ship *Trefoldighed* (*the Trinity*) which was exposed to the enemy's hottest fire and which for a time had to fight unsupported. The king had already received several wounds when a ball struck a timber of the ship with such force that the flying splinters killed or wounded a dozen men in the king's immediate vicinity and he himself lost his right eye and several teeth. The shock threw him unconscious to the deck, and the crew believing him dead uttered lamentable cries and began to lose courage. But the king, covered with blood, raised himself suddenly and exclaimed, "No! God has still spared me life and strength to fight for my country while each of you does his duty." He took up his position on the deck, standing with bandaged head, and his

sword for support, and continued the fight until nightfall, when the enemy retired in a badly battered condition.

The Swedish fleet sought refuge in the gulf of Kiel, whither the king sent Admiral Peter Galt to blockade it, with strict orders not to let it escape. It managed nevertheless to get away, thanks to the unpardonable negligence of Peter Galt, who afterwards paid the capital penalty.

Denmark Humiliated

The Dutch and Swedish fleet, making together sixty-four ships, effected a junction and unexpectedly attacked a Danish fleet of but seventeen in the waters around Laaland. The Danish admiral Pros Mund and his men fought like heroes, but succumbed to the greatly superior force; the whole Danish fleet was annihilated, but the conquerors suffered such great losses that they were compelled to take to the shore. Denmark was now in the most critical condition; the western portions, Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, were in the hands of the enemy under Torstenson and Wrangel, who conducted themselves with extreme barbarity. In the eastern portions of Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge also, the Swedes had made great progress, while the Swedish-Dutch fleet held possession of the sea. Denmark's sole ally, the emperor of Germany, rendered no service, for the imperial general, Gallas, who was sent with an army into Holstein, did so little that he became the laughing-stock of his friends as well as of his enemies. Christian IV, therefore, was compelled in spite of himself to seek an arrangement, the terms of which could not be otherwise than unfavourable. But when he learned the excessive claims formulated by the Swedish negotiators, his courage and his anger rose afresh. He convoked the estates and asked if they would not rather fight than endure the enemy's ignominious exactions. The burgher and clerical orders gave an almost satisfactory reply, but the nobility counselled peace "whatever the conditions might be," and the rigsråd was of the same opinion.

The Peace of Brömsebro (1645 A.D.)

The king had consequently to bend to the laws of necessity, and, by the Peace of Brömsebro (1645) he exempted Sweden from all customs-duty in the Sound and the Belts, ceded her Herjeådalén, Jemtland, and the islands of Gotland and Ösel, and, as guarantee for exemption from customs duty, gave her Halland in pledge for thirty years, after which that province could be exchanged for another. The exemption produced a sensible deficit in the Sound dues which, from 300,000 rix dollars, fell to 80,000. This great diminution, however, came not only from the Swedish exemption but still more from the use that other nations made of their flag, an abuse it was impossible to prevent since the Swedes were exempt from the visitation at Elsinore. It must also be added that the dues were lowered for the Dutch; indeed, the very day the peace was signed at Brömsebro a treaty with Holland was concluded at Christianopol, by which a new tariff most advantageous for the latter state was adopted, a tariff which was afterward extended to the other maritime nations. The history of Denmark in the last three years of Christian IV's reign presents the melancholy picture of a ruined and exhausted country, and of a most meritorious king daily insulted and humiliated by an arrogant rigsråd and an ill-disposed nobility.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CHRISTIAN IV

Christian IV died in 1648 A.D. He was one of the most remarkable monarchs Denmark ever had. The failure of several of his enterprises should not tarnish his glory, for these checks were due either to unfortunate circumstances for which he was not responsible or to the perversity of the nobility, who preferred their own welfare to the public good. He was animated by a deep appreciation of his duties as a monarch and a lively affection for the people he had been called upon to govern. Few kings have been gifted with the tireless energy with which he attacked all the affairs of state, the least as well as the most important; and his task was facilitated not less by his strong and healthy constitution than by the very varied knowledge he acquired in his youth. He had an open character, affable to everyone, great or small; he was pious, just, personally brave in the highest degree, a good general, and a still abler admiral. His countrymen have daily before their eyes monuments to his artistic tastes, but his great virtues and his truly patriotic spirit have raised in every Dane's heart a still nobler monument which will be transmitted to the most distant generations.²

THE NOBLES IN CONFLICT WITH FREDERICK III

The transmission of the crown from father to son during so many reigns was beheld with much antipathy by the proud nobles of Denmark. They exclaimed that their liberties were in danger; that the royal power would soon become too strong for the other orders of the state. But what order had any influence besides themselves? The burghers were allowed none; the clergy, since the Reformation, had been in this respect a cipher; and as to the royal authority, so far from being augmented during the late reign, it had lamentably declined.

The truth is that the country was in the hands of an aristocracy which would have been glad to destroy the very name of king; but as this was too bold a step, considering the age at which Prince Frederick had arrived, his experience in public affairs, and the confidence reposed in him by the bulk of the people — especially by the burghers and the clergy — they determined to rule through a king — to make him merely their instrument for their exclusive aggrandisement. The four great officers of the crown *viz.*, Ulfeldt, the grand master, Sehested, the grand chancellor, Bilde, the grand marshal, and Gjedde, the grand admiral — were by the rigsråd, immediately invested with the regency. Ulfeldt was suspected (and his conduct at every period of his life confirms the suspicion) of aspiring to the crown himself, in right of his wife, the daughter of Christina Munk. The marriage of Christian IV with this lady was what the Germanic law terms a left-handed one. She was the wife but not the queen of Christian. But if she had belonged to the noblest house in Europe, Ulfeldt would not have succeeded in the object of his ambition. The bare suspicion of its existence hastened the election of Frederick.

We have had frequent opportunities of observing that the election was made by the rigsråd; that the nobles were merely required to confirm the choice; and that the burghers, though assembled, were mere spectators. The Catholic clergy had been in possession of some influence; but the reformed ministers had never exercised any. Now, however, the burghers first, and the clergy in imitation, when commanded rather than desired to approve the choice of the rigsråd, protested against their exclusion. They were

summoned, observed their speaker, the rector of Copenhagen University, to deliberate with the other orders. The members of the rigsråd were equally surprised and indignant at this unexpected encroachment on their time-honoured rights; the burghers were equally sturdy: and much angry altercation followed, which might have led to an open quarrel had not all parties been friendly to Frederick's election. It is pleasing to behold this growing spirit of liberty in a body which, two centuries before, would have crouched to the earth before their feudal tyrants. This was their first stand; and the precedent, as we shall soon perceive, was not forgotten.

But if the nobles were thus opposed, they had reason enough for triumph in the articles of capitulation which they had devised. One of them took from the king the right of nominating members to the rigsråd. When a member of that formidable body died, the nobles of the province in which he was born were to present a list of six or eight names to the rigsråd, which would select one of them without consulting the king. By another, the crown had no longer the power to appoint the viceroy of Norway, or any of the four great officers we have mentioned. By a third, he could not leave the realm without permission of the rigsråd. By another, he could not, in the slightest degree, modify any decree of that body. If, to these new restrictions, we add those which had so long existed that he could not make peace or war, form a new or dissolve an old alliance; that he could not refuse to invest the nobles with the crown fiefs; that he had no voice in the rigsråd where "the general good was concerned," we shall perceive that not even the most limited president of a republic had so little authority as this crowned head. All this was the result of the continued usurpations of the nobles, who trampled alike on king and people, on the clergy and the burghers. But their domination was about to end.

Like his predecessors, Frederick looked with jealousy on Sweden, which, though governed by a woman (the famous Christina), was regarded as the most military power in Europe. Like them, he looked for allies, especially when the Peace of Westphalia left that queen and her chancellor leisure for contemplating less distant exploits. Fortunately for his views, Holland was equally jealous of Swedish supremacy in the Baltic; and though, in defiance of the treaty made by his father (a treaty, indeed, which Christian himself had disregarded), he exacted duties at the Sound, the republic did not quarrel with him. On the contrary, she agreed to pay, in lieu of these duties, an annual pension for the free navigation of the straits. He had no principle of conduct but his own interest. Mild, yet full of duplicity, affable, yet calculating (the characteristics of the Oldenburg family), he strove to win the affection of the burghers and clergy, preparatory to the execution of the grand scheme which he seems to have formed from the beginning of his reign. He did not forget the opposition of Ulfeldt to his accession, or the additional trammels which that noble had been so instrumental in placing on the royal authority; and he planned the ruin of his enemy. To detail the acts by which he effected his object would be useless. We shall only observe that they were not of the most honourable kind. Ulfeldt was treated with much contumely; and being unable to brook such humiliation, he fled first to Amsterdam, and next to Sweden, determined to strain every nerve for the ruin of his country. By Christina he was favourably received — the presumption is that he felt secure of a home before he ventured to her capital. She consoled him for the loss of his dignities and fiefs by royal gifts, and above all by her friendship. With all her boasted qualities, Christina was but a woman; and she beheld with pleasure the noble person and the diversified talents of

[1648-1658 A.D.]

her guest. The other daughters of the late king, by Christina Munk, and their husbands, were treated with much severity. Frederick had determined on their humiliation, chiefly with the design of replenishing his coffers. Two were banished; two, in dread of greater evils, banished themselves. Ulfeldt and his wife, therefore, had to avenge their immediate connections no less than themselves. Yet their efforts could not draw the philosophic queen into war, which it was reserved for her successor, the famous Charles Gustavus, to commence; and even he did not arm until forced to do so by the Danish king.

With all his studied mildness, Frederick did not hesitate to commit an act of violence when his immediate interest was before him. At the persuasion, we are told, of the Dutch minister (a power then at war with England), he seized twenty-two English vessels, which had put into the port of Copenhagen, and sold them. Cromwell was not of a temper to bear this outrage; and he declared war against Denmark. But the Dutch were tired of hostilities; and he was induced, at length, to accept their overtures of peace, in return for their engaging to make full compensation for the flagitious act of which they had been the advisers, and for the engagement of Denmark to place English vessels passing the Sound on the same footing as those of Holland. Frederick, therefore, escaped the consequences of his rash act; but he had provoked the stout protector so much, and was so intent on aggrandising himself at the expense of Sweden, that he solicited his nobles to augment the force, both naval and military, of the realm. As well might he have spoken to the rocks. Their reply in the diet of Odense (1654) was a demand for new privileges. He was no longer, for instance, to ennoble burghers, except for some distinguished feat in battle.

The abdication of Christina, and the accession of Charles Gustavus to the throne of the Goths, inspired Frederick with new hope. Besides, the new king was evidently resolved to embarrass him by marrying into the house of Holstein-Gottorp — a house which had much to fear from that of Oldenburg, and which, therefore, looked to Sweden for protection. On his side, Charles was of too martial a temperament to remain long at peace. Fortunately for Denmark, he selected the Poles as his first antagonists; and for a time he pushed the war with great glory; but his victories exhausted him, and he was too far from his resources to recruit his army with the necessary expedition. This was the moment so long desired by Frederick: now, indeed, he might hope to win for Denmark more advantageous terms than had been granted by the last dishonourable peace. He and the rigsråd, therefore, without the slightest provocation, prepared for war, which, in 1657, was formally declared. This declaration was followed by the invasion of Bremen, which the treaty of Westphalia had left to Sweden. Little did Frederick know what an enemy he had thus wantonly provoked. Hastening through Brandenburg and Pomerania, Charles was in Holstein before the Danes knew that he had left Poland. Aided by his allies, Hamburg and Lubeck, always the enemies of Denmark, he succeeded; though with only a handful of troops, in subduing the whole province.^b The further successes of Charles and the progress of the war down to his death, we have recounted in the preceding chapter.^a

By the famous treaty of Roeskilde (1658) Charles received Skåne, Blekinge, Halland, Bornholm, Båhus, Jämtland, Trondhjem, with some domains in Bremen and Rugen; in other words, half the kingdom was quietly relinquished. Satisfaction was ensured to the duke of Holstein-Gottorp; Ulfeldt was restored to all his fiefs, and his wife to all her privileges; and some other

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[1660 A. D.]

noxious individuals were recalled. When Charles died, however, during the second war, Frederick, exulting in the death of his adversary, and hoping to gain everything by resistance, for some time refused to listen to any overtures of peace. It required the menaces of both England and Holland to make him negotiate. The treaty was signed in May, 1660. Halland, Blekinge, and Skåne were declared to be rightful possessions of Sweden; but Trondhjem and Bornholm were restored to Denmark. Ulfeldt was again included in the treaty, on the same conditions as before.^b

THE DANISH REVOLUTION (1660-1730 A.D.)

In the two wars with Sweden, Charles X had reduced the kingdom of the Danes to the verge of ruin. The king, shamefully deserted by his nobles, had held his own solely through the valour of the citizens of Copenhagen and the aid of the Dutch sea power, and while the Swedes were besieging his capital, he and his high-spirited wife, Sophia Amelia, vied with one another in all the chivalrous virtues which inspire a sorely tried nation with devotion to its chiefs. The bond which received its baptism of fire in these days of storm and stress was henceforth indissoluble, nor could anything withstand the strength of it. It first manifested itself in the memorable diet of 1660.

The diet, which assembled at Copenhagen on the 8th of September, and consisted of deputies from the nobility, clergy, and municipalities — the peasantry not having been summoned — was briefly informed on the 11th of that month that "the king, in accord with the rigsråd, desired them to grant a fair general tax on consumable commodities." While the nobles took counsel together how they might evade this burden, as they did all others, as far as possible, the commons and the clergy held meetings with a view to concerted action in a project of far wider scope than any mere financial question. The leader of the commons was Hans Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen, the leader of the clergy, Hans Svane, superintendent of Zealand. The former was a worthy man of sixty-two, who had borne himself with such courage and heroism during the siege of Copenhagen by the Swedes that one day the king, meeting him upon the city wall, unbuckled his own sword and gave it to him in the sight of all the people; the latter, seven years younger, was a man of extraordinary eloquence, gifted with rare skill in employing by turns the unction of a priest, the frankness of a plain gentleman, and the subtlety of a trained diplomatist. Both were in secret communication with the court through Christoph Gabel, the king's clerk of the exchequer closet (*Kammerschreiber*) — a loyal and devoted servant who, in spite of the subordinate position he held, had rendered the most valuable services to his master, with no other ambition than that of doing his duty. He was on a journey in the year 1658, and happened to be at Hamburg when he received the tidings of Charles X's breach of the peace. Without pausing to reflect, or waiting for instructions, he hastened to the Hague, besieged the states-general with solicitations for succour, and in four weeks the fleet which came, under Admiral Opdam, to the aid of the hard-pressed city of Copenhagen, was ready to put to sea. In the year 1660, the man who wrought this deliverance was still in receipt of a salary about half as large as that of the king's barber.

The aforementioned trio co-operated in a political campaign which brought about without violence or the slightest infringement of public order, one of the greatest crises of the Danish history. "Denmark a hereditary monarchy!" was the watchword on which clergy and commons agreed, by the 8th of October, for the breaches they purposed to batter in the sover-

[1661 A.D.]

eignty of the great nobles. The rigsraad resisted their demand; the answer it returned on the 10th of that month was an absolute and unconditional refusal. The clergy and the commons then went in solemn procession to the king, who accorded a favourable reception to the document they submitted to him, while the intense excitement of the capital expressed the popular feeling in its favour and against the nobles so unmistakably that the latter promptly gave way, and on the 13th of October actually headed the procession in which all three estates went in state to proffer the hereditary crown to the king. A natural consequence of the abrogation of the right of election was the abolition of the conditions which had hitherto been imposed upon the elective monarch in the capitulation or deed of election, by the nobles, who had elected him. On the evening of October 14th, a committee of the three estates handed over to the king a deed, by which they released him from his oath, and in full confidence left it to his discretion to draw up such a recess (or compact) as he thought fittest to serve the common weal and the best interests of every estate. On the 16th the deed of capitulation was solemnly annulled, and on the 18th the estates came together, with great pomp and ceremony, to take the oath of allegiance, by which they publicly acknowledged the absolute power of the king to be no longer circumscribed by any oath or deed, and ratified it as the fundamental principle of the new constitutional law of Denmark.

Under date of the 24th of June, 1661, the king published a charter, by which, "of his royal grace and favour," he conceded a number of privileges to the nobles, clergy, and citizens, without reference to the distress of the peasantry. A more important step was the new organisation he introduced into the whole administrative system, to oust the aristocratic rigsraad entirely, and educate a bureaucracy from among the commons. He distributed the affairs of state amongst six colleges, each consisting of an equal number of nobles and commons. The State college carried on the business of the foreign office and protected the interests of the dynasty. It was supplemented by a college of the Treasury, for finance; a college of War, for the army; a college of the Admiralty, for the navy; and by the *Chancellerie*, which last-named institution discharged the whole of the home administration and some part of judicial, police, and ecclesiastical affairs. The college of Justice, in which the king presided, was the highest judicial tribunal and court of last instance. The presidents of the five other colleges, together with the king, constituted the privy council of state, which, on particularly important occasions, summoned the members of all the colleges to a "great royal aulic council"; and the resolutions then passed had to be submitted "to all the estates of the kingdom." Hence we see that, originally, the latter were by no means excluded from all participation in the government. The collegiate system of administration in Denmark subsisted, without substantial alteration, down to the year 1848; and its practical bearing on the authority of the monarchy and the welfare of the country was far more important than that of the theoretical maxims concerning the legitimate absolutism of the royal will, contained in the act of Succession of November 14th. One of the most admirable acts of this king — the compilation of a new statute-book, which he entrusted to a commission of distinguished scholars, in 1661 — was not completed until the year 1683, in the reign of his son Christian V (1670–1699). Immediately after his accession (1671), the latter, acting upon the advice of his gifted secretary, Peter Schumacher, afterwards Count Griffenfeld, created a new order of counts and barons, which owed its large privileges entirely to the king, and therefore acted as a counterpoise to the old nobility.

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[1660 A.D.]

Of the thirty-one counts and barons of his creation, twenty were Germans and only eleven Danes. The order of the Dannebrog, instituted about the same time, was intended as a reward for those persons who specially distinguished themselves in the service of the monarchy. The crown of Denmark gained a considerable accession to the extent of its dominions by the acquisition of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, in the year 1676.

DOMESTIC CONDITIONS

Lord Molesworth, who was sent to the Danish court in 1689, as envoy-extraordinary from William III of England, reproaches the people for their levity in sacrificing the rights of themselves and their posterity. With that bitter spirit of sarcasm which pervades his work, he compares them to "the



FREDERICK III
(1609-1670)

Cappadocians of old, who could not make use of liberty if it were offered them, but would throw it away if they had it, and resume their chains." "The commons," he remarked, "have since experienced that the little finger of an absolute prince can be heavier than the loins of many nobles, the only comfort left them being to see their former oppressors in almost as miserable a condition as themselves; whilst all the citizens of Copenhagen have obtained by it, is the insignificant privilege of wearing swords; so that at this day not a cobbler or barber stirs abroad without a tilter at his side, let his purse be never so empty.

Although Frederick III did not abuse the arbitrary powers thus vested in him by this extraordinary revolution, the fatal effects of that measure soon manifested themselves by impoverishing the higher orders, without alleviating

the burdens of the lower. The noble author already quoted informs us that, previous to the year 1660, the nobility lived in great splendour and affluence. Their country houses were magnificent, and their hospitality unbounded. They resided chiefly on their estates, spending most of their revenues among their neighbours and tenants, by whom they were regarded as so many princes. At the annual convocations of the diet, they met the sovereign with retinues as numerous and brilliant as his own, and frequently sat with him at the same table. Within thirty years afterwards, their castles and palaces had fallen to ruin; their lands scarcely paid the taxes imposed upon them, "which obliged them to grind the faces of the poor tenants to get an overplus for their own subsistence." Some of their estates were charged at more than the full value of the income, so that the proprietors willingly offered to surrender them to the crown, rather than to pay the enormous public burdens to which they were liable. Besides being oppressed by these exorbitant exactions, they were deprived of the usual resources arising from civil or military employments at court. The lucrative and honourable posts which they formerly held, were then filled by men of low birth and little education — these being always

[1663 A.D.]

found the most obedient instruments for executing the purposes of an irresponsible monarch.

The effect of this grinding system was as injurious to trade and morals as it was destructive of wealth and independence. The merchant lodged his profits in foreign banks rather than to purchase property at home subject to unlimited taxation. The burgher chose to waste, in pleasure or idle parade, the fortune that might have become dangerous by gaining him the reputation of riches; while the peasant expended his last rix-dollar in brandy, to prevent its being seized by a rapacious landlord. In Zealand, this degraded class, at the time when Lord Molesworth resided in Denmark, were as absolute slaves as the negroes in the British colonies, with the difference that they were worse fed. They and their posterity were fixed to the soil where they were born — bought and sold with the estate like the wood or the cattle upon it, and estimated as part of the stock belonging to the proprietor. Those who showed a more diligent or inventive turn than the rest, who lived better, or had acquired substance by superior industry, "would probably be removed from a neat, pleasant, and commodious house, to a naked and uncomfortable habitation, that the landlord might increase his rent by letting the improved farm to another." The quartering and paying of the king's troops was another grievance to which the miserable peasantry were subjected. They were obliged also, at their own expense, and at all seasons of the year, to furnish horses and travelling wagons to the royal family, with their baggage and attendants, whenever they made a journey to any of their places or residences in the country. Such, in short, was the general poverty and depression in Denmark at that period, that the collectors of the poll-tax were forced, as Lord Molesworth states, to accept of old feather beds, brass and pewter pans, or household furniture, instead of money, from the once wealthy inhabitants of Kiøge — a small town which had supplied Christian IV with the sum of 200,000 rix-dollars upon the brief notice of twenty-four hours.

It is recorded to the praise of Frederick III that, as long as he lived, his uncontrolled power was exercised with mildness and forbearance. Far from alienating the affections of the nobles, it rather more strongly engaged their attachment, by putting an end to those factious discontents of which their exclusive privileges had hitherto been the unhappy source. Nor did the people, under their greatest misfortunes, ever repine at the sacrifice they had made; conscious, as they were, that he had, by his valour, perseverance, and intrepidity, saved the kingdom and rescued it from the jaws of perdition, when it was in danger of becoming a province of Sweden.

FREDERICK III IS SUCCEEDED BY CHRISTIAN V

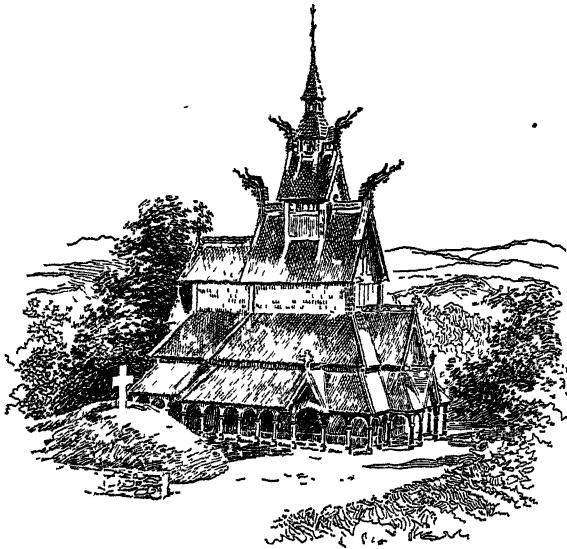
The remaining ten years of this monarch's reign were devoted to the redress of grievances among his subjects, the re-establishment of his finances, the encouragement of industry, and the extension of commerce. In 1663, he joined the triple alliance, which had been entered into by the courts of London, Stockholm, and Copenhagen in consequence of the approaching rupture between England and Holland. The conduct of the Dutch factories established in Guinea involved him in a dispute with the United Provinces about their respective settlements on that coast; but the affair terminated in a quadruple treaty with Denmark, the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Brunswick, from which the estates-general reaped the advantage that their East India fleet found a safe retreat in the harbour of Bergen, and by this means baffled all the attempts of the English admiral, Lord

[1674 A.D.]

Sandwich, who was despatched to the north seas to intercept them. A misunderstanding had arisen between the Danish court and the duke of Holstein, in consequence of the latter's having concluded a treaty of amity with Sweden. Frederick was preparing to enforce his arguments by arms, when he was carried off by an affection of the lungs, caused by the fatigues he had undergone during the siege of his capital.

The eldest son of Frederick III, who had already been declared his successor, assumed the government under the title of Christian V. Notwithstanding the prudent measures of his father, he found the kingdom involved in confusion, and public affairs in a condition that presaged a reign not more pacific than the last. Happily the altercations with the dukes of Holstein

and Gottorp terminated without leading to an open rupture. By a treaty concluded at Rendsburg (1674), the latter prince formally renounced all claim to the advantages which he had extorted during the late war; and the union between the two houses was restored on the footing established by their ancestors. It was from the ascendancy of Sweden, however, that the greatest danger was to be apprehended. Independently of the provinces she had wrested from Norway, her conquests in another quarter had greatly strengthened her frontier, by making the



ST. AVE CHURCH, NEAR BERGEN

Sound the boundary of her dominions on the side of Denmark. These and various other reasons impressed the young king with the necessity of putting himself in a condition to curb the ambition and resist the aggressions of that powerful monarchy. With this view, he caused the fortifications everywhere to be repaired, the cities to be put in a state of defence, and new fortresses to be erected in all places exposed to the inroads of those restless neighbours.

Sweden, although still under a regency, exercised considerable influence in European politics. She interposed in the war between England and Holland, and her mediation greatly contributed to the peace concluded at Breda. Charles XI was afterwards one of the members of the triple alliance, the object of which was to secure the Netherlands against the encroachments of Louis XIV; though he was soon detached from that league by the intrigues of the latter monarch, in order to be a check upon the emperor. By attaching himself to France, he involved Sweden in a war with the elector of Brandenburg. Wrangel was despatched with a force of two thousand men; and notwithstanding the brave resistance of the inhabitants, the invaders reduced most of the towns and fortresses in that province. But their career of triumph was cut short by the appearance of the elector, who took the field in person,

[1679-1689 A.D.]

defeated the enemy in several engagements, and compelled them to evacuate the whole of their conquests. It was at this crisis that Denmark seized the opportunity to humble the might of her formidable rival.

At the same time the United Provinces (then at peace with England), the duke of Luneburg, and the bishop of Munster all embraced the occasion of wreaking their vengeance on Sweden, whose rising power they had beheld with jealous apprehension. [The war lasted till 1679 when it was terminated] by a treaty, concluded at Fontainebleau (September 2nd, 1679), between the three crowns of France, Denmark, and Sweden. Charles, after a series of losses and defeats, extricated himself with honour from a quarrel begun in his childhood, and obstinately maintained since his accession to the throne, against a combination of the most formidable powers of Christendom. On the other hand, Christian, after prodigious exertions, in which his courage and his conduct were equally conspicuous, was forced, through an unhappy coincidence of events, to retire from the scene of action, deprived of every advantage and disappointed in all those views which had been the primary cause of his embarking in the quarrel. In addition to the Peace of Fontainebleau, a separate treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was executed at Lund by the ambassadors of Denmark and Sweden, in presence of the French minister. Finally, to cement this amicable connection still more closely, a matrimonial union was effected between his Swedish majesty and the Danish princess Ulrica Eleanora.

One or two events, however, threatened to disturb the tranquillity of the North. Under pretext of certain claims upon the city of Hamburg, Christian advanced with a numerous army, and made preparations for a regular siege; intrenchments were formed and batteries erected; but the remonstrances of France and the prompt interposition of the house of Brunswick had the effect of terminating the dispute without the effusion of blood.

THE DEATH OF CHRISTIAN V

Some trivial differences concerning mercantile matters occurred with France and Sweden; but, instead of generating hostilities, they led to the conclusion of fresh treaties and the establishment of a closer connection with these kingdoms. Finally, the long pending controversy respecting the affairs of the duchy of Holstein, of which his Danish majesty still claimed the sovereignty, was at length adjusted by the convention of Altona (June 20th, 1689), under the mediation of England and Brandenburg. By that compact a general amnesty was agreed upon, and a lasting union begun between the ducal and the royal court. Christian restored to the duke all the dominions and prerogatives which he enjoyed or could claim from the late treaties; and thus terminated a feud which for years had been the source of jealousies and contentions, and had proved to be the immediate cause of the recent war with Sweden.

During the remainder of his reign, the attention of this great monarch was chiefly occupied with the internal affairs of his dominions and the preservation of peace with the neighbouring states. He expired at the early age of fifty-four, on the 4th of September, 1699, bequeathing to posterity a reputation for wisdom, courage, and military talent which his countrymen, even in modern times, contemplate with feelings of pride and admiration.^c



CHAPTER XII

SWEDEN IN THE 18TH CENTURY

[1697-1814 A D]

ON the death of his father [in 1697], Charles XII had nearly attained his fifteenth year, which, though it had been frequently the period of majority for the kings his predecessors, was not so for him. To gratify the ambition of his grandmother, who was at the head of the regency, eighteen was the age fixed by the will of the late king. Probably, his apparent indifference to public affairs, his addiction to field sports, to splendid apparel, and the ordinary amusements of youth, had some influence in this measure. But it was rendered abortive by the enterprise of the young prince himself, who in six months acquainted two of his companions with his resolution to seize the reins of government. The members of the regency were more anxious to propitiate his favour than that of an old woman; and their consent to the resolution was prompt. The queen was persuaded or forced to sanction the convocation of the estates; and the latter unanimously agreed that the testament of the late king should be set aside, and Charles invested with absolute power. He was crowned in the cathedral of Upsala, not by the hands of the archbishop, whom he would only permit to anoint him, but by his own. The stern manner in which he snatched the diadem from the prelate and placed it on his own head, was beheld with applause by the stupid spectators. Little did they know the miseries which they were preparing for themselves, by thus encouraging the evil tendencies of one who was doomed to bring greater woes on his country than any preceding monarch of Sweden.

When Charles ascended the throne he found the kingdom in a flourishing state. Internally, the continuance of peace had given an impulse to industry

[1679 A.D.]

and commerce. Externally, the possessions of Sweden were vast, and formed so many admirable marts for the disposal of her traffic. The great provinces of Livonia, Karelia, and Ingermanland, the strong towns of Wismar and Viborg; the isles of Rugen and Ösel; the sees of Bremen and Verden, with the greater part of Pomerania, were, when added to Sweden and Finland, ample enough for anything short of that unmeasured ambition which thinks nothing gained so long as anything remains to be gained. In all these possessions the king was confirmed, not merely by long occupancy and by former treaties, but by that of Ryswick, which he was instrumental in bringing to a conclusion.

Whatever might be the ambition of Charles, whatever the extent of the projects which he seems to have formed in his very youth, his is not the guilt of striking the first blow in the wars that so long desolated Europe. His ruin was conspired at the same time, and, what is still worse, secretly conspired, by three monarchs to whom he had given no offence, and who, relying on his youthful inexperience; hoped to profit by the division of his spoil. These were, Frederick IV of Denmark; Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland; and the czar Peter the Great. The first of these princes, treading in the steps of his father Christian V, resumed his designs on the dominions of the Swedish king's brother-in-law, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, which he determined to incorporate with Denmark. The object of the second was to regain Livonia. Peter wanted Ingermanland, which, being seated on the eastern shore of the Baltic, might become an excellent emporium for the commodities of Europe and Asia, and a convenient channel of communication between them.

The preparations which the three unprincipled allies were making could not long be hidden from Charles. His brother-in-law, indeed, soon arrived at Stockholm, to implore his aid. While his councillors and people were aghast at the magnitude of the impending danger, he was calm. To the surprise of everybody, he suddenly renounced all his amusements, adopted the plainest style of living, inured himself to the most severe exercises, and fared as hardly, as humbly, as the meanest soldier. They were still more surprised when they heard him declare that as he would never undertake an unjust war, so he would not finish a just one without the destruction of his enemies; that he would fall on the first that took the field; and that, when he had vanquished him, he should, he hoped, strike a salutary terror into the rest. Dejection gave way to confidence. Had not the great Gustavus, at an age almost equally green, not merely saved Sweden, but raised her to the highest pitch of glory?

BEGINNING OF THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR

As Sweden was assailed at the same time on three different points—in Livonia, by the Saxons, who invested Riga; in Schleswig, by the Danish king, who captured several fortresses, especially Gottorp; in Ingermanland, by the czar, who invested Narva—Charles had to select the enemy whom he would first attack. He chose the nearest; and instead of making Holstein the theatre of the war, resolved at once to disembark his land forces in Zealand, and besiege Copenhagen, while his fleet invested it by sea. The design was a magnificent one; and its apparent rashness was diminished by important circumstances—one of which was that, as guarantees of the last peace, which Frederick was thus flagitiously violating, England and Holland sent a fleet into the Baltic to act in concert with Charles.

[1700 A.D.]

In May, 1700, Charles embarked at Karlskrona, and soon joined the combined fleets of his allies at the mouth of the Sound. That of the Danes offered no resistance, but quietly retired under the batteries of Copenhagen. It was now for the first time that the Danes, and even the Swedes, were aware of the young monarch's design, which was to finish the war at a blow by storming the capital. Notwithstanding a galling fire, he landed, defeated the army drawn up to receive him, and took possession of the trenches. The arrival from Skåne of a powerful reinforcement, the construction of formidable batteries, and the measures evidently taken for a *coup de main* alarmed the inhabitants, who in the absence of their king were apprehensive that they should be unable to make a successful defence. In this emergency, they sent a deputation to Charles, beseeching him to spare the city. Whatever might



CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN
(1697-1718)

be their apprehensions, he had his as to the result of so hazardous a step: he knew that one of his bravest predecessors had besieged the place nearly two years in vain; and though it was now much worse provided for a siege, still it might hold out till Frederick advanced to its relief. He therefore consented to spare the city on two conditions: that he should be paid 400,000 rix-dollars, and that his followers should be supplied with provisions at the ordinary market prices. But his object was almost as well attained as if he had taken the place. Frederick, with one enemy before him sufficient to restrain his efforts, with another under the walls of his capital, and with his fleet blockaded by that of three formidable powers, was compelled to sue for peace.

Under the mediation of France and England, negotiations were opened at Travenal, and speedily brought to a conclusion. Frederick not only acknowledged, in all their plenitude, the rights of the duke of Holstein and engaged no more to molest him, but paid a heavy sum by way of indemnification for the expenses of the men. Thus, in three short months, a mere youth triumphed over an experienced monarch, and obtained what veteran generals would have thought themselves fortunate in obtaining after years of successful warfare.

The second enemy against whom the youthful victor marched, the czar, was doomed to be as easily subdued as Frederick. Landing at Pernau, in the Gulf of Riga, Charles hastened to the relief of Narva, which was invested by a prodigious number of Russians.^b

VICTORY OF CHARLES XII AT NARVA (1700)

The number of the troops destined to march to Narva under the leadership of Charles, did not amount to over thirteen thousand men. After the despatch of one thousand men, sent by the king to reconnoitre in the environs of Dorpat and Lake Peipus, and after a second reduction of the forces by four

[1700 A.D.]

thousand of the men-at-arms, left behind for the protection of the country, there remained only five thousand infantry and thirty-three hundred cavalry, with thirty-seven cannon, to march against the Russians. The country offered only two positions which commanded the approach of the enemy; and these were accessible only to a limited number.

When Peter the Great received the sure news that Charles' intention was to risk everything in order to save Narva, and that the Swedish army was already mustered for that purpose, he put confidence less in the fortifications, and in the strength of the army which he commanded, than in the two narrow passes which he occupied, and which the king of Sweden could not avoid, in his march against the fortress. These were the already named defiles of Pyhajokki and Silameggi. Especially the first-named of these narrow passes, which covered four miles before the Russian camp, was so inaccessible that a small handful of brave soldiers could hold it against a whole army of invaders. It was formed by two steep heights, which were cut through by a brook; and the Russian outposts occupied the high bank on the east side. Lower down, this position was protected by woods; and the Russian cannon were spread through the copse which formed this bank of the river; the opposite side of the stream, being entirely open ground, could not offer the least protection to the approach of the enemy. The defence of this position was given by the czar to Sheremetiev. Six thousand selected troops, chiefly cavalry, and many cannon besides, formed the strength of Pyhajokki; but Sheremetiev committed so many blunders that he showed his utter incompetence in the art of war. Instead of simply destroying the bridge and awaiting, in his impregnable position on the eastern bank, the approach of the enemy, on the 27th of November he detached eight hundred of his cavalry to ride to the other side, in order to forage and to waste the enemy's country for half a mile.

At noon this detachment of troops was suddenly overtaken and surprised by the Swedish vanguard, and the Russians immediately fled back in disorder, leaving their knapsacks and booty to the Swedes. The latter followed in pursuit of the fugitives, and were only held back by the fire of the Russian artillery and infantry from the narrow pass. Hearing the thunder of the cannon, Charles himself hastened up, but the oncoming darkness made it impossible at once to storm the naturally strong position. That same evening, two Swedish cannon were turned on the Russians, and under the cover of the night, the latter left the heights of Pyhajokki to be occupied by the enemy. Horror impelled them forward in their flight. On the following afternoon they arrived at the Russian camp, and spread the news that Charles had marched through the pass with twenty thousand men, and was now advancing towards the camp. The tidings awakened alarm less on the part of the soldiers than on that of the czar and the higher officers of Russian birth. Their despair and their tears did not become soldiers in the moment of danger, and aroused the contempt of the mercenaries. Even behind the fortified camp, the czar did not dare to await the attack of the enemy; but gave the command to march to Pskov, in order to bring back a new army; as he foresaw that the eighty thousand men and one hundred and fifty cannon standing before Narva were insufficient to gain a victory over Charles XII, king of Sweden. The quickly spreading rumour of the czar's departure, and the half-formed suspicion of Charles's approach, could not do otherwise than work disadvantageously to the courage of the Russians.

While all this was passing in the Russian camp, the Swedes were commanded steadily to approach the heights and outposts of Pyhajokki. The

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day had scarcely dawned, however, when it was discovered that the Russians had abandoned their position, so the march went on without attack, and they hastened to take possession of the pass of Silameggi. In an enemy's country, barren of all nourishment for the men and the cattle, everything depended on Charles' marching swiftly, before the enemy could gain time to recover from their horror at the strength of the opposition which they had encountered. A march was therefore determined upon, to the forest of Lagenä, which lay another half-mile away from Narva, and where, on the morning of the 29th day of November, Charles arrived with his weary soldiers, hoping here to attain his ardent desire of measuring himself with the enemy. The army was allowed to spend the remaining hours of this day in gaining strength for the bloody work of the one following.

After the departure of the czar, the greatest consternation and dismay reigned in the Russian camp. Against his will, the duke of Croy was made commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the coming struggle, and when from the heights of the camp he could see the Swedes preparing for the charge on the intrenchments, his mind was filled with gloomy forebodings. He took all precautionary measures for the following day, and did everything that it was possible for a farsighted commander to do. As far as the time allowed, Croy fortified the line of circumvallation, which was protected at all points by the flower of the Russian infantry. The rest of the troops he placed along the entrenchment, and outside it the cavalry, under Sheremetiev.

On the morning of the 30th of November the Swedes began their movement. As soon as the troops had marched out of the forest, the king placed them in two lines — the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on either flank. When the duke of Croy saw the Swedish host leave the borders of the wood he supposed that it was simply the advance guard of the forces of the enemy, which he believed to be still concealed in the wood. The previous rumour gave him this idea; and the impression confirmed Sheremetiev's information, which gave the strength of the Swedes as twenty thousand men. After a salute twice repeated, which in vain invited the Russians to battle, Charles determined to seek them behind the intrenchments. The command was given; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, with the shout: "God is with us!" from all the Swedish columns, the attack began. The right division was commanded to break over the intrenchments. The left was divided into two columns, which directed their march against one of the strongest works of the enemy. It was as if Heaven made common cause with the little army now going into such apparent danger. During the whole forenoon the weather had been fair; but at the moment when the Swedes began their movements the air darkened, a heavy snow-storm fell, and the wind blew into the faces of the Russians, so that the movements of the Swedes were not discerned by the enemy. Thus favoured by wind and weather, and unobserved, the Swedish columns appeared on the verge of the fosse, at the mouth of the enemy's cannon. The attack took place immediately, and with such ardour that scarcely a moment elapsed between the Russians' recognition of the danger, and the charge. Within a quarter of an hour, the Swedish infantry had penetrated within the intrenchments. The Russians were immediately thrown into disorder, and fled precipitately, no longer heeding the commands of their leaders. The right wing sought to reach the bank of the Narova, in order to cross the bridge; but the latter was not able to bear the great army of fugitives. It gave way, and in a moment the waters of the Narova were filled with the bodies of Russians.

When the fugitives saw the bridge destroyed, before them the deep river,

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and behind them the pursuing Swedes, who cut down all that dared to oppose them; they finally realised that their only hope lay in a brave resistance. The duke of Croy also arrived on the scene, and by word as well as by example encouraged the men to be steadfast. The battle surged on, until the combatants were hampered by the bodies of the slain. Charles commanded the infantry of the victorious right wing to make the decisive charge. But the day was already declining, and darkness began to brood over the scene of battle; so that the guard were confused and had a hand-to-hand encounter with the Dalecarlian regiment, and, in consequence, many brave soldiers found death at the hands of their comrades. The darkness increased yet more and more; the opposition of the Russians, behind their barricade of wagons, grew gradually weaker. Towards evening, in the midst of the tumult, the Russian hatred against the Germans broke forth in the wildest fury. In their blind rage, they attributed all their misfortunes to German counsel; and all the Germans among them, without regard to rank, were sacrificed to the national hatred. Even the commander, the duke of Croy, and the ambassador of the king of Saxony were obliged to save their lives by taking refuge with the enemy, to whom they yielded themselves prisoners. In the evening the victory was decided for the Swedes, but it was uncertain whether the struggle would be renewed on the following morning. The Swedes, who stood within the fortifications, had possession of the heights which controlled the whole scene of battle, but the Russians were more numerous. Charles prepared to renew the fight early the following day. However, when the German officers preferred captivity to Russian treatment, and left the latter to their own military experience, the Russian commanders did not regard themselves in any position to retrieve their fortunes and sought salvation in laying down their arms. One of the leaders, Prince Dolgoruki, therefore went to Charles, and the terms of capitulation were signed by all of the generals and chief officers.

In the meantime the right wing of the Swedes had won an easy victory. During the fight the enemy was driven in part to Joola, and partly to the bank of the stream. The Russian cavalry, which under the command of Sheremetiev was placed at the left of the enemy, abandoned their position at the first attack, without the least resistance, and in cowardly fashion threw themselves into the Narova, leaving the battlefield to the enemy and the struggle to the infantry. Many horses and riders were drowned, partly owing to the impetus of the stream and partly to the exhaustion of the horses. The general who commanded the infantry belonging to this division, was seriously wounded, and surrendered when he learned the mild terms of the capitulation which the other generals had signed. Thus victory was attained, and Charles, with his seven thousand soldiers, stood as conqueror of eighty thousand, master of the camp of the enemy, and deliverer of a sorely oppressed city. During the assault, he had always been where the battle was thickest. A spent musket ball lodged in his collar, and he sank in a swamp and lost his boots and sword. His men pulled him out again; but he was unbooted during the remainder of the battle. Charles' all-powerful minister, Count Piper, was not merely present at the storming of the fortifications, but he was actually the first to scale the intrenchment, and was always found in the thick of the battle.

It was not till the day following that the magnitude of the battle and the fruits of the victory were fully realised. Eighteen thousand of the enemy had been either killed in the fight or drowned in the Narova; the remainder were captured, except the cavalry, which had saved themselves by disgraceful

[1701 A.D.]

flight. It was impossible for the conquerors to guard the prisoners; the watch was not strong enough, and there were not sufficient provisions. They were therefore allowed to defile before the king with bare heads, to lay down their arms, and hand over their colours to the conqueror. The disarmed Russians returned to their frontier, whence they would have to come forth at the command of their leaders, to form new regiments and to suffer new defeats. Sweden's loss was two thousand dead and wounded, but a great part of the latter were again in readiness for battle.

All of the Russian generals and leaders remained prisoners. They were, however, treated in so clement a manner by their young conqueror that they did not know whether to admire more his bravery in battle or his great magnanimity as a victorious prince. The duke of Croy, who had lost everything, received from him 1,000 ducats as a royal gift. Besides the above named, the trophies of war included a great medley of ammunition of all kinds, 145 bronze cannon, 100 colours, 20 standards, provisions, and forage. The results of this battle to Sweden cannot be overestimated; but the momentary greatness of the honour was followed by a succession of most disastrous consequences. Europe saw in it the destruction of an eighteen-year-old prince, whose entire crime was that of being heir to a powerful realm. Old jealousies again were roused and meddling intrigue, which, during Charles' career, attained full maturity and development. He even despised his opponents the more; because in them he saw the reason for his misfortunes.^c

CONQUEST OF POLAND (1701-1706 A.D.)

The third enterprise of the victor — against the Polish king — was crowned with equal success. In vain did the Saxons dispute the passage of the Duna. Burning wet straw, to raise a smoke thick enough to intercept his army from the view of the enemy, he passed over, arranged his men in order of battle, forced the Saxon intrenchments, and soon not a man was to be seen before him. Mitau, the capital of Courland, surrendered immediately after this victory; other fortresses were taken by him or his generals; an army of twenty thousand Russians was expelled from the region; the Saxons retreated into Poland; and in a few short weeks the whole of Courland was in his hands.

Had Charles been satisfied with the glory he had thus obtained, and with the advantages which he might have wrested from the humbled Augustus,¹ he would have been worthy of all praise. But conquerors are not much distinguished for moderation. He had overthrown three great monarchs; what, therefore, could resist him? Instead of listening to the proposals of the king, he haughtily observed that he would treat only at Warsaw. He had formed the project of dethroning his enemy, as much through the Poles themselves as through his own followers. Marching towards that capital, he entered it with little opposition; Augustus, the foreign ambassadors, the papal nuncio, and the whole court fleeing with precipitation. But this king was not unworthy of struggling with his fate. He concentrated his troops, and with them advanced to meet the invaders. With a combined army of thirty-three thousand Poles and Saxons opposed to about half that number of Swedes, he was justified in the act. But, with all his valour, he lost the battle, many thousands of his men, all his artillery and baggage. The satisfaction of the victor was considerably alloyed by the fall of his brother-in-law, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the original cause of the war. But the indulgence of the

[¹ That is Augustus II of Poland, called the Strong, who was also elector of Saxony as Frederick Augustus I.]

[1703-1706 A.D.]

private affections was no feature of his character; and he rushed forwards to Cracow, which he took without loss, and from which he exacted a very heavy contribution. An accident which confined him for some time to his couch — the breaking of his leg — delayed the consummation of his great object. The interval was not lost by Augustus, who, aware that his downfall was resolved, diligently collected new forces, chiefly from his Saxon states.

On Poland he could place little dependence; few of the nobles attended any diet which he convoked; and the deliberations, whatever they might be, were generally cancelled by a diet held by the party intent on his dethronement — a party of which the primate was the soul, and the Swedish king the head. He had, however, hope in the mediation of the emperor, and still more in the aid of Peter the Great, who was glad of the opportunity afforded him of making Poland and Lithuania the theatre of the war. But the loss of the battle of Pultusk, in 1703, emboldened the enemies of the Polish king to labour more openly for his dethronement. Under the baneful influence of the cardinal-primate, a diet assembled at Warsaw early in 1704 declared that the republic alone could treat with foreigners — thus excluding Augustus from all participation in general affairs. The next month it went farther, by proclaiming the throne vacant. In vain did he strive to defend himself in the neighbourhood of Cracow; his troops were dispersed, and he himself was forced to cross the Vistula with precipitation. Charles now intimated that if the republic wished to escape dismemberment, it must proceed to a new election. That he did not himself claim the crown surprised alike his councillors, Poland, Sweden, and Europe; but he preferred the glory of giving away to that of retaining a kingdom. The prince whom he selected for the dignity was Stanislaus Leszcynski, a piast or native noble, who, notwithstanding the opposition of a party, was proclaimed by the diet in 1704.

That Augustus would tamely submit to his exclusion could not be expected by anyone that knew his Saxon resources, his alliance with the czar, and still more the strength of his party in Poland itself. With a body of nineteen thousand Muscovites, aided by such Poles as remained faithful to his cause, he took advantage of Charles' absence on the frontier to approach Warsaw, which submitted, but not until the new court and the heads of the hostile confederacy had time to flee. Fifteen hundred Swedes, with Count Horn, one of their best generals, were forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Having exacted a heavy contribution from Warsaw, and been joined by sixteen thousand Saxons, he took the field. But many of his detachments were defeated, and he himself compelled to retire into Saxony. In Livonia the Russians had for a time more success; they reduced several fortresses, including Dorpat and Narva; but these advantages were counterbalanced by subsequent losses. Even Peter, at the head of 120,000 Cossacks and Russians, effected nothing corresponding with his mighty preparations. Early in 1706, too, Schulenberg, general of the Saxon troops, was signally defeated by Rehnskjold, one of the Swedish generals. The loss of the Saxons, in men, artillery, and baggage, was most severe, while that of the Swedes was inconsiderable. Nothing can better illustrate the reputation for invincibility which the victorious troops enjoyed, than the fact that at this very battle of Fraustadt seven thousand Saxons ran away without discharging their muskets. (This splendid success of his lieutenant afforded some degree of jealousy to Charles, who wished to engross the undivided attention of Europe.)

Lithuania was soon cleared of Prussians, Saxons, and Cossacks; and though the palatinate of Cracow held for Augustus, he could not maintain his position, but precipitately retired at the approach of the Swedes.

THE ZENITH OF CHARLES

Charles was not satisfied with expelling his royal enemy from Poland; he determined to attack him in Saxony itself. Leaving General Meyerfeld to defend Great Poland against the Russians, Cossacks, and Saxons, he passed through Silesia into the electorate. At his approach the Saxons retired; and he advanced, almost without opposition, to the very heart of the country. Here Augustus, in alarm, nominated plenipotentiaries to obtain peace on any conditions. A victory gained over Meyerfeld by the allies did no service to the elector; the conditions were only the harder for it. He was forced, not only to renounce all claim to the Polish crown, but to acknowledge his rival Stanislaus. He tried, at a personal interview, to dispose Charles in his favour; but he failed in his object, which, indeed, he durst not openly propose. [The interview took place at Altranstädt, where Charles had fixed his headquarters]. "Charles," says Voltaire, "was on this occasion in his usual homely garb—a coarse blue cloak with gilt brass buttons, leather gloves that reached to his elbow, and a coarse piece of black stuff tied round his neck in lieu of a cravat or military stock. The conversation turned on little beyond his huge jack boots, which he had worn constantly, he said, for six years, only taking them off when he lay down to sleep.

The behaviour of the Swedish hero, at this summit of human prosperity, was such as might have been expected from his character. However plain in his dress or manners, however austere to himself, his overbearing haughtiness was not the less evident. He despised the half-uttered menaces of the imperial diet, at his violation of the imperial soil by the invasion of Saxony. He even sought an occasion to quarrel with the emperor, and insisted, before he would be satisfied, on the surrender of fifteen hundred Muscovites who had taken refuge in Austria; on the recall of four hundred German officers in the armies of the czar; and on the restoration of the Lutherans in Silesia to their churches, to the free exercise of their worship, and to all their civil privileges. The two last demands were readily granted; but the emperor, afraid of embroiling himself with the czar, gave secret warning to his Russian guests, and thus enabled them to escape.

Voltaire has given us an interesting account of the interview which the celebrated Marlborough had with the warrior. The object of the artful Englishman was to learn whether any intention existed, on the part of the king, to support the declining fortunes of Louis XIV. The courtly dress, the finished elegance, of the duke surprised Charles, who could not readily conceive how any man, and especially such a man, could for a moment dream of such trifles. Probably he underrated his visitor on that very account. But under the foppish exterior was a soul almost equal to his own. The mere look of Charles when the czar was mentioned, convinced him that Russia, not the allies, was the next enemy that would be assailed. A map of that empire lay on the table; and it was evidently the daily study of the hero. Gigantic as the project might seem, of dethroning so great a monarch as Peter, it had been formed. Charles, flushed with his successive victories over four monarchs, with his gift of a kingdom, and with the humiliation even of the Austrian emperor, anticipated no bounds to his career. He had a much larger scope of ambition than the poet has ascribed to him—

"From Moscow's walls let Gothic banners fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky!"

[1706 A.D.]

He had vowed vengeance against the pope, who had dared to condemn the recent concession to the Silesian heretics. His Gothic ancestors, he observed, had been at Rome; and, from his smile, he manifestly intended that the Goths should be there again. One year, he believed, would suffice for the conquest of Russia; a few weeks, according to the same calculation, would be sufficient to dethrone the holy father. Turkey seems to have been his next meditated object of attack; and after it, Persia; for he sent engineers into those empires to draw maps of the roads and plans of the cities. Little did this wild visionary dream that his baseless empire was about to vanish forever.

THE EXECUTION OF COUNT PATKUL

The execution of Count Patkul was a rigid proof of the Swedish king's inflexibility. Patkul was a Livonian, who had been deputed by his countrymen to the court of Charles XI, to obtain some alleviation of the heavy burdens imposed on them. Finding his petition received with contempt, and even his life in danger, he had fled from Stockholm to the court of Peter. He had entered into the service of the czar, and so won the latter's confidence that he was nominated ambassador to the court of Saxony. At the mandate of Charles, he was given up to his arbitrary master. As a subject of Sweden, he would have been deserving of punishment for advising the czar and the elector to invade Livonia, but still more for bearing arms against his country. But, independently of the provocation which had driven him into the arms of Peter, surely his character as ambassador should have ensured his safety. Intoxicated by his success, Charles paid no regard to the applications in Patkul's favour, nor to the voice of international law, which places the representative of a sovereign on the same footing as the sovereign himself; and nothing short of the most cruel, the most barbarous, of deaths would satisfy the implacability of his temper.^b

The action of Charles in this matter is justified by some writers, in particular by R. Nisbet Bain^c in his biography of Charles XII, on the grounds that Patkul was undoubtedly a traitor and that his genius, exercised in the service of the enemies of his native sovereign, had constituted one of the most formidable dangers with which Charles had had to contend. Bain is also of opinion that the blame for the brutality of the punishment should be laid on the age, and not on the sovereign who ordered it — a decision with which all will not agree. King Oscar^d speaks of Charles as in general opposed to torture. In Bardili's memoirs of the Swedish king's devoted admirer and companion-in-arms, the young prince Maximilian Emanuel of Wurtemberg, there is an account of Patkul's execution, and also the text of a singular document, said to have been written by Patkul shortly before his death.^a

Wide-spread interest was excited by an extraordinary sentence. The great minister and general, Patkul, was to be executed in a terrible manner at Kasimir [in Posen]. The decision was published in a document which stated that he had opposed the royal command, that his two accomplices had been pardoned and he also would have received the royal mercy but that he had not ceased to instigate war, and had finally served as a general in the said war. He was tried, and condemned to be broken on the wheel and also beheaded. The execution was to take place with the greatest secrecy, so that the court and the army might hear nothing of it until it was over; only the officers who watched him, and the priests who prepared him for death, were to know of it. Nevertheless many thousand spectators were present. Until he was within the ring and saw the wheel beside the block,

he perhaps did not know the manner of his death. At the sight of it he cried out, with his eyes raised to heaven, "O my king, what is this that you do?" The execution of the sentence was pitiful in the extreme; as the executioner (an inexperienced Pole) did not know how to handle the instruments. He did the work clumsily, especially with the wheel. Therefore it happened that, after Patkul had been tortured on the wheel, and brought to the block to be beheaded, he was still alive. Soon after Saxony was invaded by King Charles, the master whom Patkul had first offended, and by whom his fate had now been decided. There exists a document containing his last words, signed by his name, which are given under the following title: *Speech for the Justification of Patkul Which Three Days before his Death was written by The Wanderer, In the Year When he was justly rewarded for Treason:*

"Do not wonder that a death's head speaks to you. If I were silent, even these walls and columns would speak. And if these were not heard, then others would publish my adventures; and one has pity for misdeeds, in listening to the last words of the condemned. As for that, no one can blame you or me for the telling; because death does away with all fear. And even from that, I do not hold myself back. Then know that I am John Reinhold Patkul, by birth a nobleman, and by it a joy to my parents, but now a cause for tears and disgrace. My birth brought much satisfaction, and no one then conceived that the day of my death would bring more pain than the day of birth. It did not cost my own mother so much when she brought me into the world, as it has cost the universal mother, earth; for she tried to hinder the performance of the last rites for her child. Ah well! so be it! It is a misfortune to escape what is inevitable. I was born in Livonia, in a country where the nobility of that time enjoyed perfect freedom. The blood of the heathen stained their shields: what it betokened, I do not know, and whether the fatal titles indicated future misfortune to their order and to their country, remains a mystery forever unsolved. They yielded that freedom to the crown of Poland, in those unfortunate wars wherein Sweden, Moscow, and Poland were ruined and finally my native country fell under the sceptre of Sweden.

"Many a man is blind with his seeing eyes, and deaf with his hearing ears. My example can confirm this. Although warned in many places, yet I withstood the edict of the king. I took the ground of my freedom, which was already forfeited, and of justice, which had been ostracised. By that attitude, I brought on myself the disfavour of the king and my disgraceful sentence. I fled to find a sun which could revivify me. I asked the protection of the czar. and for that, not only King Augustus, but also my own king, Charles XII, persecuted me in the most relentless manner. I assisted the intrigues in all the councils; I commanded armies. In short, I was an enemy to Sweden, and became a personage of great importance, in every respect, among the opposing parties. Then I sought repose in Saxony. The most distinguished members of the court were not unfriendly to me. Yet the blossom of my misfortunes already began to manifest itself. it commenced with the mandate to put me into prison. Why this happened may remain a secret. It was the first manifestation of a divine vengeance, which followed me on foot, and came in the form of the Swedish army. My infuriated king haggled for my person, as the only condition of peace

"At that time I learned that we can trust in nothing more unstable and uncertain than men. As for me, two great potentates could not protect me. I learned that nothing avails, when God withdraws his protection. I was convinced that resistance is useless when the hour of fate has struck. Thus I was led, with doubts and fears, in bands and chains, by the Swedish army

[1707 A.D.]

in their march to Poland, always hoping for an extension of favour. However, the king's thoughts were not my thoughts. Kasimir was the chosen place for the expiation of my crime. It takes place with horrors, on the 10th day of October, 1707. Witness here the pitiful execution, of which I will make a few words. You see here a body without a heart, a heart without any keeping. A nobleman without grave or tomb, a general without protection! An ambassador on the wheel! I must die in Poland, because I helped Poland to become a theatre of war. I must be made an example to others. The sole thing in which I trusted is this — it alone, I know, upheld my soul till the last blow of the executioner, and even at the very gates of death — that, conscious, stroke and agony could not wrest from me the thought: 'My sins were atoned on the cross.' Mark then, finally, that which I forgot: fear God; honour the king!"

Whether this execution was the forerunner of the great misfortunes which followed the king of Sweden and his realm — the just sentence of heaven, as many have thought — remains undetermined. These may appear either as a judgment, from a religious point of view, or rather as having some natural connection with Patkul's execution. As to the latter, it is not yet proved whether Charles sinned against heaven, or against the laws of the holy Roman Empire. Before the execution, the Swedish misfortunes had already begun, during the march from Saxony, wind and weather proved unfavourable; and, in one way and another, there were constant mishaps.^d

Whether the execution of Count Patkul had or had not any direct bearing on Charles' fate, it stands as a dark landmark at the turning point of his career. Harbingers of coming disasters may have already appeared; but from the height of his triumph at Altranstadt he could look back on seven years of continual success. The almost boyish arrogance of Charles' demeanour at Altranstädt makes his sojourn there seem like a comic interlude after the first and grandest drama in the series which constitutes his biography. The next opens with that act of dubious justice, and culminates on the "dread" day of Pultowa.^a

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1707

It was in September of the year 1707 that Charles took leave of Saxony. His army, the destination of which could only be conjectured even by his generals, consisted of forty-three thousand men, the best troops in Europe. His generals the Levenhaupts had, in addition, twenty thousand men in Poland; while fifteen thousand, who expected to be considerably reinforced, were stationed in Finland. What might not he effect with nearly eighty thousand such soldiers as the Swedes, inured to hardships of every kind? The wealth which each soldier possessed was a new incentive to enterprise; each had, besides splendid accoutrements ornamented with silver and gold, about fifty crowns in his purse. All, therefore, marched with cheerfulness, though Russia was suspected to be the destined scene of attack.

Apprehensive of the storm, the czar had prepared for it. With sixty thousand men he had laid waste the eastern provinces of Poland, just before Charles left the plains of Saxony; and then hastily retired into Lithuania at the approach of the Swedish hero. That country was speedily evacuated. Every impediment which could be devised, was employed to arrest his progress. The country, vast, and in some places pathless, was laid waste; the bridges were broken down: barren deserts had next to be traversed; hunger and cold (the winter of 1708 was one of uncommon severity) had to be supported.

[1708 A.D.]

But in spite of every obstacle, Charles had reached the Beresina before any enemy appeared. On the opposite bank of that river, a host was drawn up to dispute the passage. But resistance was vain: the barrier was passed with facility; the town of Beresina was carried by assault; the passage of the river Wabis was better disputed, but with equal want of success; the Russians were driven onwards; and Mohilev, a fortress of some strength, fell into the power of the victors.^b

Charles XII's Account of the Battle of Holowczyn

A letter has been preserved in which the Swedish king gives his own simple account of this affair.^a

There is really nothing of special importance to write about, except, indeed, that during last winter, and also in the summer, the enemy was continually driven back. Owing to the bad weather and the horrible roads, the marching was very toilsome and extremely difficult during the entire summer. The enemy was rarely encountered on the way — only occasionally in crossing the rivers. At the river Beresina there was a small division of hostile Tartars and Cossacks, when the first regiment arrived. They went off during the night, however. At this river, it happened that the prince of Wurtemberg, who is here, was wounded in the left side by a ball from the other bank of the river. The wound was at first thought to be mortal. It was found afterwards, however, that the ball had not inflicted a severe injury, and soon he was very much better.

Since that, the enemy have constantly returned to this river. Wherever there is a river, they have erected breastworks and batteries, but have always left them before anyone came up, until the Swedes reached Holowczyn. When the Swedes arrived there, early in the morning, the enemy had placed a small guard on this side of the stream, which, however, quickly retired, and destroyed the bridge behind it. The Swedish regiment pitched its camp on the side of the river on which it had come up; and so, for several days, the opponents were encamped opposite one another. After several days the regiment found a convenient place between the right and left wings of the enemy, at which the little stream can be easily crossed. The Swedish artillery was therefore immediately carried to the ford, placed in position, and turned on the cannon and breastworks of the enemy. As soon as day broke, our guns and those of the enemy began to respond to one another. At the same time, our men began to improvise a bridge over the little river, when the discovery was made that the water was not deeper than the girdle; so the bridge was not completed, but the soldiers marched through the stream, and ranged themselves in line on the opposite bank. The hostile infantry thereupon showed signs of yielding, and finally drew back into the wood. The Swedish infantry overtook them, and a fierce battle raged, the Swedes driving them a short distance into the wood. Meanwhile, the enemy's dragoons appeared, and proceeded to the place where their infantry had stood. At that moment, the Swedish cavalry hastened forward, waded through the stream, and made the attack. The enemy was forced to give way. The latter, however, made a stand several times, and each time were obliged to yield, until finally they were driven a mile to the rear, according to their own estimate. The enemy lost several small pieces, a couple of standards, and some drums.

Since that time, nothing of consequence has happened; but the enemy has retreated to the other side of the Dnieper. The Swedish regiments are

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in camp here, at Mohiler: part in the city, and the remainder several miles away in the environs. For several weeks the regiments have been perfectly quiet and inactive here; I hope, however, soon to shift the camp.^e

The czar, afflicted at the devastation of his country, offered to negotiate. "I will treat at Moscow," was the haughty reply, which showed that the same fate was intended for Peter that had been inflicted on Augustus. "My brother Charles," observed the czar, "wishes to be thought an Alexander; but he will not find me a Darius." This was the termination of the invader's success. From the opposition of the Russian armies, from the want of provisions, from the impassable nature of the roads, and above all, from the severity of the cold, extraordinary even in that climate, he found that he could not reach Moscow during the present year.

But instead of returning into Poland, as he ought to have done, he suddenly determined to diverge into the Ukraine. Mazeppa, the Cossack chief, had promised to join him with a large army and abundant provisions. But might not a hundred obstacles prevent the junction? Was the czar likely to be asleep, and make no effort to prevent such a junction? In any case, a general of ordinary prudence would have waited for the arrival of Levenhaupt, who had orders to join him. But success had so intoxicated the monarch that he disregarded the most ordinary maxims of caution; and he plunged into the wild, vast, and cheerless region which lay between him and the Desna, the place of *rendezvous*. But on reaching the margin of that river, he saw on the opposite bank, not Mazeppa and the Cossacks, but a strong body of Russians, determined to oppose him. Yet the river was passed; the Russians retreated — less, perhaps, through fear than from a design to draw the invaders into the more difficult parts of the country. Mazeppa, indeed, soon appeared, but not with the eighty thousand men who had been promised, or with one tenth of that number, and with no provisions. Nor was this the worst. Levenhaupt, who had left Livonia with a fine army, arrived with a mere handful of worn-out troops. He had, indeed, reason to boast that he had fought his way through sixty thousand Russians, and that he had slain one half of that number in six different battles; but he had lost his artillery, his baggage, and two thirds of his followers, and he brought no material augmentation of force to his royal master. Unfortunately, the weather in the early part of 1709 was more severe than in the preceding months. The region, too, was more wild, more impracticable; and difficulties of every kind accumulated. The force of the Swedes was reduced by famine, by sickness, and by the swords of the enemy, to sixteen thousand men and scarcely thirty pieces of artillery. Yet, with this insignificant host, the rash king continued to advance. He reached Pultowa; but there his march ended.

This town, which was the military and, to a certain extent, the provision storehouse of the Russian army, Charles found, as he ought to have anticipated, defended by good fortifications and a garrison of many thousands. The place, indeed, was immediately invested, but not closely enough to prevent supplies from being thrown into it. Three unexpected disasters arrived within a short period of one another. One of the Swedish detachments which was to intercept the communication between Pultowa and the Russians, was driven back with great loss. The king himself, while exposing himself with his usual rashness to the fire of the besieged, was severely wounded in the heel, so as to render a litter necessary. Last and worst, Peter approached with seventy thousand men to raise the siege. Charles, indeed, had been recently joined by some thousands of Cossacks; but these were

not Swedes: they had courage, but not discipline; and they were little acquainted with the branch of the military art which relates to the attack of strong places. He hoped, however, to triumph over the advancing legions and strike such a panic into the garrison as to force a capitulation. Leaving, therefore, eight thousand men before the place, he hastened with as many Swedes and about twenty thousand Cossacks¹ to annihilate the enemy.^b

Our account of Pultowa is taken from one of the most important biographies of Charles XII, that of Knut Lundblad, who attributes the loss of the battle to the friction between Rehnskjöld and Levenhaupt, the Swedish commanders, and to the incapacity of the former, whom he accuses of culpable negligence and ignorance of the ground. In Lundblad's eyes, Charles is the hero of the fight; though a perusal of the narrative would rather result in our assigning that rôle to Levenhaupt.^a

CHARLES DEFEATED AT PULTOWA (1709 A.D.)

On the evening before the battle, the king appeared before the troops, seated on a litter, his sword in his hand. He encouraged the soldiers and exhorted them not to dishonour their former bravery in the battle which was impending. This aspect of Charles, however, was entirely different from that of Charles on horseback, at the head of his troops; and it created an entirely new impression among the soldiers. After the round was ended, he allowed the litter to be set down in the open field; whereupon all the generals and chiefs in command lay in a circle around their wounded king, and the first hours of the night were spent there.

Immediately after midnight, however, each one went to his post. Already with the first advance towards the enemy, extreme disorder prevailed. Levenhaupt wished to wait until the dawn, that he might range his columns in due order, but he was not permitted to do so; and in consequence, when all the troops marched out simultaneously into the darkness, many battalions were thrown into disorder, for which Marshal Rehnskjöld [who had been deputed to the chief command] at once took occasion to upbraid Levenhaupt. The latter remedied the difficulty, or at least what he had occasioned. The cavalry on the right had little ground to stand upon, and their column had to be in line with the front of the squadron — which is a strong proof of Rehnskjöld's ignorance of the ground upon which all the manœuvres of the army were to be executed. The infantry marched forward in good order. In the Russian camp reigned perfect quiet; only solitary blows from the hammers of the carpenters who were working on the parapet, broke the stillness. But as soon as daylight appeared the Russians saw what was happening; the alarum was sounded, and they flew to arms. Their strength was estimated at fifty thousand men — the right division under the command of General Bauer, and the left wing under Prince Menshikov, while the centre was controlled by Sheremetiev, and was under the command of the czar. The artillery was in charge of General Bruce. The Swedish infantry was led by Count Levenhaupt, the cavalry by General Creutz. Pultowa lay to the right of the Swedes, and the village of Zukki on their left.

When the infantry arrived at the appointed place, the cavalry were still delayed, which appeared greatly to alarm Rehnskjöld; for the king, carried

^a [Rambaud's (*History of Russia*) speaks of Charles' army as consisting of twenty-nine thousand men, with four cannon, and reckons the czar's forces at sixty thousand, with seventy-two guns. The latest English biographer of Charles, R. Nisbet Bain,^c estimates eighty thousand Russians against eighteen thousand Swedes.]

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on a horse litter, was to follow. He therefore turned to Levenhaupt to hear what were his plans for the impending battle. The latter was accustomed to listen to severe criticism and upbraiding on every occasion; and therefore, to this question, he merely replied by expressing the hope that it would end well. The place chosen was most unfavourable for the movements of the cavalry, which formed the chief strength of the Swedish forces. Owing to lack of ammunition, the muskets were of no use as firearms, and for the same reason the field artillery had been left behind, with the baggage; so that they only had steel upon which to rely, while the enemy had thousands of firearms, which even at a distance wrought destruction and death. Levenhaupt received orders, however, to set the infantry in motion, and to march against the enemy's intrenchments the moment the cavalry arrived. The Swedes had to range themselves under the fire of the Russians and endure a severe trial of their courage; for the balls of the enemy made gaps in the scarcely formed ranks with impunity. Nevertheless, they went bravely at their bloody work; and within a few moments two of the most dangerous bastions had been seized by them. The Russians could not withstand the bold attack of their adversaries. They at once took to flight, and Menshikov, who made every effort to hold them back and keep them in line, had three horses killed under him. The Swedish cavalry, part of which arrived at the left of the bastions, while part forced their way through the latter, drove the enemy before them.

At this moment the battle appeared to be decided with everything lost for Russia. Her cavalry retreated farther and farther, and was on the point of fleeing in wild disorder. The successful result of Levenhaupt's attack was beyond question, when, at the decisive moment, the order arrived to stop further attack and also the pursuit of the enemy. This was due to a lack of a definite plan, and also to Rehnskjöld's inability to grasp the whole situation. The right division, quickly withdrawn by Levenhaupt, escaped the firing from the remaining parapet. They made a *détour*, and went to the right so that the left division could follow. The count wished to stand still until the other division could join him. But the field-marshal, Rehnskjöld, riding up, replied to Levenhaupt's suggestion, "No! No! we must give the enemy no time!" Levenhaupt advanced, hoping to win the Russian intrenchment; for he discovered, on near scrutiny, that it was not so well manned as he had supposed. But with a farther advance he unexpectedly encountered a sharp ravine, which he could not pass. He would not allow himself to be baffled by this obstacle; and therefore went somewhat to the left, and reached a place where he could effect a crossing. As soon as the Russians realised that the ravine could not stop the Swedes, they began to give way; but then, wholly unexpectedly, the command arrived that the advance was to be stopped.

This delay gave the enemy ample time to recover themselves, and the indecision which resulted from the first manœuvres of the Swedes was entirely overcome. To this blunder were added a multitude of others, committed by commanders of separate divisions of the army. The paramount influence in the unfortunate outcome of the battle was undoubtedly General Roos' long delay at the bastions, by which he was cut off, and rendered entirely useless to the remainder of the infantry. Wrong commands were issued on all sides, and increased the disorder. After Levenhaupt had been prevented from making his attack on the enemy's intrenchment, he drew back farther and farther. In this critical and fateful moment, when strong action was absolutely necessary, only indecision and hesitation prevailed in the Swedish

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camp, in sharp contrast to the former order of things, when Charles himself was the leader. At once the enemy made use of this advantage, and drew up into line, in the order of battle. Meanwhile, during the increasing danger, Rehnskjöld as usual could not give a civil word to Levenhaupt. The latter now received the command to march against the enemy. For the third time, the superior force of the enemy was set upon from all sides; but the cavalry was drawn back and huddled together in a compressed heap.

The entire strength which Levenhaupt could muster for the attack consisted of twelve battalions, which, after the loss already sustained, scarcely numbered four thousand men. With these he had to fight the assembled array of the hostile infantry — twenty-two thousand men — which was divided into two sections and protected at intervals by properly distributed artillery. A reserve of ten thousand stood behind. The Russians did not wait for the attack of the Swedes, but began to advance against the little band of men who, at Levenhaupt's signal, went instantly like lambs to the sacrifice, with Levenhaupt at their head. Marching undismayed and without a shot, the guard under the leadership of the young hero Eric Gyllenstjerna, Levenhaupt's nephew, who lost his life on this occasion, went on with firm step. Notwithstanding the great preponderance of the enemy, the Swedes did not yield in the least, but once more made the enemy turn about, at the first shock of battle, leaving many cannon in the trench. But this first success of the Swedes was of short duration. Their line being weak and not protected by the cavalry, they were soon obliged to flee; and the left division was separated from the right, which forced its way victoriously under the leadership of Count Levenhaupt. As soon as the latter became aware of this misfortune, he hastened to repair it. He found the regiment of Östergötland in full retreat. Already the enemy had begun a manœuvre for the purpose of enclosing in a semicircle the entire left division, so that the only thought possible was of escape. Levenhaupt now wished to hasten back to the right division, which was in the fury of the attack; but it was no longer possible for him to reach them. He was compelled to lead the retreat of the left division; and flattered himself that, if they could reach the wood for which they were aiming, they would be able to rally again. But, even here, he was met by disordered troops of fleeing cavalry. "I opposed them," Levenhaupt said, "with sword in hand, and begged, and threatened with cuts and blows; but I could not force any of them to turn about."

With the hope of meeting new fugitives and forming them into a grand cavalry division, Levenhaupt went on, and soon encountered the bodyguard. He called out to the soldiers not to desert their king. The fugitives finally regained their courage, and the word went from mouth to mouth, "The king is here! We will stand firm"; whereupon cavalry and infantry both drew up in order. During the entire battle Charles' one care had been to keep in the midst of the tumult and continually encourage the soldiers to bravery and endurance. His litter was shattered to pieces. One horse fell under him, and he owed his life to a brave officer (Gjerta) who, although wounded himself, gave him his horse. Charles was riding with his bandaged leg on the pommel of the saddle, when Levenhaupt met him. "Are you alive Levenhaupt?" the king asked, "And what are you going to do?" "There is only one thing left to be done when so many men are gathered about us," the count replied; "and that is to reach, if possible, the train of artillery, where fresh troops are stationed under cover." Levenhaupt ordered the remaining infantry of the left division and the cavalry to make haste. With them, he surrounded the

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king's person, and ordered a retreat to the place where the artillery had been left, which was safely reached.

While these events were passing, the deserted right was involved in a bloody engagement. The commanders of most of the regiments found death, that day, on the battlefield. Rehnskjöld himself was taken, in the midst of his indecision and hesitation. The prince of Wurtemberg and Generals Schlippenbach, Roos, Stackelberg, and Hamilton met a like fate. Count Piper went voluntarily to surrender to the Russians in Pultowa, that he might not fall into the hands of the fighting Cossacks and of the hordes of Kalmucks.

This complete picture of horror is relieved by certain touches of heroic courage. Charles himself in his litter, in the wild tumult of battle, offers an example without parallel in history. The "Little Prince" of Wurtemberg, at the head of his fine regiment of cavalry, did wonders in bravery. In truth, however, no one brave individual can equal the intrepid Charles although a hundred others distinguished themselves on that unhappy day. Regiments which before the battle counted from forty to fifty officers, were reduced to scarcely fifteen or twenty; and those who fell for the most part sold their lives dearly. On the Russian side also, no effort was spared to bring the battle to a successful issue. Realising the great importance of the fight, the czar exerted all his powers in order to come off conqueror. Riding on a horse, the gift of the sultan, he sped along his line, challenging the soldiers and officers to fulfil their duty and acquit themselves like men. He flattered himself with the hope of taking Charles, and when the prince of Wurtemberg rode forward, he took him for the king. "Shall I not see my brother Charles to-day?" he said impatiently. They believed him dead; and the czar was troubled at the news. This extraordinary battle offered but few trophies to the Russians, but its results were of much greater importance. As far as the loss of the battle was concerned, the whole blame was due to Rehnskjöld's obstinacy and incapacity,¹ and his delay in obtaining, before the battle, sufficient knowledge of the ground, and of the enemy's position and means of defence.

On this fateful day, nine thousand fell, six thousand were made captive. Charles himself was saved with great difficulty. The horse which he so painfully mounted was shot under him; but five hundred of his most resolute followers put him in a calash, cut a way for him through ten regiments of the enemy, hastened with him to the Dnieper, and crossed it in a small boat. Others followed, and some had the good fortune to pass on rafts or boats, or by swimming; but the greater portion, pursued by Prince Menshikov, were compelled to surrender. Of the large and noble army which had left Poland, eighteen hundred only remained to accompany their king through the vast desert which lay between them and the Bog. The heat of the summer sun (it was now July) in this arid wilderness was more intolerable to them than the rigour of the preceding winter. Many — especially those on foot, who were by far the greater number — fainted, and became the captives of the pursuing Russians; many found a grave; and of the remnant which reached the margin of the Bog, a short distance from Ouchakov, few had the good fortune to pass over with the king. There were few boats in readiness; and about five hundred men were captured before his eyes by the active cavalry of the enemy. This last blow affected him more deeply than we should have expected from the inflexibility of his character, for he is said to have shed tears.

[¹ Others have accused Charles himself of hampering the operations by issuing orders independently of Rehnskjöld, to whom he had delegated the command.]

CHARLES XII'S EXILE

The reception which the royal exile experienced from the Turks, whose hospitality he had claimed, was highly honourable to the character of that people. His establishment at Bender was such as became a prince. Though his followers were soon a thousand (numbers from Poland and Sweden joined him every week) they were liberally maintained by the sultan Ahmet III, who allowed him 500 crowns a day for his own household. But he had no intention to remain long in this peaceful retirement. His mind was still full of the gigantic projects which he had formed when he had quitted Saxony. To procure a Turkish army sufficient to defeat the Russians and restore him to Sweden, was his constant object. Vizir after vizir he flattered or assailed, according as they aided or opposed his views; and the seraglio, in which gold brought him creatures devoted to his will, became the scene of innumerable intrigues.

The czar, however, had more gold than Charles, and it was distributed with better effect. Hence, though aid was repeatedly promised him; though on one occasion a large Turkish army was actually put in motion to restore him, and might have destroyed the Russians opposed to them; the same resistless argument reduced their mighty preparations and still mightier promises to nothing. His obstinacy, his intrigues, his inflexible temper, rendered him at length so disagreeable to his hosts that he was invited to return home, with the offer of a large sum of money and a suitable escort. He received the money, but refused to move. He was then told that he would, if necessary, be removed by force; and his reply was that if such a message were again sent him, he would hang the bearer at the door of his house. Force therefore was employed; and was met by resistance of the most desperate, most extraordinary kind. The manner in which he defended his house against a host of janissaries with heavy artillery; their irruption into the interior; their immediate expulsion; the conflagration of the building; his attempt to cut his way through the dense ranks of the assailants; his entanglement by his spurs; his consequent fall to the earth; his immediate seizure by the janissaries, who conducted him in triumph to the tent of the seraskier, are acts which seem too whimsical for sober history, and which yet are undoubted facts, embellished as in some respects they may have been by the genius of the narrators. All of them are perfectly in character of the man. He had once more the delight of fighting; and though on a humble scale, "the battle of Bender," as he playfully termed it, gave him no less pleasure than his most brilliant deeds in the north of Europe. From Bender he was removed to Adrianople, and thence to Demotika, a small town about twelve miles from that city. In this last place, as we shall soon perceive, his abode was brief.

During the monarch's residence at Bender, the face of the North, as might have been expected, was entirely changed. Immediately after the battle of Pultowa, Augustus, after publishing an elaborate manifesto in which he represented his abdication as compulsory on both his people and himself, and therefore invalid, invaded Poland, and without much difficulty expelled Stanislaus from the kingdom. The czar, not satisfied with freeing his territories from hostile feet and sending the captive Swedes to spread civilisation among his Siberian subjects, seized Ingermanland, Livonia, and Finland. The king of Prussia and the duke of Mecklenburg laid claim to Pomerania; and with an army of nearly fifty thousand men, among whom were Danes and Russians, they invaded that extensive province. But there was still a

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Swedish army there, about thirteen thousand strong; and with all their mighty preparations, they only for a time reduced two of the fortresses. But the Prussian king reduced Stade, the most important fortress of Bremen, and that which commanded the whole duchy. Frederick IV of Denmark was not the last to profit by the misfortunes of this hereditary enemy. Protesting against the treaties that had dismembered his kingdom, and claiming Bremen, Holstein, and Skåne, he invaded the last of these provinces, and took Helsingborg; but the Swedes, thinned as they had been by the loss of so many myriads of men, were not prostrated. At the head of twelve thousand militia and eight thousand regular troops, Stenbock, one of their generals, hastened to repel the invaders. Such was the spirit of these men that he succeeded in his object, and inflicted so heavy a blow on the Danes that Frederick was glad to transfer his hostilities elsewhere. From Skåne, Stenbock hastened into Pomerania, captured Rostock, and after a nobly contested action obtained a splendid victory over the combined Danes and Saxons, near Gadebusch in Mecklenburg. He next laid Altona in ashes, in revenge for the sale of one hundred thousand Pomeranians as slaves to the Turks. But in Holstein he found the termination of his success. Defeated near the banks of the Eider by a combined force of Russians, Danes, and Saxons, he threw himself into Tønning, where he was speedily invested and compelled to surrender at discretion. The defeat of the Swedish fleet by that of the czar was felt no less severely than the surrender of Stenbock. Both events led to the immediate conquest of all Pomerania (except Rugen and Stralsund), which the Prussian king determined to hold in sequestration until the next peace.

Such, then, was the melancholy situation of Sweden towards the close of the king's captivity. If Skåne had been successfully defended, Finland, Livonia, Bremen, Holstein, and Pomerania were in the hands of her enemies, while 150,000 of her bravest sons were prisoners in foreign lands. In this extremity, her only hope lay in negotiating a peace. A diet was, therefore, convoked by the regent Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles. After enacting that the standing army should be augmented to thirty thousand men, and that, to support the increased expenditure, every Swede should send his plate to be coined at the royal mint, there was much dispute in regard to the negotiations. Was the absent king, whose intractable temper was so well known, to be consulted respecting them? Was the regent, who durst attempt nothing that was likely to offend her brother, to ratify them? The senators at length decided that they alone would undertake the delicate and difficult task; and the princess immediately resigned her office. Nothing can be more characteristic of Charles than his indignation when he heard of the presumption of the senators, their usurpation of his royal powers. He declared that, if they continued to interfere in matters which did not concern them, he would make them know their proper level, by sending one of his jackboots, to which they should pay as much homage as to himself when present.

Yet even this trait of his character is not more remarkable than another, which was displayed while on his journey from Bender to the neighbourhood of Adrianople. Being informed that Stanislaus, the dethroned king of Poland, was also a fugitive in Turkey, and had reached Bender a few hours only after his departure from it, he showed neither surprise nor grief over the event — it was too common, too insignificant, a calamity for sympathy. But he eagerly sent a messenger to the prince, whom he assured of a speedy change of fortune, and whom he exhorted never to abdicate — never to make peace with Augustus the usurper. With such infatuation did this extraordinary man adhere to his ancient but now visionary dreams of ambition.

THE LOSS OF STRALSUND

The negotiations to which we have alluded were broken off by an unexpected event — the arrival of Charles at Stralsund. Seeing that hope of awing the Turkish government was at an end, he had left the empire; and in disguise, accompanied only by two officers, had travelled from Demotika to that Baltic port in five weeks. At his appearance, just before the break of day [22nd of November, 1714], the half-awakened governor was lost in surprise; but that sentiment soon yielded to joy, which was shared by the whole garrison and the whole population of the town. One of his first objects was to



GEORG HEINRICH VON GORTZ, MINISTER OF SWEDEN
(1688-1719)

inspect the fortifications; the next was to transmit orders to all parts of his dominions for the renewal of the war. Such was the enthusiasm occasioned by his arrival that his armies were recruited at once. The peasants flocked to his standard in such numbers as to threaten a famine, from the scarcity of hands to cultivate the ground.

To fortify himself by alliances, he married his sister to the prince of Hesse-Cassel; and he invoked the aid of France. But Louis XIV, humbled by disasters, could only promise to aid him by negotiation. How little it was likely to avail, may be estimated from the fact that five sovereigns — those of Denmark, Hanover, Prussia, Saxony, and Russia — prepared to crush him at every accessible point. If this monarch was thus restored to his dominions, he was not restored to his former power. Wismar and Usedom and Rugen were assailed and taken by the allies; and Stockholm itself was menaced by the Danish and Russian fleets. He now threw himself into Stralsund,

which was speedily invested, but which, as it was strong, and defended by nine thousand men, was not likely to be soon reduced. Yet, though he fought with all his former valour, and was nobly imitated by his soldiers, the efforts of the besiegers, who were so much superior in number and so eager to conclude the war by taking him, made greater havoc with the works than could have been foreseen. In two months it was manifest to all that the place was no longer tenable; and he escaped at midnight in a small boat, which conveyed him to a Swedish vessel then cruising off the coast. No sooner was he known to be safe than the garrison capitulated [December, 1715]. From Karlskrona, where he passed the ensuing winter, he transmitted orders for the immediate recruiting of the army. They were obeyed without a murmur; and so also were those which he issued for the increase of the revenue. Though every species of extortion was adopted, and the people were ground to the very earth, they considered any extremity preferable to the invasion of their country, with its probable result, the loss of the

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national independence. By these measures, twenty-five thousand men were raised and equipped, and sent to join the king.

With this army it was expected that he would hasten to the succour of his German possessions; that he would drive George of Hanover from Bremen, or the Danes from Holstein, or the Prussians and Saxons from Pomerania, or the Russians from Livonia and Finland. Europe was surprised to see him [March, 1716] pass into Norway, the rocks and mountains of which seemed scarcely worth the trouble of conquest, compared with the fertility of his southern dominions. But there was little reason for the sentiment. What could he, with all his bravery, hope to effect at the head of twenty-five thousand men, when so many powers, with forces so vastly superior, were preparing to crush him the moment he set his foot on the German soil? The resolution was a wild one. But his doom was fixed. Though on his march to Christiania he defeated the Danes in several cities of little moment, reinforcements from Denmark enabled them to triumph in their turn; he lost all the advantages which he had won, and was compelled, with a great loss of men, to return into Sweden.

BARON GÖRTZ AND HIS PROJECTS

If Europe had been surprised at the irruption of Charles into Norway, it was still more surprised at the inactivity of the czar. The latter circumstance must be attributed to one of the most extraordinary projects which the annals of the world can produce. Charles had a favourite minister, the baron von Gortz, a man of great capacity, of great enterprise, and still greater ambition — one every way calculated to be the confidential adviser of such a king. Gortz saw that the only hope of security for Sweden lay in fomenting divisions amongst the allies banded for her destruction. He heard that Peter was dissatisfied with them, because they would not consent to his forming an establishment in northern Germany. The offer of Wismar, he believed, or the isle of Rugen, with the cession of Carelia, Ingermanland, and Livonia — provinces which were forever lost to Sweden — would make the czar enter into any scheme for the aggrandisement of his royal master.

Nor was he deceived in these expectations. On the conditions to which we have alluded, Peter readily agreed to the dethronement of Augustus and the restoration of Stanislaus; and, in revenge for the seizure of Bremen by George I, to assist the son of James II [since known to history as the Old Pretender] in ascending the throne of Great Britain. The Russians and Swedes were, accordingly, to appear once more in Poland, not as enemies, but as allies; to over-run Hanover; to march into Bremen; to free Pomerania; and then to make a hostile descent on the English coast. The Catholics of Ireland were known to be favourable to the design; the refugees in Holland promised to contribute all they could to its realisation. But no one entered more readily into the plan than Cardinal Alberoni, minister of Spain, whose mind was not less capacious, and was inconceivably more profound, than that of either Charles or his minister. This treaty will account, not only for the inactivity of the czar, but in a great degree for the preference given by the Swedish king to Norway, as the seat of war, over Germany. There would, he thought, be time enough to recover his German possessions, when his troops, joined to those of Russia, had placed the Polish crown on another brow.^b In consequence of these intrigues, Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador at the court of London, was taken into custody [February 1717], as was Gortz in Holland. They were set at liberty, however, after an imprison-

ment of six months, and Görtz renewed his negotiations with the court of Russia. Peter proceeded cautiously; but conferences were, at last, appointed to be held in the island of Öland, and everything seemed to promise the conclusion of a treaty which would probably have changed the face of affairs in Europe, when an unexpected event, fortunately for the repose of mankind, rendered abortive all the labours of the baron von Görtz.^f

Until these negotiations should be perfectly concluded, Charles led another army into Norway. Despatching one division into the interior of the kingdom, he with another laid siege to Frederikshald. The season was December, and the cold so extreme that the sentinels were sometimes found dead at their posts. But nothing could affect "the frame of adamant, the soul of fire," which distinguished above all other men the northern warrior.^b In order to encourage his troops Charles exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege; sleeping even in the open air, covered with his cloak only.^f

Charles was even now only thirty-six. Nine inglorious years had succeeded the nine of victory, but the magnificent designs of Gortz seemed to open before him a third period of greatness, corresponding to the first. The recollection, also, of the difficulties amidst which he had entered on the arena of European complications might have encouraged him to hope for a revival of his fortunes. But he was to chronicle no further successes.^a

DEATH OF CHARLES XII

On the first Sunday in Advent all work ceased during the divine service, which the king himself attended. He appeared somewhat troubled, but showed himself unusually friendly to all who approached him. During the morning he glanced over some papers which contained warnings of a conspiracy against his person. He gave them a fleeting attention, and their contents made an impression on his mind. After the service, however, he threw them into the fire, thus giving them up to eternal oblivion, and took instead Gustavus Adolphus' prayer-book and portrait, which he placed in his pocket. Then he went to his work, and betook himself to the trenches.

This time he did not, as formerly, remain in his hut, but went immediately deeper into the trenches. The besiegers were now exerting themselves to the utmost, and with the increasing danger of a decisive attack on the fortress, the commandant of the latter redoubled his vigilance. During this night, he not only hung out lanterns and torches, but a succession of balls of fire were thrown up from the fortress, which illuminated the entire expanse of the field. By this clear illumination the besiegers directed their attack, and a cannonade was kept up during the evening. The king remained in the trenches already prepared, and was within a short distance of the fortress and also within range of the balls. Here he walked up and down, and spoke with one and another; but towards nine o'clock he was found lying over the crown of the parapet, on the inner slope of the breastwork. A musket-ball had penetrated his right eye, and passed out again through his left temple. Even to this day the question is asked: Where did that ball come from? Was it sent by the enemy, or was it fired by a secret assassin? Is it possible that it came from the fortress or from one of its out-works? In relation to the circumstances of this unfortunate event, we have but little information. At the moment of the deed, and immediately after, nothing could be seen or discovered to justify the suspicion, and give the proof, that a crime had been perpetrated. Thus it will forever remain a mystery which,



BODY OF CHARLES XII CARRIED BY HIS SOLDIERS
(Painted for THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD by Thure de Thulstrup)

SWEDEN IN THE 18TH CENTURY

[1718 A.D.]

as the flight of time gives quiet for reflection and after-thought, is still unsolved. In fact, the high officers in command in the immediate environment of the king did not desire a closer investigation and inquiry into the manner of death of their common lord. And neither Adjutant-General Von Kaubler—the first to exclaim, “Lord Jesus! the king is shot!” nor General Schwerin, who was immediately summoned to the spot, and the first to touch the lifeless body of the king, had knowledge of the event. The latter’s expression of deep sorrow convinced the bystanders of the sad reality of what had occurred. Neither they nor he uttered one word, for future ages, of what they saw and heard during that fatal night, between the 11th and 12th of December, 1718. Their silence does not exculpate them, and it may be possible that the restraints which the circumstances enjoined upon them are the positive proof of their guilt.

Among the separate versions given by eye-witnesses of the events of that night, we possess one which was given by [the French officer] Colonel Maigret, and another by Karlberg, at that time lieutenant of the fortification. In a letter written from Paris in the year 1723, Maigret says, “In order to observe the progress of the work, during the approach and firing of the enemy, the king climbed so high up the inner scarp of the breastwork that half of his body was exposed, while he (the commander) was so far below that his head reached only to the top of the king’s boot. Fearing a mishap, he sought a pretext to force the king to descend, but at that moment a cannon ball tore off more than half of the king’s left ear, and went out again close to the right. The ball was as large as a pigeon’s egg. After that the king never stirred or made a sound. His feet slipped from under him, and he remained lying on the breastwork. The adjutant-general Von Kaubler called out, ‘The king is wounded!’ but he (the colonel in command) immediately conjectured that the king was dead.” In order to remove any doubt as to whether the shot came from the king’s own people, or from the fortress, Maigret adds, at the end of the letter, “It was a musket from which the ball came that killed the king, but one much too large for any man, however strong, to handle.” This is certainly something of a variation from the earlier version which was given of the case by Maigret. The conversation between him and the king, just before the event, is mentioned by many authors, and must have been reported by the colonel himself. According to this version, when the king intimated that the works appeared to be taking more time than usual, he protested that within eight days the fortress would be in the power of the king. When, several moments later, the king went away, and ascended the breastwork, Maigret is reported to have said, “This is not the right place for the king, where the balls are falling so thick.” At the remark of some officers standing by that to remind him of his personal risk was the surest way to arouse the king to defy the danger, Maigret turned, intending to make a pretext of requesting the king to take a view of some new works, to remove him from his dangerous position. But before he could accomplish this, a ball whizzed by and the king called out, “That has safely hit your man!”

The report of Lieutenant Karlberg is, in substance, as follows: At four in the afternoon, the king went into the trenches. Something was wrong; for the men who should have been there were not in their places, for which reason he sent to fetch them back, and finally despatched the lieutenant [on this mission], with the words: “Go, and see what they are conspiring.” But, nevertheless, the men kept him waiting. When they finally appeared, Karlberg received the order to hasten the filling of the gabions. He had scarcely

[1718 A.D.]

taken six or eight steps, when he saw the king lying on the inner slope of the breastwork, to which he had mounted: he lay on his left side, his mantle half covering him. His left hand supported the chin, and the head was upright, over the crown of the breastwork. His gaze was turned somewhat towards the fortress. Below the king stood from eight to ten officers, of whom Karlberg was one. How long the king lay there, Karlberg did not know. He had not been there many minutes, however, when from without, on the left side, the king was shot in the head; and afterwards not the least movement was observed, but that the hand which had supported the head fell down, and the head slowly sank into the mantle. Not the least tremor was observed in the body, which remained immovable where it lay. Because of the depth of the intrenchment, no one could determine whence the shot came—whether from very near or far. The adjutant-general Von Kaubler was the first to announce the calamity at the moment when the head of the king sank down, by exclaiming, "Lord Jesus! the king is shot!" With these words, he touched Karlberg on the shoulder, and requested him to seek General Schwerin, who also came immediately. Karlberg now hastened to call the watch to bring the bier at once, to fetch away an officer who had fallen. While he was giving this order, Lieutenant-Colonel Count Posse came towards him with the question, "Is the king shot?" Karlberg, much alarmed at the unexpected question, denied it, and mentioned an officer of the fortification. Not half an hour had yet elapsed since the fatal event, and was it already known? The remaining part of the narrative relates to the removal of the royal body to the headquarters in Tistedal, under the escort of Lieutenant Karlberg. It also seems strange that, besides this, he was commanded to announce the death of the king to Prince Frederick, who was three-quarters of a mile in the rear. Why was not the adjutant-general called upon to do it? The prince received the message of death while sitting at the table with many officers. It was whispered to him, and afterwards passed from mouth to mouth, but not a word of regret or grief was heard. It was as though everything had been concerted, and had been known beforehand.^c

ESTIMATES OF CHARLES XII

Lovers of the romantic may be disposed to add the circumstances of the death of Charles XII to the number of great historical mysteries. The story that the king was assassinated has been accepted without comment in the continuation of Geijer's history of the Swedes. King Oscar,^b however, dismisses it as a baseless slander, and Bain⁹ speaks of it as having been finally disposed of by Paludan-Müller.² The disgust of the Swedes at the continuance of the long foreign wars which had already involved so much suffering and ruin to them and their country was sufficiently natural, and doubtless sufficiently notorious to give colour to the idea that some bold and desperate spirits had resolved to end all with the life of the man whose ambition, though it might not have been the original cause of these evils, now seemed the great obstacle to the peace of Europe. But whether this enterprise was undertaken and executed, or undertaken and forestalled by accident, or whether no conspiracy at all existed, the circumstances attending the death of Charles are striking enough as an example of the irony of fate. The fall of the mighty conqueror before whom all Europe had quaked was "destined to a barren strand, a petty fortress, and a dubious hand." The death of the great general, if not the work of an unknown assassin, was due to a senseless refusal to take ordinary precautions.^a

[1718 A.D.]

King Oscar on Charles XII

In contemplating Charles XII at the head of his "brave blue boys," it is his own unconquerable and heroic courage, as first among his warriors, that chiefly rivets the attention. His great qualities as a general are too often overlooked. Nevertheless, they were so distinguished, that a Frederick the Great, a Napoleon I, and other renowned commanders and military writers, have not hesitated to set them forth as examples. No Swede has met adversity with more indomitable firmness than Charles XII. None has been so indifferent to success; so little allured by the blandishments of fortune; so little dazzled by glory. These qualities, at times displayed to excess and often productive of mischief, must yet be admired. They were based essentially on religious principles. The uprightness of his character was rarely, if ever, untrue to itself. Charges of cruelty, however, have not been wanting; but they have generally come from quarters by no means unprejudiced, and remain unsubstantiated. On the other hand, it is known that he forbade the employment of torture, even when it was counselled by the highest officials of the kingdom.^h

Rimbaud's View of Charles XII

The adversary of Peter the Great was an admirable knight-errant rather than a sovereign. The absolute power of which he became possessed at an early age left without counterpoise his fiery temper and obstinate character—his "iron head," as the Turks said at Bender. Voltaire observes that he carried all his virtues to such an excess that they became as dangerous as the opposite vices. His dominant virtue and vice was a passion for glory. Glory, and glory alone, was to him the end of war. He appears not to have understood that it was possible to acquire it by practising the arts of peace. Up to the moment when the news of the coalition of Poland, Denmark, and Russia revealed to him his military vocation, he seemed the most insignificant of all the European princes. His conduct appeared to be regulated, not by the political principles current in the eighteenth century, but by some strange and archaic view of honour.^m

Bain's Characterisation of Charles XII

[Charles'] personal habits were simple in the extreme. Nobody would ever have taken him for a king, from his dress. He would not tolerate even the most insignificant ornament, and wore invariably a dark blue coat with a high collar, yellow vest and trousers, large elkskin gauntlets, a broad unembroidered belt of buffalo hide, and huge, heavily spurred riding boots that reached above the knee, with an ordinary cavalry mantle thrown over the whole. His food was of the simplest kind. His manners were austere, but never rude. Nevertheless, Charles was far from being the stern and saturnine young hero he is commonly supposed to have been. On the contrary, he had inherited from his father a strong sense of humour, which constantly asserted itself in all sorts of ways; even in the most anxious and terrible times, he was always rather gay than grave. For his soldiers, Charles had a particular care. They always fared as well, and often better, than he did himself, and he frequently stinted himself to add to their comforts. There are also innumerable instances of his kindness to individuals. On the other hand, it is quite true that he exacted the most absolute obedience, the most

[1718 A.D.]

complete self-surrender from his soldiers and his servants, and had no regard whatever for the sufferings of a foe who threatened to be obstinate. No one, however, could be more generous to the vanquished. Charles' valour, modesty, self-restraint, and piety were certainly his dominant qualities.

But it would be a great mistake to imagine that Charles XII was nothing but a mere warrior, or even a mere hero. Intellectually he was very highly gifted, and had many of the qualities of a great ruler. He had a quick comprehension, great acuteness, and a really marvellous memory, especially for figures.⁹

Crichton and Wheaton on Charles XII

At the time of his death, Charles was little more than thirty-six years of age—one-half of which time had been spent amidst the turmoil of arms or wasted in foreign exile. The instinctive traits of his character were few, but strongly marked. War was his ruling passion; and in him the world beheld the rare spectacle of a conqueror bent on subduing kingdoms for the mere gratification of giving them to others, and without any apparent wish to enlarge his own dominions. The glory of his exploits dazzled all Europe; but it was the passing splendour of a meteor; and not a vestige of his greatness survives, except the memory of his renown and the names of the places immortalised by his battles. All the actions of this prince, even those of his private life, appear to have sprung from a misdirected ambition; blind to consequences, he pursued his infatuated career, until his extravagance ruined Sweden and gave his enemies that ascendancy which it had been the sole object of his reign to prevent.¹

THE FATE OF VON GORTZ

The death of Charles was considered a signal for a general cessation of war. The prince of Hesse, who commanded under the king, immediately raised the siege of Frederikshald, and led back the Swedes to their own country. Nor did the Danes attempt to molest them on their march.

The first act of the senate of Sweden, after being informed of the fate of their sovereign, was to order the baron von Gortz to be arrested; and a new crime was invented for his destruction. He was accused of having "slanderosly misrepresented the nation to the king." He had, at least, encouraged the king in his ambitious projects, which had brought the nation to the verge of ruin. He had invented a number of oppressive taxes in order to support those projects; and, when every other resource failed, he had advised his master to give to copper money the value of silver—an expedient productive of more misery than all the former. In resentment of these injuries, Görtz, though found guilty of no legal crime, was condemned to lose his head, and was executed at the foot of the common gallows.²

CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION

Scarcely was the dreaded Charles dead, when Sweden, aroused as though out of a long sleep, beheld the wounds inflicted upon her by despotism, and sought means by which she could forever make sure that there should be no return of such cruelties. Fortunately, Charles, who had never married, left no heirs; consequently, the council of state, after appointing a successor, could restrict his powers according to their inclination. Their choice fell upon Charles' younger sister, Ulrica Eleonora, wife of the hereditary prince Fred-

[1720 A.D.]

erick of Hesse-Cassel. She had before renounced all claim to the throne and the detested sovereign power, by signing on the 23rd of January, 1720, a new constitution, the like of which neither Aristotle nor Montesquieu, nor any other political philosopher, had ever constructed or suggested; wherein the name of monarchy was retained simply as an antique decoration, but under the appearance of democracy, all the monarch's power was, in reality, in thralldom to the most detestable aristocracy.

According to this form of government, the highest (sovereign) power was to lie with the council of state, which was to consist of four divisions: nobility, clergy, citizens, and peasants. To the council of state, assembled in the diet, all incidental improvements and applications of the new form of government were to be referred; also the further restrictions of monarchical power if deemed advisable, the entire jurisdiction, the fixing of duties, the arrangement of the coinage, the right of declaring war, etc. The council should select those who were to be entrusted with the education of the royal children, and these persons were to be retained or replaced in their office as that body thought fit; its consent had also to be obtained before the monarch could cross the boundaries of the kingdom. Every three years the diet was to assemble, and the different classes were expected to attend, even if not especially summoned. The king possessed the executive power, but only with and within the council of the kingdom, which was to consist of sixteen persons chosen from the hereditary nobility of Sweden, who were to advise the king, unasked, what the law of the kingdom was, and who were independent of him and of all courts of justice, subject only to the council of state, and obliged to give an account of themselves only on the occasions when this was assembled. In the council of the kingdom the king had two votes and, in cases of equal voting, the usual right of a president; but in no case was his right of judging to be exercised without, and still less against, the council of the kingdom. When a decision was arrived at by the majority of the council of the kingdom, the king had to sign; or, failing this, the council was authorized to have the king's name cut on a stamp, which should be printed at the conclusion of a deed, and which should have equal value with the king's written signature.

In order, moreover, that this servant of the diet and president of the council of the kingdom called king, should, at least in the insignificant frippery of outside pomp, have something in common with the European sovereigns, the following rights were assigned to him, which were his exclusive property: (1) personal inviolability; (2) free rights of jurisdiction over his personal court and court servants; (3) the right, at his coronation, to create barons and counts, knights and commanders of the royal orders. To this new constitution, of which we have here only given the main outlines, a terrible clause was appended, which declared whoso should dare to scheme, or undertake, or even contemplate aught against it, should be punished as for high treason.

Thus manifold and oppressive were the conditions which attended Ulrica Eleonora's accession to the Swedish throne. In the following year (1720), with consent of the assembly, she resigned the crown to her husband, Frederick I, who had to submit to the same conditions.

THE PEACE OF NYSTAD

The most urgent duty of Ulrica on her accession was to obtain peace; but this object could not be accomplished without many painful sacrifices. To

[1730 A.D.]

George I of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, she ceded Bremen and Verden, in return for 1,000,000 crowns and the co-operation of a fleet in the Baltic. This reinforcement was of the highest advantage to her cause, since it enabled her to obtain more favourable terms from her other enemies. Prussia she disarmed by the cession of Stettin, Usedom, Wollin, and that part of Pomerania which lies between the Oder and the Peene. Denmark was propitiated by a gift of 600,000 dollars, and even induced to restore Rugen, Stralsund, Wismar, with Pomerania north of the Peene.



LINNÆUS
(1707-1778)

The czar had still to be pacified. His demands were large and vehement; and when they were refused, he ravaged the Swedish coast and burned some of the villages. The menaces of England, however, and the interposition of other powers interested in procuring something like a balance in the North, compelled him to negotiate. By the Treaty of Nystad, he consented to restore Finland, and to pay 2,000,000 crowns, in return for the cession of Ingermanland, Karelia, and Esthonia, Viborg with its territory, and the islands of Ösel and Dago. He also agreed that the Swedish merchants should immediately export, duty free, from Reval or Riga, or any other port on the Baltic, corn to

the value of 50,000 roubles. But to Sweden the most advantageous part of this treaty was the exchange of prisoners, of whom 150,000 groaned in the dominions of the czar.

REIGN OF FREDERICK I (1720-1751 A.D.)

The administration of Frederick I was one of great prudence. To reform abuses, to render his mines more productive, to encourage trade, to improve the laws, to place the kingdom in a better state of defence, were his constant objects. Yet he bore, with much secret dissatisfaction, the restrictions which had been placed on the royal authority. In his foreign relations, Frederick steadily looked to his interests. On the death of his father, in 1730, he succeeded to the principality of Hesse-Cassel, and therefore came into closer contact with the empire. This, however, was an evil to Sweden, which, from its isolated position and the circumscription of its territories south of the Baltic, could have little interest in European matters. The sovereign of the petty German state was generally more visible than the monarch of Denmark. The enemy which he watched with the most distrust was Russia.

[¹ Carolus Linnæus (Karl von Linné) among the greatest of naturalists, was born at Råshult, Sweden, and is famous as the founder of systematic botany.]

[1741 A.D.]

He allied himself with Turkey, with Poland, with any power which dreaded the ambition of the autocrat. If Finland had been ceded, the act had been an ungracious one; and the location of Russian troops towards the frontier rendered necessary the transmission of Swedish armies into that province. Sometimes, too, the gold of Russia had its influence over the very senators of Frederick. Incensed at a conspiracy in which some officers of the administration were deeply implicated, the diet of 1741 declared war against Russia.^b The Swedes wanted to repair the disasters of the Treaty of Nystad by recovering the numerous provinces they had lost through it. To achieve this end, the moment could not have been better chosen, for the Russians were then waging a bitter war with Turkey. Besides this, an officer named Sinclair, who was serving in the Swedish army, had been killed in Silesia by a detachment of Russian troops while returning from a mission of the government to Constantinople and Warsaw. It is true that he was charged with negotiating an alliance with Poland and Turkey against Russia; but his murder none the less was a flagrant violation of the law of nations.

France recognised these three reasons as valid, and found the majority in the estates well disposed to undertake a war which, thanks to the favourable circumstances, ought to restore to Sweden all that she had lost. According to the Constitution of 1720, it was to the estates that the right of declaring war belonged, but the estates were divided in opinion, and lost precious time in declamations and intrigue, so that by the time they decided to send an advance army of six thousand men into Finland, under the command of Baron Buddenbrock, Russia had already made peace with the sultan. War was then useless so far as the interests of Sweden and France were concerned, and preparations were suspended. The moment had passed, but a new occasion soon arose. The empress Anna had just died, and Russia seemed absorbed by the events following upon her death. France, which was looking for some powerful diversion, undertook to prevent the Russians from taking part in the war, which was about to ensue, for the succession of the emperor Charles VI, and employed all its influence with the Swedish estates to obtain a prompt expedition against Russia. Anarchy was reigning in the estates. The party of the caps opposed a strong resistance to that of the hats on the subject of the war; and the hats, who were in the majority, accused their opponents of high treason, while they voted the question to be submitted to a committee whose members were to be chosen from among their own party. As might have been expected, the committee pronounced for war, but the favourable moment had again passed, and by the time war was declared (August 4th, 1741) the Russians had made all their preparations.

This they proved well by beginning hostilities themselves. Their generals, Lacy and Keith, entered Finland, and placed themselves in front of the Swedish army commanded by Count Levenhaupt and Baron Buddenbrock. The meeting of the two armies took place at Willmanstrand on the 3rd of September, 1741; and after a terrible struggle the Swedes were put to flight. This cruel defeat utterly prostrated Sweden, which did not doubt that the Russians would follow up their victory. The victorious army was already advancing, when a revolution broke out in the palace at St. Petersburg. The empress Anna had designated the young prince Ivan, her nephew and son of Anton Ulrich of Brunswick, as her successor. Ivan was only three months old when the empress died, and was then proclaimed czar under the regency of Biron. But near to the throne stood Elizabeth Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great, and everyone felt that a prince of tender years was the last thing wanted at that time upon the Russian throne. Elizabeth

[1742-1743 A.D.]

soon found herself supported by a powerful party, and Prince Ivan was shut up in a fortress. Elizabeth, having obtained possession of the government, wished to secure herself in it, and entered into negotiations with the Swedes, to whom she offered a truce. This was a fine occasion for the estates to repair the harm they had done to Sweden. Perhaps, with the exercise of some tact, they might have obtained not only a long truce, but even an honourable peace. They got neither the one nor the other, however, and this because they imagined that Russia was going to be forced to make peace, through the course of internal events, and would be only too glad to have it at any price. Their claims were so absurdly exaggerated that the Russian army again entered Finland. The Swedes, driven back to Helsingfors and entirely surrounded by Russians, laid down their arms on the 20th of August, 1742.

The news of this event filled Stockholm with stupor and fright; the estates had not realised the mistake they had made until they saw its effects. Sweden's position was becoming more and more precarious. She was now entirely at the mercy of her enemy and did not know what new concessions she might be obliged to make. Would she not have to cede the whole of Finland, and thus lose a third of her possessions? Most fortunately for Sweden, grave complications *à propos* of the future successor to King Frederick now arose, and distracted Russia from her projects of revenge by drawing attention to a danger of great gravity. Denmark, foreseeing the approaching end of King Frederick, and that he would leave no heir, had put forward her own prince royal [as a candidate], and incited a revolt in Dalecarlia, the aim of which was the re-establishment of the Union of Kalmar. The Dalecarlian peasants took up arms, and set out for Stockholm, which they besieged; but the senate and the estates energetically opposed the adoption of the Danish prince as heir to Frederick I, and the peasants were repulsed.

Elizabeth, who had been particularly frightened by the project of the re-establishment of the union of Sweden and Denmark, now intervened, and let it be understood that if she were consulted on the choice of Frederick's successor, the conditions might be less hard for Sweden. Counsel was taken at Stockholm, and it was decided to defer to the wish expressed by the czarina, as being infinitely better than the loss of Finland. Russia had always favoured the claims of the dukes of Holstein. There was, as a matter of fact, a son of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp and Anna Petrovna, eldest daughter of Peter the Great. This was Karl Peter Ulrich, who afterwards ruled over Russia as Peter III. But Elizabeth, his aunt, had just made him grand duke of Russia, and it was on the morrow of the day when he had been thus chosen to be her successor, that Swedish ambassadors arrived to offer him their crown. It was therefore necessary to fall back upon another prince of the house of Holstein, Adolphus Frederick, a distant descendant of Charles IX. Adolphus Frederick was therefore proclaimed successor to Frederick, and the empress at once sent emissaries to Åbo, where a treaty of peace, sufficiently favourable to Sweden, was signed in 1743. Elizabeth demanded in the treaty only a part of Finland, the province of Kymmenegard, and the fortresses of Nyslott, Fredrikshamn, and Willmanstrand. It seems a curious thing that Russia should by that treaty have guaranteed the constitution of 1720. This was a further proof that the form of government introduced into Sweden after the occurrence at Frederikshald could only weaken and lower Russia's rival.

After the Peace of Åbo, the senate found nothing better to do than to condemn to death the two generals Buddenbrock and Levenhaupt, who had faithfully executed its own stupid orders. Their heads were cut off as though they had been traitors.⁶

[1757 A.D.]

REIGN OF ADOLPHUS FREDERICK (1751-1771 A.D.)

Frederick died in 1751, and as he left no children, Adolphus Frederick, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, was elected as his successor — a good prince, but far from possessing the energy or grasp of mind which could turn to account a form of government in which only an overpowering supremacy of mind could have accomplished anything really effective. Before he mounted the Swedish throne, Adolphus Frederick had, in 1744, wedded Ulrica Louisa, the sister of Frederick II, king of Prussia; and from this union sprang three sons, Gustavus, Charles, and Frederick Adolphus.

Before his coronation, the state-council had fettered King Adolphus Frederick, by making him sign a document wherein he swore eternal enmity to absolute sovereignty, with the addition that, as soon as he had signed this oath, the members of the state council were immediately released from their vows of allegiance to him; and all who might contemplate working for the reintroduction of sovereignty were to be punished as the abhorred enemies and betrayers of him and their country. Whoever desired any secular or ecclesiastical office in the kingdom must first bind himself by an oath against absolutism; and, moreover, the power possessed by members of the diet did not confer authority to increase at their will the power of the reigning monarch, but merely the ability sensibly to restrict it.

The inevitable in such a form of government had already happened. As early as 1726, during the reign of his predecessor, King Frederick I, the diet had split into two parties. At the head of one faction stood Count Arvid Horn, whose supporters were called the "caps." The other party was led by Count Charles Gyllenborg, and went by the name of the "hats." The caps felt, and said, that Sweden absolutely needed a period of peace and strict economy. Accordingly, they desired peace with Russia, Prussia, and Denmark. The hats, on the contrary, were of opinion that Sweden must reconquer the noblest pearls in its crown, Livonia and Finland; Russia was Sweden's natural enemy, and so was Russia's best ally, France. In their earliest strife the caps were inclined towards the court, and supported by it; afterwards, the caps were more in sympathy with the republicans, and the hats with the court party.

These two factions now hated, caballed against, and persecuted one another — now in open enmity, now in secret intrigue — as bitterly and incessantly as did ever the Guelfs and the Ghibellines in the Middle Ages in Italy, or the democrats and the aristocrats in France. Nothing, to give a special instance, has equalled the tricks whereby, in the distribution of state offices, each party sought to weaken the other, and so make its own power supreme. The Swedish nobility was, for the most part, not rich enough to be able to live independently of office, and too proud to support itself by honest trade. It naturally happened, therefore, that for one office there were many candidates. Each of the unsuccessful ones loudly protested against the injustice exercised. He might confidently expect that the whole of the party at that moment inferior in power would join him in decrying the oppression he denounced; and that they eventually should get the upper hand would assuredly be to his advantage.]

Such was the state of affairs at home, and in addition, Sweden, contrary to her best interests as well as to the whole system of her politics, joined the confederacy formed by Russia, Poland, Austria, and France, against the king of Prussia, whose rising greatness the court of Vienna had contemplated with envy and alarm. While Bohemia, Saxony, and Silesia were the theatre

[1757-1767 A.D.]

of operations between the contending armies, twenty thousand Swedes had marched into Pomerania, under pretence of guaranteeing the Treaty of Westphalia, and with the hope of recovering their former possessions in that country. As the Prussians were occupied in other quarters, and defeating the Austrians and French in successive engagements, the northern invaders took the towns of Demmin and Anklam, reduced the islands of Usedom and Wollin, and laid the whole district under contribution, as the garrison of Stettin, consisting of ten thousand men, could not leave that important fortress in order to check their devastations. The important victory which Frederick of Prussia gained at Leuthen (December 5, 1757), and the retreat of the Russians, who were compelled to return home for want of provisions, enabled General Schwald to conduct thirty thousand Prussians into Pomerania, where he soon obliged the Swedes to abandon the greater part of their conquests and retire under the cannon of Stralsund. Anklam, Demmin, and other towns were recovered; the Russian magazines in Poland were destroyed; yet no advances towards peace were made by either the court of Stockholm or that of St. Petersburg.

At length the protracted storm was happily dissipated by the death of the empress Elizabeth and the accession of her nephew Peter III to the throne — events which created a total revolution both in the councils and the administration of the Russian government. The new czar was a profound admirer of the great Frederick, and he took an early opportunity of making pacific overtures to that sovereign. A suspension of arms was signed between the two monarchs, which was followed by a treaty of peace, concluded at St. Petersburg May 5th, 1762. By this convention, Peter surrendered all the conquests made in Prussia and Pomerania during the war; he renounced the alliance he had contracted against Frederick; and agreed to assist him with a body of troops in Silesia. Sweden, which had experienced nothing but defeats and repulses from armies greatly inferior to her own, followed the example of Russia in consenting to a truce with his Prussian majesty, which prepared the way for the treaty of amity signed at Hamburg on May 22nd of that year, between the two kingdoms.¹

Meanwhile in Sweden the two parties, the hats and caps, alternately rose and sank. In the diet which sat from 1765 to 1767 — that is, three years, instead of the legal three months — the caps had the predominance. Wishing to make their triumph more public, during this diet they gave the Swedish nation freedom of the press and of thought — the best gift that can be given to mankind; but which has often proved dangerous to the giver. Protocols, reports, memoranda, leaflets of all kinds, with and without names, were now incessantly distributed in the provinces. Although of various kinds and tendencies, all were alike in the intention to discover the want of skill or the danger of the measures adopted by the victorious party; and it will be easily understood that therein all good which that party did was represented in a concave glass, and all mistakes magnified. By this means the discontent was spread so universally, and grew to such a height, that King Adolphus Frederick was advised to use it to his own advantage. Already in June, 1756, a previous conspiracy in favour of the court had sought, by an attempted revolution, to increase the power of the crown; but it was discovered prematurely, and the authors, who were unable to escape, atoned for it with their lives. The blood of Horn, and of others with equally great names, flowed on the scaffold at Stockholm. Made still more timid by this tragedy, Adolphus Frederick, who by nature was placid rather than bold, had patiently acquiesced in his fate. However, on the one side stood his wife, the sister

[1776 A.D.]

of Frederick the Great, whose high spirit was only too much wrought upon by circumstances, and on the other, a son born for greatness, Gustavus — to whose mind, at sight of the scorn with which his father was treated, the thought, "So they will treat you in the future," penetrated like a lightning flash.]

Foreign Interference in Sweden

It had been the constant policy of France to maintain her superiority in the councils of Stockholm, in opposition to Russia and England; and for several years the Swedish court might be called a battle-field on which these foreign powers contended for the mastery; not by shedding blood, but in trying, by secret intrigues and various means of corruption, to countermine each other's projects. According as these clandestine schemes succeeded, the hat or the cap party alternately prevailed; the king, either from want of firmness or motives of expediency, adhering sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other.

It was the preponderance of French agency that had hurried Sweden into the late unfortunate war, in which she was exposed not only to defeats, but to an oppressive load of expenses, estimated at £3,500,000, which the paltry subsidies of her ally contributed but little to reduce. Of the annual grants promised by France, a large sum remained due; and it was by threatening to withhold payment of these arrears that she contrived so long to maintain her ascendancy in the Swedish diet. At length it was officially announced that, if the court of Versailles did not speedily execute its engagements, a British minister would be received at Stockholm. During the Seven Years' War, no envoy from that country had been admitted, in consequence of the league with Prussia; but now Sir John Goodricke was despatched in that capacity, and through his co-operation with the Russian ambassador the caps became the triumphant party. The effect of this change was the conclusion of a new treaty of amity and commerce (1776) between these three states respectively, in which it was stipulated that the subjects of each should enjoy in their several kingdoms, ports, and havens, all the reciprocal advantages and immunities granted to the most favoured nations. France, after ten years of intrigue and a vast sacrifice of blood and treasure, thus beheld her primary object thwarted, and the political supremacy for which she had struggled, monopolised by her enemies. But neither the loss of her influence, nor the new combination of power against her, could eradicate her desire of dominating over Sweden.

The duke de Choiseul, then minister for foreign affairs, was determined to reassert her ascendancy at all hazards. Having failed in one project, he invented another, and sought to govern under the name of Frederick Adol-



GUSTAVUS III
(1746-1792)

[1771-1772 A.D.]

phus. The scheme was at once daring and ingenious, embracing the bold design of rendering the king absolute, and restoring to the crown all the prerogatives it had lost. Louis XV had endeavoured to implicate the Swedes in the war between Russia and the Porte; but as the sovereign was entirely dependent on the estates, which were then swayed by the party adverse to the interests of France, it became necessary to attempt a change in the constitution. The prospect of augmented power, and the influence of the queen, prevailed with his majesty to favour the enterprise of the French minister. The duke de Choiseul so far carried his point as to obtain the predominance in the diet of the hat or royalist party; but the more difficult task still remained: to procure the sanction of the diet to any proposal for subverting the constitution, particularly as the suggestion of such an alteration in that assembly was declared to be high treason.

As a last effort, the partisans of France made a secret proposal that force should be used to subvert the constitution of Sweden; but the moderation of Adolphus Frederick would not allow him to countenance that experiment. This obstacle, however, was speedily removed by the death of that excellent prince (February 12th, 1771), and the completion of the scheme begun under the father was accomplished by the bold and artful policy of the son.

GUSTAVUS III AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1772

Gustavus III, who next ascended the throne, was then in France, having undertaken a journey to that country with a view to obtain the performance of her pecuniary engagements. The acquisition of the regal dignity gave an unexpected success to the negotiation. A promise was obtained from the French court to pay Sweden 1,500,000 livres annually, and to furnish the means of supporting the French party at the ensuing diet. Count Scheffer, who had been despatched to Paris to communicate the intelligence of his late majesty's death, had the address, by representing to Louis XV the deplorable situation to which the finances of the kingdom were reduced by the withholding of payment of the subsidies so long due, to procure an order for immediately liquidating a considerable portion of the arrears.¹

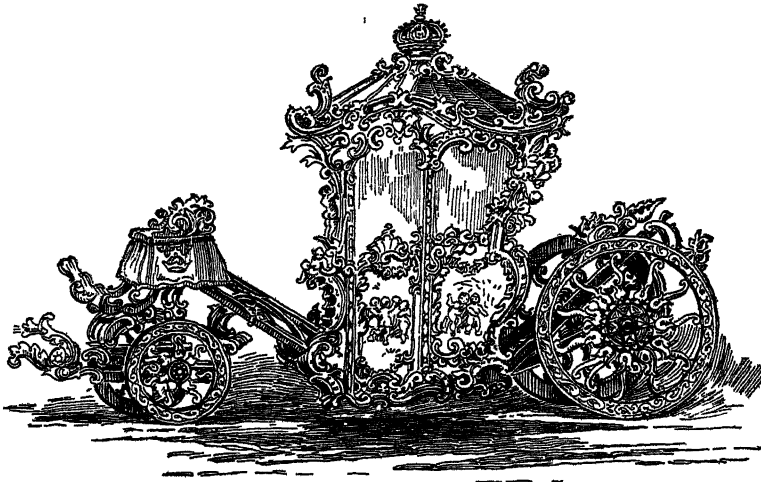
King Gustavus III made his entry into Stockholm on May 30th, 1771, amidst the acclamations of his people. After the reign of two German mock-kings, he was the first monarch who was a native of the country and a Swede at heart, and who spoke to his Swedish subjects in their mother tongue. He was, moreover, condescending and eloquent as no sovereign of that country had been within the memory of living man.

The diet assembled on the 13th of June. "It is the proud ambition of my life," thus the king addressed the estates, "to be the first citizen of a free nation. Not in pomp, nor in absolute power, but in concord and love, does the happiness of a people consist." But the diet did as all its predecessors had done. A scandalous quarrel between the hats, who ruled the nobility, and the caps, who dominated the other three estates, surged to and fro through eight months of tumult and clamour — a spectacle enacted as if by command, to exhibit once more to the whole world the hideous disorder of a commonwealth corroded through and through by the spirit of faction, and which was turned to account by skilful pens to prophesy through the press that Sweden would share the fate of Poland, unless she had timely recourse to the saving standard of monarchy. At the beginning of 1772, a Stockholm paper which had a wide circulation proclaimed: "It is time for us to think

[1772 A.D.]

of the morrow. We are menaced by the fate of Poland, but we may find a Gustavus Adolphus even yet. What is to blame for the unhappy fate of Poland? The mutability of the law, the perpetual abasement of the power of the crown, with its inevitable consequence, the intermeddling of powerful neighbours in home affairs. Sweden is safe from such a doom as long as we do not prove false to our king and country; we have an ancient country to defend, and a great king to save. Fellow citizens! If the memory of Gustavus Adolphus still lives in your hearts, oh turn to his grave! From his ashes a voice goes forth that cries to each one of you, 'The hour is come at last!'"

After eight months of offensive brawling, the estates had at length got the new act of security into shape; and the king was to be crowned on May



STATE COACH OF GUSTAVUS III

29th, after it was signed. But while the caps were revelling in the proud consciousness of victory over the hats, the king was laying the mine which was to blow them all up. With his brothers, Princes Charles and Frederick Adolphus, and some enterprising officers of the army, among whom Colonel Sprengporten and Captain Hellichius were conspicuous, he had concerted the plan which was put into execution on August 12th, 1772, when the last-named officer paraded the three hundred men who formed the garrison of the fortress of Christianstad in Skåne, and read out a manifesto repudiating allegiance to the "so-called estates of the kingdom" because they had trodden law and justice underfoot, and had given the nation over to misery and famine, and the king's majesty to shame and dishonour. "The way is open, brave Swedes!" — such were the concluding words of the proclamation — "so long as our king and country do not receive their due, each one of us will rather die than lay down his arms. Come to us, convince yourselves of the sincerity of our intentions, and then make common cause with us." According to a preconcerted arrangement, the first person to get wind of this insurrection was Prince Charles, who was at Karlskrona, and who promptly collected five regiments to save the king from a pretended conspiracy, which was supposed to be impending over him and the constitution.

While the secret committee at Stockholm was endeavouring to quell the

[1772 A.D.]

tumult by issuing tardy orders, the king played the *ingénu* with frigid composure, drew embroidery patterns for ladies of the court, went to the opera on the evening of the 18th of August, and afterward held a brilliant reception at the palace, jested and trifled, like the most simple-minded of mortals. On the morning of the 19th, he mounted his horse, rode to the armoury, collected the guards who were preparing to take their turn on duty, and led them in person to the palace. In the guard-room he made an affecting speech to the officers of the troops just coming on duty, and those about to go off, and concluded by asking them whether they were willing to support the enterprise he had taken in hand, for the good of his country and the deliverance of himself and all good Swedes from further oppression at home and abroad, and to take an oath to that effect to his majesty the king alone. All but two of his hearers took the oath; the king tied a white handkerchief round his left arm, and the officers followed his example. Orders were immediately issued for surrounding the hall of the council of state with a guard, which should allow no one in or out. The king then paraded the assembled troops, repeated what he had already said to the officers: the men hailed it with applause, and cried, "God save Gustavus III!"

As it had been in front of the palace, so it was in the city when the king rode through the streets, his drawn sword in his hand, bowing graciously to right and left; troops and citizens alike greeted him with a storm of cheers. The secret committee dispersed in haste; the council of state never stirred; while the king distributed powder and shot among the soldiers, and posted cannon in front of the palace, on the bridges, and at the city gates, with gunners beside them with lighted matches in their hands. All the administrative colleges and the admiralty had done homage already, when the king received, first, the new oath of fealty from the whole body of magistrates, in the guild hall, and, then, at noon, the congratulations of the foreign ambassadors, whom he had invited to dinner at the palace. In a couple of hours, and without shedding a single drop of blood, he had overthrown a government of hireling ranters and craven praters who did not venture to oppose him by so much as a word; and on the 20th he assembled all the citizens of Stockholm, in order that he might take the royal oath of fidelity to his people, and receive the oath of allegiance from them. The final act of the revolution followed next day, when the king received the estates in the assembly hall of the diet, round which the grenadiers and cannon were ranged on every side, and after administering a sharp rebuke to the spirit of faction by which Sweden had hitherto been distracted and disgraced, caused a new constitution, consisting of fifty-seven articles, to be read — a constitution that bore not the slightest resemblance to that of 1720, which he had sworn to respect, but nevertheless accorded well with his promise to establish no form of despotism. For, in substance, the new fundamental law of the state, which the estates accepted without debate and with touching unanimity, established a monarchy limited by wise laws imposed by itself.

The main provisions of the new constitution were as follows: (1) The estates of the kingdom to subsist as before; no new laws to be made nor old laws repealed without their concurrence (Art. 40); but the king alone to determine when and where the diet shall assemble (Art. 38); the estates to concern themselves solely with the matters submitted to them by the king (Art. 49); and no diet to last longer than three months (Art. 46). (2) The king to appoint the councillors of state, who are responsible to him alone; the councillors to advise him in matters in which he shall confer with them (Art. 4); but to have no more than a consultative voice, and the decision to

[1777 A.D.]

rest with the king alone (Art. 8). (3) The king to have the prerogative of concluding armistices, peace, and offensive and defensive alliances (Art. 6); likewise the right of waging a defensive war on his own absolute authority (Art. 45); an offensive war, only with the consent of the estates (Art. 48). (4) The existing taxes to remain in force until new ones have been agreed upon (Art. 46); in the event of war, the king to be at liberty to take any measures conducive to the good of the state, particularly in the matter of levying taxes. (5) The supreme command of the forces by land and sea to pertain to the king alone.

At six-and-twenty the nephew of Frederick the Great had given proof of an unusual combination of prudence and energy, and those who had held no methods beneath them in their attacks on the king and his party, could not fairly complain of his duplicity and breach of faith. The factions had raged together, using the dungeon, the rack, and the headsman's axe against all who would have put an end to the heinous corruption of the body politic by strengthening the monarchy; the monarch who broke their dominion needed only to show his weapons, only to draw his sword, and the cowardice that waits upon an evil conscience did the rest. A couple of arrests of a few hours duration was the whole extent of the force required for the victory of the 19th of August.^a

In a few years Gustavus is said to have repented of his liberality in regard to the constitution. That his powers were more limited than he intended is probably true; but they were larger than pleased such people as were in the interest of the Russian empress. He always looked with anxiety towards the east. In 1777, he paid a formal visit to Catherine II, whose intentions respecting him he was desirous to fathom; but she was impenetrable; and though he was magnificently entertained, and, in return, acceded to the armed neutrality, there was no good-will between them. She ever regretted the decline of her influence over a kingdom which she had been accustomed to regard in the light of a province; the other, aware of the sentiment and apprehensive of future intrigues, could not assume a cordiality which he did not feel.^b

Gustavus, as Schlosser^c says, had at last introduced law and order into Sweden; but otherwise he did more for court festivals, masked balls, theatres, architectural structures, and a French *genre* of literature, on which enormous sums were wasted, than for the benefit of the people, and he even imposed greater restrictions on the press than those existing under the oligarchy he had overturned. In the middle of the 18th century, the Swedish masons had discovered that the English masonry, which had found its way in among them, was too simple and humble; and they longed for greater splendour and pomp, secrets and elaborations. The fantastic king endeavoured to supply these supposed needs by working out a new Swedish system, made up from the genuine masonry and what was understood by the term "Rosicrucianism," but in particular from the system of Clermont; and in this creation the writings and teachings of the mystic Swedenborg may not have been without their effect.^d

From the year 1777 Gustavus entered on a path which Catherine II must have been pleased to see him tread; and she therefore did everything in her power to encourage him in his folly. He strove to imitate her splendour, without being possessed of her means, and wished, like her, to become a patron and protector of the fine arts. In reference to the empress of Russia, indeed, Gustavus III of Sweden played no very honourable part. He condescended to accept her presents, and received her acts of politeness with

[1787 A.D.]

gratitude, and afterwards wished to play the hero and measure his strength with hers.

If we ascribe ever so much of the reproaches thrown upon the king to intrigues and to the calumnies of that portion of the high nobility which was humbled in 1772, still his extravagance on his journeys and in fêtes and balls, operas and plays, jousting and ostentation, with the arts and artists, was proof enough that the proceeds of his hateful brandy monopoly, which his extravagance had impelled him to make in 1775, would not long suffice to meet those deficiencies which his waste and extravagance had caused in the finances of the kingdom.⁹

RUSSIAN WARS OF GUSTAVUS III

The treaties which Sweden formed with the Porte, though chiefly designed for commercial objects, also gave umbrage to the empress, who wished to



EMMANUEL SWEDENBORG, SWEDISH
PHILOSOPHER
(1688-1772)

engross the wealth, no less than the power, of the North. When, in 1787, the sultan declared war against her, Gustavus did the same, without consulting the diet. That war was not agreeable to the nation, still less to that portion of it in the interests of Russia — the nobles and leading burghers who were pensioned by Catherine. Even the moderate of all parties were dissatisfied with the power thus claimed by the king; but the armaments sailed. While the land forces reduced several fortresses in Russian Finland, a fleet of twenty sail, under the duke of Södermanland, the king's brother, appeared off Kronstadt, and threw St. Petersburg itself into consternation. The reduction of Fredrikshamn, which may be called one of the outworks of the Russian capital, was the great object of Gustavus; but to his inexpressible mortifica-

tion, many of his officers refused to march any farther, alleging as the reason that, by the Swedish constitution, they could not join in a war which the nation had not sanctioned. In vain did he remonstrate; in vain arrest the officers, and send them to be tried at Stockholm: their example influenced the rest, and he was compelled to suspend his operations. His disquietude was increased by the hostilities of the Danes, who, at the call of the empress their ally, invaded Sweden, penetrated into Västergötland, and laid siege to Gothenburg. The result might have been more serious had not England, Holland, and Prussia, ever intent on the balance of European power, forced the two kings of Denmark and Sweden to sign a truce.

That Gustavus should be incensed with this failure of his hopes was natural; and he determined to set at rest the dispute as to his right of making peace or war, by wresting from the estates its formal recognition. The measures which he submitted were embodied in the Act of Security, and included some other declarations which he wished to be made. By the three inferior orders the act was sanctioned; but the nobles withheld their

[1790-1792 A.D.]

consent. He then contended that, as the bill was not legislative but merely declaratory, and had been received by three-fourths of the orders, it would have the force of law if signed by the president, without the consent of the nobles. The president concurred in this view of the case, and signed it.

With his increased prerogatives, or rather, with their amplified declaration, Gustavus now hoped to push the war against Russia with new vigour. In the first campaign, the fortune of the war was nearly balanced, both in Finland and on the deep. In the next, the advantage was manifestly on the side of Sweden. In one naval action he captured or destroyed forty-two vessels of the enemy. Both parties, being deserted by their allies, inclined for peace; and it was concluded in 1790, in the camp near the bank of the Kymmene. They restored their conquests and their prisoners, so that things remained exactly as they were before the war. In two years Russia and Turkey agreed to articles of pacification. That portentous event, the French Revolution, made all Europe hasten towards a reconciliation, that the progress of the new power might be watched and resisted.

From the first appearance of that change, the chivalry of Gustavus induced him to propose some magnificent design for the benefit of the French royal family. He was also anxious for the general interest of thrones; and he was easily persuaded to become the head of a European coalition against principles and measures which struck at the root of all security. With a large army of Swedes and Russians, he was to land in Normandy and march at once on Paris: on the south, France was to be invaded by the Spaniards; while, in the east, the Austrians, the Sardinians, and other allies were to be equally active. These combined operations were to be directed by Gustavus who, in conjunction with the emperor Leopold, was adopting the most effectual measures for success, when Leopold paid the debt of nature, in less than a month after the signature of the treaty. In a fortnight more, the king himself was assassinated at a ball.

TRAGIC END OF GUSTAVUS III

The author of the deed, Anckarström, was traced, arrested, tried, and executed; but he had accomplices who did not suffer the extreme penalty, and of whom some were nominally punished. This circumstance, coupled with the little zeal shown for his memory by his brother, the duke of Södermanland (regent during the minority of his son, Gustavus IV), and with other events, caused the Swedes themselves to believe that the nearest of his kinsmen were privy to the deed; that the Jacobins of Paris had no participation in it; and that the discontented nobles were equally innocent of it. It may be, however, that all these parties were, more or less, implicated in it; and that the duke, seeing the agitation of men's minds, placed himself at the head of the movement, though he directed its operations unseen.

Connected with this tragedy are some facts given by Laing in his *Tour in Sweden*: "The assassin Anckarström appears to have had no injuries to avenge, to have been no political or religious fanatic, no madman, but simply a cold-blooded murderer, who had miscalculated the political position or wishes of those who would gain by his crime, and the circumstances on which he had relied for his escape and their protection and secret favour. He shot the king at a masquerade in the Opera House, about midnight, on the 16th of March, 1792." In a recent Swedish publication the following anecdote is given, which points out the direction public suspicion has taken: When the king felt himself wounded, his first care was to send his confidential page

De Besche to communicate the event to his brother, the duke of Södermanland; probably, says the writer, to ascertain how deeply wounded the fraternal heart would be by the tidings. The duke's court establishment had supped and retired at an early hour, as usual, and his chamberlain, who slept in the anteroom, wished to prevent De Besche from going into the duke's sleeping apartments, as his royal highness had long before retired to rest. De Besche, having the king's orders, persisted in going in, and found the duke, not undressed and in bed, but arrayed in his full state uniform as high admiral — his blue riband on, his sword and feathered hat in readiness on a stool beside him — with wax candles lighted on the tables and sitting on a

sofa, awaiting, as the writer expresses it, the calls of providence. Such suspicions are often adopted, because they solve circumstances not otherwise explicable, and because the situation and character of the individual admit the possibility or probability of his guilt. The king had long been married without issue, and his brother was considered heir to the crown. The birth of Gustavus' son, on the 1st of November, 1778, put an end to prospects reckoned upon as a certainty. The peculiarity of this position might give rise to the suspicion; and the subsequent actions of the duke furnishing nothing to refute and something to confirm it, the demoralised state, also, of the Swedish court rendering nothing evil incredible, the suspicion still attaches to this personage.

He was regent during his nephew's minority, and one act of his government marks his character. His late brother's personal friend, a general Armfeldt, was condemned, while absent, for treason; and the countess Mag-



ADOLF FREDERICK MUNK, FRIEND OF
GUSTAVUS III OF SWEDEN

(1749-1831)

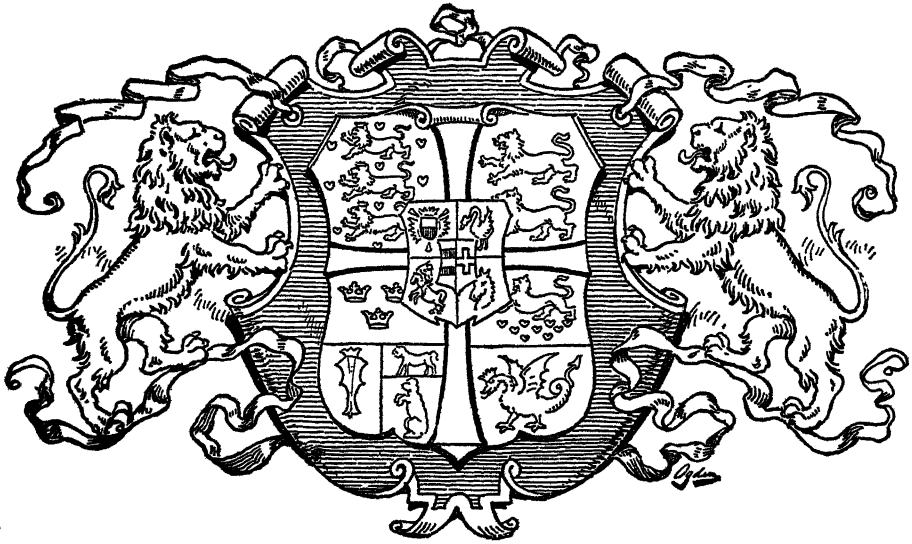
dalena Rudensköld — a young lady of great beauty, the daughter of an old friend of his father, brought up at the court of his own sister, and who it was known had rejected his licentious addresses — was condemned as an accomplice in the treason of her friend or lover, General Armfeldt, and punished, by the duke's special command, with the pillory and imprisonment for life in the common house of correction. The young king, on coming of age, restored the parties to their honours and estates. Suspicion can scarcely injure such a character. Many small circumstances during the minority and subsequent seventeen years of Gustavus IV's reign indicate the will of this uncle, if a safe and unsuspected way could be found, to seize the crown. During the regency inquiries were secretly made of the physicians, it is stated, with regard to the mental capacity and faculties of the young king; as Gustavus displayed in infancy much of that singularity of character which marked his future life. Absurd reports were also industriously circulated that he was not the offspring of the late king, but of an adulterous *amour* of the queen with a Colonel Munk, to whom he bore a resemblance. It was even whispered that the duke

[1792 A.D.]

of Sodermanland had incontrovertible proofs of the facts in his hands, but from motives of delicacy did not produce them, and rather renounced the right to the crown than unveil the family dishonour. English travellers of repute, such as Wraxall, have not scrupled to adopt and circulate this tale, evidently got up to serve a court intrigue. Subsequent events sufficiently proved that the duke of Sodermanland had no such delicacy or consideration for his family honour in his character. On this subject we will not decide. Let the reader draw his own inference.

The character of Gustavus was not without greatness. On his death-bed (he lingered twelve days), he evidently attributed the deed to a political conspiracy; begged that the authors might not be punished; and expressed a hope, that now, when he was about to leave all sublunary things, there would be a reconciliation of parties. Heroic, enterprising, a great patron of literature, science, and the arts, he would have been idolised, but for his selfish ambition and the mixture of duplicity and violence with which he restored arbitrary power.^b





CHAPTER XIII

DENMARK IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

WE have seen that in 1699 the reigning king of Denmark, Frederick IV, was tempted by the youth of Charles XII of Sweden to invade the dominions of his ally the duke of Holstein. Frederick was little aware of the spirit of his opponent. We have seen how Charles, determined to strike at once at his enemy's capital, lost no time in crossing the narrow sea between Sweden and Denmark, and in investing the city of Copenhagen; how the inhabitants in alarm appealed to the humanity of the young monarch; and that the result was the speedy conclusion of peace, with the payment of a sum of money to the Swedes. Taught by this lesson, the Danish government remained neutral in the following years, when the course of events led Charles and his army into Poland and Saxony. After the defeat of Charles at the battle of Pultowa, in the year 1709, and his subsequent flight into Turkey, the king of Denmark eagerly embraced the opportunity of renewing hostilities with Sweden, and invaded both Holstein in the south and the province of Skåne to the north.

Skåne was badly provided with troops, but it had officers trained in one of the best military schools of the age, and a peasantry full of national antipathy to the Danes. The result was a spirited attack on the invading army, followed by its defeat and precipitate flight into Denmark. The war was then carried on with alternate success in different parts—in Pomerania, in Holstein, and in Norway; until at last the military career of Charles XII came unexpectedly to a close, in the end of 1718. Some time afterwards negotiations were opened between Sweden and Denmark, under the mediation of England, and ended in 1720 in a definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Stockholm. It was then that Sweden lost all the advantages gained since the Peace of Westphalia, and that George I of England as elector of Han-

[1746 A.D.]

over, Prussia, and Peter the Great shared with Denmark the spoil of Sweden. From that time no danger threatened Denmark from the side of its neighbour, though the cessation of the rivalry was more perceptible in the decline of Sweden than in the progress of Denmark. The Danish government had now ample experience of the sacrifices attendant on war, and of the expediency, to a state of such limited power, of avoiding political collisions. It consequently adopted a peace policy, to which it has almost ever since endeavoured to adhere.^b

A narrow-minded and gloomy puritanism held Christian VI (1730-1746) aloof from his people, who never reposed confidence in him; while the extravagant tastes of his queen, Sophia Magdalena, threw the finances of the kingdom into disorder, and a militia law, enacted in 1733, rendered the lot of the peasantry even more melancholy than it had hitherto been under the constant oppression of aristocratic rule. Nevertheless, his reign was not wholly unmeritorious. Among the services it rendered to the country, we may mention the revival of the University of Copenhagen, which had lapsed into utter decay; the reform of the higher schools, and the establishment of national and city schools; the institution of a bank of issue, exchange, and loan; a fire insurance society, and a general widows' insurance fund; the introduction of factories and manufactures; the promotion of trade; and, more especially, an extremely active solicitude for the efficiency of the navy, which was doubled by Count Danneskjold Samsøe and Admiral Suhm (father of the historian), and raised to thirty ships of the line and sixteen frigates.

Under the jovial and amiable King Frederick V (1746-1766), a complete transformation took place. The court flung aside its monkish garb, and gave the people in town and country liberty to sing and dance and indulge in the old traditional popular sports, which had been prohibited in the previous reign. The Copenhagen theatre restored to the stage the comedies in which Ludvig Holberg, Denmark's first national poet (1684-1754), had held up the mirror to his fellow countrymen. Count Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff, an admirable minister, established friendly relations with Sweden, steered his country prudently through the perils and temptations of the Seven Years' War, and had the good fortune to escape, by the sudden dethronement of Peter III, the war with Russia which would otherwise have been inevitable. This minister looked upon the fostering of national industries as his peculiar task, and actually stimulated them to a certain degree of artificial prosperity, by prohibiting the importation of one hundred and fifty kinds of merchandise. More beneficial results accrued from a commercial policy which opened the Mediterranean to the Danish flag, hitherto excluded from those waters, by means of commercial treaties with Algiers, Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Genoa, Naples, and the sultan. An East India company carried on a very profitable trade with the East Indies, while the West Indian trade began to flourish only after the monopoly of the company which exploited the sugar plantations in Santa Cruz had been abolished. The king brilliantly distinguished himself as a Mæcenas of learning and the fine arts, taking not Bernstorff alone, but Count Moltke and Eric Pontoppidan, the learned vice-chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, into council in the matter. From Germany he brought the pulpit-orator Johann Andreas Cramer, and his friend the poet Klopstock, the naturalists Oeder and Kratzenstein, the pedagogue Basedow, and the historian Johann Heinrich Schlegel. Karsten Niebuhr, the father of the historian, made his famous travels in Egypt and Arabia at the expense of the Danish government. The academy for the sons of noblemen at Sorø, which had been closed since 1665, was again opened

[1757-1766 A.D.]

by the help of a munificent donation from the poet Holberg, and became the scene of the labours of a large body of distinguished Danish scholars. A society of the fine arts came into being at Copenhagen, a Norwegian scientific society at Trondhjem. The king founded the Frederick hospital at Copenhagen, and Oeder laid out a botanic garden in the vicinity of the town. In his House of Education the king had two hundred and sixty boys, the sons of poor parents, brought up and taught, free of charge, between the ages of five and sixteen.

From the economic magazine which Pontoppidan was allowed to edit free of censorship, from 1757 to 1764, went forth the impulse to that intellectual

movement which never rested till, towards the end of the century, it had completed the work of emancipating the peasantry, to which even Frederick V lent no direct aid by statutory reforms. Thus the Danish monarchy, which had been absolute *de jure* for more than a hundred years, had only exerted its absolute authority within strictly defined limits, and had by no means adequately fulfilled its most sacred duty, the protection of the weak and wrongfully oppressed. Open conflict between the monarchy and the aristocracy was avoided by a tacit compromise of which eight hundred thousand peasant serfs were the victims—slaves, as a competent Danish judge says of this period, whose lot was to be born to suffer without guilt, to labour without re-



FREDERICK V
(1723-1766)

ward, to roll the stone of Sisyphus, to draw water in the vessel of the Danaïdes, and to endure the thirst of Tantalus. And yet the experiments made by certain magnanimous noblemen of German descent, in the emancipation of their own serfs, had been crowned with such brilliant success that every thinking landowner ought to have followed their example for the sake of his own interest. Conspicuous among these few was Count Hans von Rantzau, who, in 1739, abolished serfdom and villein service on his magnificent state of Ascheberg, on the banks of the Lake of Ploen; converted his peasantry into a hereditary tenantry; and in the year 1766 was able to demonstrate—as the result of twenty-seven years' experience—that the peasants had thereby become well-to-do, industrious, and well-conducted members of society, while, in spite of all his outlay on new houses, draught cattle, etc., he himself drew a far larger income than before.

Enthusiasm for peasant emancipation, in theory, had already become the fashion in enlightened circles by the time that, after a long illness, Frederick V died (January 14th, 1766), and was succeeded by his son Christian VII, who was then seventeen years of age, and one of the most singular beings ever fated to wear a crown. Endowed with striking beauty of feature, great physical strength and mental vivacity, he early became a favourite with those who hold that felicitous inspirations betoken intellectual maturity, that

[1766-1770 A D]

eloquent conversation in, it may be, one or two foreign languages argues a basis of solid learning, and who take certain courtly graces as evidence of thorough good breeding. But, even when he was twelve years old, the best of his tutors, Reverdil of Waatland, noted an uncanny contrariety of temper in him: variable as an April day, he alternated between wild spirits and profound moroseness, vehement desire and indolent weakness of will. Vain to foppery, as *quasi*-geniuses are apt to be, he desired to shine in every possible sphere; but his ambition aimed no higher than that of an actor who is sure of applause. As crown prince, it was his greatest grief that he would one day be king: a vague presentiment warned him that a king must work, and work of every kind was abhorrent to him. When Christian actually became king, Reverdil indulged in the illusion which he has recorded in the words, "I was pleased to observe how my seventeen-year-old pupil consoled himself for the misfortune of being king, by hopes of the good he could do." Christian VII, however, did nothing that duty required of him, and everything that was unworthy of a king.

In the hope of diverting him from the undignified courses to which he had abandoned himself in the company of worthless associates, the ministers, who still retained the offices they had held under his father, married him to Caroline Matilda, sister of George III of England, a lovely and sprightly princess, fifteen years of age, who bestowed her hand upon him on the 8th of November, 1766. The marriage brought about no reformation, and the follies the king perpetrated day and night suggested to the ministers the idea of improving his mind by foreign travel. He started on his tour in May, 1768, accompanied by his bosom friend, Count Holck; but after recklessly spending a vast amount of money in London and Paris, he came back in January, 1769, as sick in body and mind as when he went.



JOHANN FRIEDRICH STRUENSEE
(1737-1772)

THE ADMINISTRATION OF STRUENSEE

Christian, however, brought with him a young physician-in-ordinary, Johann Friedrich Struensee by name, whose acquaintance he had made at Altona. To the amazement of the whole court, this man effected an immediate change in the situation. The king and queen became a united couple; the former was all at once as gentle and yielding as he had been harsh and intractable; while the latter overcame the aversion with which misery had inspired her, governed her husband, and gave her heart to the man who had taught her to love him, that through her he might rule the king and the country.

Equally indispensable to them both, Struensee was appointed the king's reader and the queen's private secretary, in the spring of 1770. He lived in

the palace, and followed the royal pair like their shadow on every excursion they made; the queen had no pleasure nor life apart from him, and abandoned herself to her passion as freely as though no cloud could ever dim the smiling heaven of her first love. On the pleasure tour which the inseparable trio made in Holstein in the summer of 1770, she seemed absolutely intoxicated — she had often forgotten that she was a queen, but now she forgot that she was a woman. She appeared in public in male attire; she was perpetually to be seen at the side of her beloved Struensee, on horseback or afoot; and, in the autumn of the same year, the latter suddenly dropped the part of a favoured courtier to grasp the helm of the state. By an order of the 13th of September, the worthy minister Bernstorff was dismissed with the utmost suddenness; and on the following day an edict was published, which was nothing less than the announcement of a complete breach with previous usage and precedent. The royal edict of September 14th, 1770, abolished the censorship of the press, and granted it unrestricted freedom — an unexampled proceeding, which was received in Denmark with blank amazement and greeted with a veritable chorus of acclamation by Liberals everywhere. Voltaire celebrated it in a poetical letter to his majesty the king of Denmark. On the 24th of September, the press edict was followed by the repeal of the oppressive tax upon salt, and this in its turn by the abolition of the so-called "third holy days" at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and of six other church festivals. On the same day, a strict regulation was issued to check the abuses practised in connection with reversions of offices by the appointment of unfit persons; on the 10th of November, the administrative colleges were admonished to confine themselves to exhaustive preliminary deliberations, and to leave the ultimate decision in all affairs to the king; and on the 31st of December, the duty of observing laconic brevity and unreserved candour in the proposals and arguments brought under discussion was enjoined upon them. A more decisive blow was aimed at the existing system by the abolition (December 27th) of the privy council, which was superseded by government by the king's cabinet. On the same day, a whole series of impediments to marriage, some of them insurmountable and some only to be set aside by money payments, were simply abrogated. Thus, the latter half of the memorable year of 1770 ended with a quantity of profitable innovations, such as no Danish government had ever bestowed upon the country in so short a space of time.

The original author of all these measures was Struensee, whom the king followed blindly. He was a man who saw, with the unbiassed vision of a foreigner, all the rotten places in the state of Denmark, and could make the saving incision in the right spot with the steady hand of a practised surgeon. He was not a creative genius: his ideas were neither comprehensive nor particularly novel; in everything that he wrote and did we recognise, now the type of Prussian absolutism, now the school of French enlightenment and the educational wisdom of Rousseau. His method, too, suffers from grievous defects. We must not blame the reformer of thirty-three too severely for the heedless haste with which he often acted; his power was wholly based on the love of the weak wife of an utterly worthless king, and he had need of haste to work while it was yet day. Far worse faults were: his obvious lack of any homogeneous plan; the unnecessary way in which he provoked the susceptibilities of the Danes, even in matters in which no harm could have been done by considering them; and the fact that, at the height of his power, he did all he could to put weapons in the hands of his enemies, and nothing to protect himself against a sudden reverse. In such matters as the reform of

[1771 A.D.]

old abuses, the invention of simple and workable methods, the utilisation of the best material at his command, the thoughtful consideration of points which invariably elude the notice of an unreasoning bureaucracy, and the superintendence of all those things which a paternal monarchy, in the best sense of the word, regards as falling within the sphere of its duty, Struensee displayed an acuteness of judgment and a reforming energy such as Denmark had never known, and for which the country owes him a debt of gratitude to this day. He could not have taken the vigorous line he took with such intrepidity, except by the help of the careless optimism which manifested itself in all his actions: but this very optimism blinded him to perils of his own making, and thus sealed his doom.

The next year, 1771, besides witnessing the dismissal of a number of court and government officials, brought forth a salutary regulation of the forced service of the peasants, limiting it to a certain number of days; the better enforcement of the liability of aristocratic debtors; the elevation of the Danish and German court of chancery (*Justizkanzlei*) to the rank of college, with an admirable staff; a municipal organisation for Copenhagen, with Count Holstein as chief president; considerable economies at court, due to the abolition of useless posts and the reduction or confiscation of pensions; a reform of the public finances by the erection of a college of finance, which Oeder, the botanist, regulated and reduced to a uniform system, and which was fortunate in securing the valuable services of Councillor of Justice (*Justizrath*) Karl August Struensee, the minister's elder brother; the institution of a Superior and a Municipal Court of Justice at Copenhagen, which introduced into the administration of justice in the capital a uniformity and promptitude which had long been sadly lacking; the founding of a foundling hospital; the repeal of all the penalties hitherto attached to the parentage of illegitimate children and the laws prohibiting marriage between persons guilty of adultery; the numbering of houses in Copenhagen; arrangements for the cleaning and lighting of streets, etc. Struensee had brought about all these reforms, partly on his own initiative and partly at the suggestion of his confidential agents, without himself assuming any rank higher than that of master of requests. On the 14th of July, 1771, however, he proceeded to have himself appointed minister of the privy cabinet, with authority to draw up orders in council, without the royal signature, which should have equal validity with those issued under the king's own hand—a privilege which no Danish minister had up to that time enjoyed, and one which was incompatible with the old act of Succession of 1665. A week later Struensee and his friend Enevold Brandt, the king's chamberlain, who had acted as the king's attendant during his minority, were raised to the rank of counts.

If we except the introduction of the lottery system, hitherto unknown in Denmark, we must upon consideration unreservedly allow that the new financial administration was the bright side of Struensee's rule; but, though it freed the country from debt and rid it of parasites, it raised up a host of enemies for its author. Numbers of officers of the court and government had lost place and preferment, salaries and pensions; hundreds of artisans had been deprived of work and wages by the abolition of state factories. He had now only to fall out with the army, to find himself defenceless against the indignation of the patrician families of Copenhagen, who were mortified by the new municipal organisation; against the fanaticism of the Lutheran zealots, who called down the vengeance of heaven on him for a free thinker and libertine; and against the profound grudge which the nobles bore the foreign upstart who had eclipsed and affronted them. A government which

[1772-1784 A.D.]

did not even take the trouble to publish Danish translations of edicts drawn up in German—a government of which the head laughingly avowed that he had no time to learn the Danish language—seemed in their eyes un-Danish and no better than foreign domination.

THE FALL OF STRUENSEE

When a government that is hated ceases to be feared, it is lost. For Struensee, the fatal moment came on the 24th of December, when the royal guards replied to an order of the king, directing that they should be disbanded and distributed among other regiments, by an armed mutiny, which ended, after scenes of gross public misdemeanour, in the dismissal of the men to their homes, by the terrified count, with bag and baggage and a bounty of three rix-dollars a piece. Nothing but armed intervention could have quelled the storm which broke forth against Struensee in the free press, and which an admonitory edict of the 7th of October had proved powerless to keep in check. The dismissal of the guards consequently meant nothing less than the disarmament of the court.

A conspiracy was promptly formed, with the queen-mother Juliana Maria, the crown prince Frederick, and his private secretary, the theologian Otto Guldberg, at its head, its executive instruments being Lieutenant-General Count Rantzau-Ascheberg, Commissary-General for War Beringskjold, Major-General von Eickstedt, and Colonel Koller—that is to say, the chiefs of that very armed force with which despotism can by no means do everything, and without which it can do nothing whatever. In the night between the 16th and 17th of January, 1772, Koller and Eickstedt were on guard at the castle, the former with the Falster regiment of infantry, the latter with the Zealand dragoons. A great masked ball had been held at Christianborg castle that evening; it was over by about two o'clock. At four the conspirators made their first move. The king was roused from his bed, and forced to sign orders for the arrest of the queen, Struensee, Brandt, and thirteen of their adherents. All the arrests were effected within a few hours; the populace welcomed the news with acclamation; the king rewarded, with orders, honours, and presents of money, the faithful servants who had saved the country; and the free press overwhelmed with a flood of invective the "monster" who, with his accomplices, now lay in fetters under lock and key.

At the trial, which was opened on the 20th of February by a special commission of inquiry, Struensee from the beginning manifested all the symptoms of utter breakdown. He confirmed the depositions which brought so heavy an indictment against his relations with the queen that silence or denial was hardly possible, by confessions which betrayed shocking meanness of spirit. How far above the wretched man did the unhappy queen tower, when, receiving in her prison at Kronborg the news of Struensee's confession, she declared with unexampled self-command that she took all the blame upon herself, for she had been the temptress! On April 28th, 1772, Struensee and Brandt were publicly beheaded; and Caroline Matilda, divorced by the king, was banished to Celle, where her short life came to an end on May 10th, 1775.

The new administration, of which Guldberg was the moving spirit, hastened to restore, as far as restoration was possible, everything that Struensee, to the great profit of the country, had abolished; and for the space of twelve years displayed the utmost zeal in refraining from anything that bore the remotest resemblance to reform. Not until the 14th of April, 1784, when

[1787-1797 A.D.]

the seventeen-year-old crown prince Frederick took the bold step of himself assuming the reins of government in the place of his imbecile father, dismissed Guldberg, and appointed Count Andreas Bernstorff, nephew of Count Johann Hartwig Bernstorff, to the head of the ministry, did Denmark rejoice in a government worthy and capable of wiping out the old score against the monarchy and of effecting the emancipation of the peasantry in all the dominions of the Danish crown. The abolition of the peasants' link with the soil and of villein service, the relief of the burdens on trade and corn and cattle, the conversion of the peasantry into free men and landed proprietors, first in Denmark proper and then in Schleswig and Holstein, was the work of a commission appointed by Count Bernstorff, of which Count Christian Reventlow was the most active member. Its edicts of the years 1787 and 1788 bear the same significance in the history of the agricultural population of Denmark as the resolutions of August 4th, 1789, bear in that of France, and the edicts of October 9th, 1807, and July 27th, 1808, in that of Prussia.^c

DENMARK AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A short time after [the war of 1788 between Russia and Sweden, in which Denmark was forced to take part as Russia's ally,] the French Revolution broke out, and soon had all Europe aflame. Denmark alone preserved a prudent neutrality under the wise direction of Andreas Peter Bernstorff, and did not let herself be moved by the brilliant promises of the other powers and their importunate requests to take part in the coalition against the French Republic, represented as the common enemy of Europe. This prudent and firm policy bore the most happy results. While blood was flowing in rivers over Europe, whole countries were scourged, and commerce, industry, and art were at a standstill, Denmark attained a high degree of prosperity and internal strength; and the government had the time and means to introduce many salutary reforms into the social structure, particularly in the direction of agrarian economy, which put the state in a position to support the great calamities that overtook her later on.

In these years of peace, when all the other maritime powers were implicated in the general war, Denmark's commerce reached an unparalleled height and development. England — who, thanks to her powerful navy, was in a position to protect her merchant marine — North America and Denmark shared the commerce of the world. There were agents in Copenhagen who had relations with every trading nation. Trade with the East Indies and China was so brisk that there were imported annually into Copenhagen commodities worth 5,000,000 rix-dollars; while business with the West Indies and the carrying of trade to the Mediterranean were equally lucrative. Commerce on the latter sea underwent a short interruption in 1797, when the bey of Tripoli took it upon himself to insult the Danish flag, but the



ANDREAS PETER COUNT VON BERNSTORFF,
DANISH MINISTER

(1735-1797)

intrepid Steen Bille, after a fight between three Danish ships and seven Tripolitan vessels, forced the bey to sue for peace, and secured the safety of Danish commerce within his waters. Yet Denmark did not enjoy this commercial prosperity and other advantages of peace, without undergoing attacks and insults on the part of the belligerent powers. The French Republic acted in a notably arbitrary manner, which was surpassed only by proud and powerful England. It took all the consummate tact of a Bernstorff, whom even his own enemies could not refuse to admire, to keep peace, without buying it at the price of the nation's dignity, or abandoning the political policy she had still been able to adhere to. An important measure taken by Bernstorff to secure the safety of Northern commerce, was the alliance between Denmark and Sweden, which was concluded in 1794 and which undertook to establish a common patrol within Northern waters, in order to protect the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish merchant marine against attacks by the belligerent navies. But the able minister died in 1797; and his passing drew tears from a whole nation which realised its irreparable loss.

It is doubtful, however, whether his wisdom could have dispelled the threatening storm; for the time had come when the laws of nations were trampled underfoot, and the most powerful states of Europe tried to surpass each other in violence and injustice. During the wars of the Revolution, England kept encroaching further and further upon the commercial liberty of neutral nations, seeking especially to give a broad and hitherto-unheard-of interpretation to the idea of contraband, which, if rigorously applied, would have almost entirely destroyed Denmark's trade. In fact, while up to this time it had been understood that by contraband of war were meant small-arms, powder, cannon, and ammunition, England now tried to include in this category meat, flour, and corn, challenging Denmark's right to bring these commodities into France and other belligerent countries. France, in turn, took similar steps with regard to neutral ships carrying on trade with England and her colonies. Over this many difficulties arose, which the skilful negotiations of Andreas Peter von Bernstorff seemed to settle amicably. After the minister's death, however, began the practice of convoying merchant fleets with war vessels — a thing which Bernstorff had particularly abstained from, in order to avoid collisions with England. The consequence was that the latter country refused to recognise the right of war ships to protect commerce, and began hostilities by attacking and capturing the Danish frigate *Freia*, which sought to prevent English cruisers from visiting a merchant fleet to which it was acting as convoy (July 25th, 1800). To avoid other hostilities for the moment, Denmark came to an agreement (August 29th, 1800) by which the *Freia* was restored to her, but she was obliged to refrain from sending out escorts to merchant ships until the question at issue should be settled by negotiation.

A short time after this, Russia, Sweden, and Prussia concluded a treaty of armed neutrality, similar to one already arranged in 1780; and Denmark was invited to join the alliance. Before the agreement with England, such overtures would have been heartily welcomed by the Danish government, which had on several former occasions proposed to Russia and Sweden a league for the protection of the neutral flag. But just at this moment these proposals were somewhat embarrassing; and it was only after long hesitation that the Danish government yielded to the threatening schemes of the capricious czar Paul. It subscribed to the treaty, with certain reservations, however, in order not to violate the agreement with England. But these did not keep the latter from hostilities; two days before Denmark entered

[1801 A.D.]

into the neutral alliance (January 16th, 1801), England put an embargo on all Danish ships within English ports, and issued orders for the occupation of the Danish West Indies (January 14th, 1801).

The War with England

An English squadron of fifty-one ships, among which were twenty ships of the line, entered the Sound, under command of Admirals Parker and Nelson, in the month of March; and, although exposed to a raking fire from the fortress of Kronborg, it succeeded in passing the batteries uninjured, because it hugged the Swedish shore, where no preparations had been made to repulse the enemy. The reason of this neglect was the mutual distrust of the Danish and Swedish governments. The crown prince Frederick would have taken it in bad part if fortifications had been built on the Swedish shore of the Sound; and people would have said that Gustavus IV had his eye on a part of the customs of that waterway.

When the British fleet came in sight of Copenhagen, it separated into two divisions, of which one, under Nelson, pushed farther south, to attack the southern line of Danish fortifications; the other, under Parker, cruised between the island of Hven and the battery of the Three Crowns (*Tre Kroner*). Nelson's fleet was composed of twelve ships of the line, seven frigates, and nineteen smaller vessels, with twelve hundred cannon and a crew of about nine thousand men. The southern line of Danish defence — the only one they had to fight with — consisted of seven large low-decked ships, some smaller ones, a few prams, and two small frigates; the whole fitted with 620 guns, and a crew of scarcely five thousand men. The superiority of force was decidedly in favour of the enemy; and it consisted not only in the greater number of ships and guns, but also in that the British vessels were all under sail, while the Danish flotilla, with the exception of four small ships, was stationary. On Holy Thursday, the 2nd of April, 1801, at ten in the morning, a fierce battle began, which lasted with extreme fury for five or six hours. The Danish sailors fought with their hereditary bravery and, under the command of Olfert Fischer, upheld their former naval glory against Nelson, the favoured of victory, and his overwhelming force. The admiral's ship was badly damaged; and in the end could use but few of her guns. On the other side, Olfert Fischer, who was on board the *Dannebrog*, left that vessel when she caught fire in the midst of the battle, and transferred his flag to the *Holstein*; and afterwards, when the latter ship was riddled with shell and made useless, the Danish commander, although wounded, betook himself to the *Tre Kroner* battery, where he continued to direct the fight. The crew of the *Dannebrog*, commanded by Braun and afterwards by Lemming, continued to fight although the vessel was in flames; and it was not until a third of the men had been either killed or wounded, and all her guns, with the exception of three, put out of action, that the blazing ship was abandoned to the enemy. Among the low-deck ships, the *Prævestenen* especially distinguished herself. The brave Lassen defended her against two ships of the line, a frigate, and a brig, until she was reduced to a mere skeleton and had only two guns that could be served. Risbrich, on the deck of the *Wagrie*, fought none the less bravely against almost equally disproportionate forces. The young Villemoes, who commanded a floating battery in which he placed himself very close to the English admiral's ship, and fired several shots which hit her on the water-line, won Nelson's admiration, and immortalised himself in the memory of his countrymen.

When the battle had lasted for three hours, Admiral Parker gave Nelson the signal to retreat; but the latter took no notice of the order, and continued to fight for some hours. Meantime the southern line of defence was for the most part destroyed, while that on the north had scarcely suffered, and the majority of the English fleet was in a deplorable condition. Most of the vessels had lost their sails and yards, and the masts were so riddled with projectiles that they threatened at any moment to fall into the sea; besides, in the narrow strait with which the enemy were not familiar several of their ships had gone aground. Three of their most powerful ships of the line had drifted in front of the Tre Kroner, and one even stranded just opposite the battery, whose guns opened a deadly fire upon her. In these circumstances, Nelson sent a letter ashore saying that, if the Danes continued to fire, he would be compelled to burn the Danish ships which he had in his power, without even saving the crews. Whilst his messenger was executing his mission, the English admiral held a council of war to decide whether this was an opportune moment to attack with his least damaged ships the northern line of defence, which had not yet taken part in the action. But his officers were unanimously of the opinion that this would be impossible, and that the best thing to do was to retire; they must take advantage of the favourable wind then blowing to get out of the dangerous passage, where they were every moment in danger of going aground. After receiving Nelson's letter, the crown prince, who had not been well informed as to the details of the battle, sent an envoy under flag of truce, with full powers to conclude a preliminary armistice and pave the way for future negotiations.

Thus closed this sanguinary affair, so glorious for Denmark. Nelson rendered justice to the bravery of the Danes, and when he came on shore to conduct negotiations in person, he declared that, among the one hundred and five sanguinary battles in which he had taken part, that of Copenhagen was the bloodiest and fiercest. The Danes lost 1035 killed and wounded; the English, according to their own statement 1200; but there is no doubt that this figure should be much higher, since they admitted having lost 220 men on a single ship. The negotiations ended in a truce of fourteen weeks, during which Denmark agreed to take no active part in the armed neutrality. The czar Paul having been assassinated on March 25th, 1801, affairs took a new turn; for his son and successor, Alexander, abandoned the neutral league, and concluded a peace with England, to which Denmark also acceded.

Peace is Followed by a Second War

Danish commerce soon recovered from the blow which the war with England had dealt it. Trade with the East and West Indies flourished as in former days, and there was annually imported from North America merchandise to the value of 8,000,000 rix-dollars. As a consequence of the war with France and her allies, English commerce was considerably reduced, and neutral Denmark was the highway through which a large part of Europe was provided with colonial products. For this reason, navigation in the Sound and in the Eider canal was extraordinarily active during these years of war. About twelve thousand ships passed annually through the Sound, and about three thousand through the canal. But during this entire period the state had to support heavy burdens on account of the continental hostilities at the Danish frontier, which subjected it to great expense in keeping a body of troops in Holstein. At the dissolution of the German Empire, in

[1806-1807 A.D.]

1806, Holstein was relieved of its vassal duties to the emperor, and by patent of September 9th, 1806, was declared an inseparable part of the Danish monarchy.

Since 1720, with a few short intervals in 1780 and 1801, Denmark had enjoyed a peace which, especially in latter years, had had the most happy influence over the progress of the state and its internal development. This fortunate situation came to an end in 1807, when a series of calamities, mostly unforeseen and undeserved, fell upon Denmark and brought her to the verge of ruin. The Danish government had sought to maintain neutrality as long as possible; but in the midst of the violent struggle which was shaking all Europe, Denmark's geographical position made it impossible to remain neutral, and as she hesitated to pronounce for either of the parties, she was finally brought violently into the *mêlée*. Napoleon wished to shut all the continental ports to the English; and to attain this end, it was agreed between him and the emperor Alexander of Russia, in certain secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit (July 9th, 1807), that Denmark should be asked to declare war against England if the latter power would not come to reasonable terms of peace with France. However, before overtures in this direction could be made to Denmark either by Russia or France, England opened hostilities by capturing some Danish ships and sending to the Sound a fleet of fifty-four vessels, including twenty-three ships of the line, and five hundred transports, under the command of Admiral Gambier. The latter demanded that the Danish fleet should be surrendered to him, "because" (he said) "the British government had been informed that it was about to be ceded to France for use against England." In case of refusal, he threatened to have recourse to force.

The Danish government had been several times, and from different sources, warned of England's meditated step; but by a singular blindness the minister of foreign affairs, Christian Bernstorff, had refused to take any note of the warnings; and, in consequence, no provision for defence had been made. The feelings of the citizens of Copenhagen and the few soldiers stationed in the city were, however, loyal; and they rose to enthusiasm when the popular prince Frederick arrived in hot haste from Holstein, on the 11th of August. They were sure that he would share the perils of the citizens and their common fate. But their hope was soon cruelly destroyed; at the end of one day the prince left for Holstein, to bring back, it was said, the troops stationed there — which was impossible, since the English had control of the sea and intercepted all marine communication. It was not thus that King Frederick III had defended Copenhagen, in 1658. The departure of the crown-prince made a bad impression; and all the other members of the royal family likewise abandoned, one by one, a capital which seemed doomed to destruction. While these events were very discouraging, yet the citizens were ready to do all in their power. When the revolting demand of the English had been deliberately rejected, the latter landed, without resistance, at Vedbek, about 10 miles north of the capital, on the 10th of August, 1807. The corps which landed was commanded by General Cathcart. Little by little, reinforcements from north Germany brought it up to thirty thousand men. The militia, under Castenskjöld and Oxholm, tried to resist it near Kjöge; but these troops, inexperienced and ill-armed, without enough powder even for the few antiquated cannon they brought with them, could not stand up against the trained soldiers under Arthur Wellesley (Wellington). While several sections fought bravely, disorder soon seized upon the ranks of the militia, and the English scattered them with little difficulty, by a

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violent cavalry charge and a terrible fire from their numerous artillery. From the city itself several sorties were made, in which the citizen corps of light infantry guards, under F. C. Holstein, won glory and sanguinary laurels. The students maintained their old time reputation, and the gunners also fought with distinction in several encounters along the shore.

The city had been surrounded on the 18th of August; and, on the 2nd of September, began a terrible bombardment, which lasted three days. More than three hundred private houses, to say nothing of a large number of public buildings (including the magnificent church of Our Lady, with its high belfry), were reduced to ashes, and several hundred men killed or maimed. A continuation of the bombardment would have transformed the city into a mass of ruins, and it would have been impossible to repel the attack the English were preparing. The commander-in-chief, the aged General Peymann, therefore decided to sign a capitulation (September 7th, 1807), by the terms of which the fleet was turned over to the English, and the citadel of Fredericks-havn was to be occupied by them for six weeks while the ships were being fitted out. The resistance having been entirely creditable considering the forces and existing circumstances, there was nothing dishonourable about the surrender. No help could be expected, since the English ships were cruising in the Little Belt and prevented the crossing of the Danish army from Holstein to Zealand. A messenger from the crown prince, with orders to burn the fleet rather than surrender it to the enemy, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the English. The rich booty which the latter took away consisted of eighteen ships of the line, seventeen frigates, thirty-five small vessels and gunboats, with the great stores of every kind of supplies contained in the naval arsenal. The little island was completely pillaged; and the enemy destroyed what they could not carry off. They mutilated and overturned several warships then on the stocks.

General Peymann, commander-in-chief, Generals Bielefeldt and Gedde, and other prominent officers were dragged before a council of war, and condemned to severe punishment — Peymann and Bielefeldt to loss of life, honour, and wealth; Gedde to death — for the crime of surrendering a city which their superiors had neglected to provide with sufficient means of defence. By these trials and judgments the government seems to have wished to cover its own capital crimes, as well as its lack of prudence and ordinary precautions. The condemned men were, however, soon pardoned.

Napoleon Forces Denmark's Hand (1807 A.D.)

After this high-handed proceeding, the English government dared to offer Denmark a choice between an alliance with England, or the maintenance of her former neutrality, or war; in the last-named alternative, it threatened to work for the separation of Norway and the union of the latter with Sweden. This was the first time such a plan, realised seven years later, was mentioned. The proposition for an alliance which England was making to Denmark was a fresh insult, a cruel derision. The indignation which animated the people and government of Denmark did not permit them to give ear, for one minute, to this proposition, although the prospect of the restitution of the stolen fleet at the close of the war was held out to them as the price of an alliance.

But a union with England would be a declaration of war upon France; and it would have been little different with a treaty of peace. Several historians have thought that Denmark should have accepted peace; for, with the advantage of a fortunate neutrality, she could have prevented not only

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the great reverses and internal misfortunes of the seven years' war she was obliged to carry on when she had been half-disarmed, but also the loss of Norway, the fatal result of the struggle. It may, however, always be objected that Denmark was not free to act differently; for when the English fleet set sail for the Sound, Napoleon had said, "If Denmark does not declare war against England, she will have to reckon with me;" and he held on the Danish frontier an army ready to execute his orders. There is no reason to believe that he would have changed his resolution after the carrying off of the Danish fleet, or that he would have allowed Denmark to make peace with England. For, in truth, it would have resulted from this that commercial relations would have been re-established between the two nations, and that neutral Denmark would have been the means of placing Great Britain in communication with the countries round the Baltic. Now, Napoleon's principal aim at this period was to destroy the power and wealth of his rival, by shutting her out from all trade with the Continent. He did not permit any nation to remain neutral in this struggle; and still less would he have allowed a state situated as Denmark was to hold peaceful relations with his mortal enemy, the only one of his adversaries he had not yet been able to vanquish. The manner in which he treated Denmark shows, indeed, that such would have been the case.

Napoleon's powerful will was at that time law for all the Continental powers of Europe, and Denmark could not avoid their common fate. In any event she could not remain neutral. The crown prince decided, therefore, to continue hostilities with Great Britain, and conclude a close alliance with the French Empire, but not until he had seen his capital destroyed, his navy taken from him, and several hundred vessels of his merchant marine captured. Under these circumstances Denmark declared war against England, November 4th, 1807. England's attack excited indignation, not only in Denmark but in every European people for whom the law of nations was not a meaningless word; even among the English themselves, in Parliament as well as out of it, the actions of the ministry were the subject of lively and bitter criticism. The emperor Alexander of Russia loudly expressed his disapprobation, and declared that he would break off all relations with England until she had repaired the wrong done to Denmark. Yet this sentiment of justice did not prevent him, a few years later, from leaguering with England and Sweden to sever Norway from Denmark. In the year following the rupture with England, a new enemy came forward against Denmark. This was King Gustavus IV of Sweden, moved by violent hatred of his neighbour in the west. Although he was scarcely in a state to defend himself in his own kingdom, he was stretching forth his hand for the crown of Norway. His hostile sentiments and his relations with England justified a rupture which became inevitable after Denmark's alliance with Napoleon. As Napoleon was embroiled with Sweden, the Danish government declared war on that power,



FREDERICK VI, KING OF DENMARK
(1768-1839)

[1808 A.D.]

February 29th, 1808. A few days later, March 13th, Christian VII died at Rendsburg, leaving the kingdom in a critical condition. His successor was his son, who took the title of Frederick VI. Denmark was now at war with two countries; and, having no navy, she was not in a condition to inflict much injury on her most dangerous enemy, England. Her policy was allied with that of Napoleon, who looked out for his own interests and did not consider those of Denmark. The finances were beginning to fall into confusion; internal activity was paralysed, and commerce almost extinct; six hundred merchant ships, worth 18,000,000 rix-dollars, had been captured by the English during Denmark's period of neutrality, and almost as many more since war with Great Britain had been declared.

Under pretence of aiding Denmark against Sweden and undertaking an invasion of Skåne in company with the Danish troops, a French army of thirty-three thousand men, under Bernadotte, prince of Pontecorvo, entered the Jutland peninsula in the beginning of 1808. A considerable portion of these (14,000) consisted of Spanish troops, commanded by the marquis de la Romana; the rest were French and Dutch. Great preparations were made for landing in Skåne; for instance, several hundred transports had been collected in the spring, in the Great Belt and the Sound, and had been kept there a long time, to the great injury of commerce and of the provisioning of Norway, which was badly in need of corn. While Bernadotte was dragging the affair out at great length, a new difficulty arose by England's taking occasion to send warships to the Belt and the Sound. Little by little it became apparent that Napoleon never had any intention of invading Skåne; and even if this project had been carried out, there is good reason to believe that it would not have been with the idea of helping Denmark and procuring her advantage, but only as a diversion in favour of the Russians, who, with Napoleon's connivance, had at this moment attacked Sweden, and were trying to take Finland from her. In occupying Nordalbingia and Funen, the Emperor seems to have had especially in view the quartering of his troops in a fertile country and making sure of Denmark, whom he always suspected of trying to deal in an underhanded manner with England. The foreign auxiliaries spread themselves over Holstein, Schleswig, and a portion of Jutland, and behaved like masters of the country; they even furnished a part of the garrisons at the fortresses of Rendsburg and Glückstadt.

Good feeling did not always rule between the various elements composing the army. The Spanish soldiers had been taken from their native land against their will, and sent into the far north to fight in a cause to which they were alien and indifferent. They were, consequently, extremely discontented, and fraternised badly with the French. To get rid of the Spaniards, a large number were transported to Funen, and several regiments to Zealand. Napoleon had dethroned the king of Spain and put his own brother Joseph in his place; but now the Spanish nation rose up in its entirety against the ruler who had been imposed upon them. At the news of this event the Spaniards quartered in Denmark passed from irritation to open revolt; the majority refused to take the oath to the new monarch, or did it with reservations that could not be admitted; in several places riotous scenes occurred. The marquis de la Romana, who shared the sentiments of his soldiers, resolved to make an attempt to relieve them of the foreign yoke, and put himself in communication with the English ships cruising near Funen and Langeland, which were perfectly willing to take the Spaniards on board. A large number of these embarked from the island of Langeland; others surprised and occupied Nyborg, from which place they boarded the British vessels (August 9th, 1808).

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Those who were in North Jutland hastened to Aarhus, and taking possession of the ships in the harbour, sailed after their compatriots. Those, on the contrary, who were in the more southern parts of Jutland, and the two regiments stationed in Zealand, were disarmed and made prisoners.

Bernadotte remained in the Northern peninsula for a long time after these events, and it was not until the spring of the following year (1809), after having spent more than a year in Denmark, that he entirely withdrew his troops, of which Napoleon had need elsewhere. The army had been a plague and a heavy burden upon the inhabitants. It had consumed the resources of the state by the extraordinary expenditure required for its maintenance, and its presence had not been of the slightest benefit to Denmark.

The Loss of Norway

Since the English had control of the sea, communication with Norway was becoming extremely difficult; and it was judged best to hand over the government of that country to a commission sitting at Christiania. In 1806 its president, Prince Christian Augustus of Augustenburg, became also the commandant-general of Norway. While the enemy's privateers and cruisers ploughed the Kattegat and the North sea, Denmark had the greatest difficulty in sending corn to Norway; and that country was now threatened with famine and high prices. The Danish government took extraordinary measures to prevent these evils, and if it did not succeed entirely, it was not because it had not made sacrifices. After the rupture with

Sweden, hostilities began on the Norwegian frontier. A Swedish corps, the army of the west, crossed the frontier, but the able commander of the Norwegian troops, Prince Christian Augustus, repelled the enemy in several glorious combats. Hostilities ceased before the close of the year 1808.

Denmark continued, in desperation and at the price of enormous sacrifices, the war with Great Britain; but as a consequence of the loss of her navy she could deal no hard blows to her hated enemy, whose fleets covered the whole of the northern seas. The few warships which, not being at Copenhagen in 1807, had escaped coming into the possession of the English were, one by one, overtaken and destroyed by them. In the nation's distress patriotism rose to its highest point. The burghers rivalled each other in



WOMAN OF FINLAND IN HOLIDAY COSTUME

[1809-1812 A.D.]

noble sacrifices of property and money, and by this means a fleet of galleys was built in a short time with which the Danish navy faced its proud enemy. In truth, Denmark had nothing but gunboats, except the indomitable courage of the Danish sailors, which was never better exhibited than in this unequal contest, counterbalanced the country's weakness, and made the enemy undergo many sensible losses in the course of the war. Many British ships, brigs, and cutters had to lower their flag before the Danish and Norwegian gunboats. England's commerce in the northern seas was also continually harassed by bold privateers, sailing from Danish and Norwegian ports. But in spite of all their efforts, the Danes could not prevent the English from establishing themselves on the island of Anholt, in the middle of the Kattegat (1809), which was a great hindrance to international commerce. An attempt made in 1811 to retake the island met a disastrous ending, with great loss of life.



A WOMAN OF FINLAND IN WINTER COSTUME

This state of things was prolonged until 1812; for six years Denmark had defended herself with great difficulty against Great Britain, her sole enemy. But soon she had many others, and was carried into the great whirlpool of European war. John Bernadotte, or Charles John, as he was afterwards called, [had been elected heir to the throne of Sweden, in 1810,] and had taken up the plan already conceived by Gustavus III, which consisted in seizing Norway from Denmark and uniting it with Sweden — a policy the success of which would have contributed immensely to the popularity of the new dynasty. The ex-marshal of France could not count on the support of Napoleon, with whom he now held somewhat strained relations, because

since his election he had not been willing to follow the imperial policy, which was contrary to Sweden's interests. At this time the latter country, at Napoleon's demand, had declared war upon Great Britain. But this was a mere feint, for to Napoleon's great indignation trade between the two nations was kept up as in times of the most profound peace. French troops were already occupying Swedish Pomerania, and to complete the rupture nothing but a declaration of war was needed.

Another perspective, however, now unfolded itself, and was favourable to the views of Charles John. Relations between France and Russia were becoming more and more unfriendly, and the latter country was expecting at any moment to see her frontiers crossed by the immense army the French

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emperor was collecting. In view of the terrible struggle which would then take place, it was necessary for Russia to protect herself on the side of Sweden, her old enemy, who, it might be supposed, would not neglect so favourable an opportunity. The amputation of so important a member as Finland had left a still open wound, and the Swedish army had an experienced leader in the heir presumptive to the crown. The czar therefore began negotiations for an alliance with Sweden, and Charles John entered willingly into a union which permitted him to satisfy his hatred for Napoleon, and to realize a long-cherished project. The price of this co-operation was not to be Finland, but Norway. On April 5th, 1812, a treaty was signed at St. Petersburg, by which Sweden promised her support to the czar, who in return pledged himself to make Denmark surrender Norway to Sweden, if possible amicably, and in return for compensation in German territory; if not, by force. The alliance was confirmed in a personal interview between Charles John and the emperor Alexander at Abo in Finland, in August, 1812, at the very time when the grand army was marching into the heart of Russia.

It is to this strange complicity of two hereditary enemies, coming to terms to despoil a weak neighbour, that the separation of Norway and Denmark is due. It must be noted, moreover, that both Sweden and Russia were entirely at peace with Denmark. The czar Alexander, who five years before had publicly expressed his horror of England's treatment of the Danes, now in his turn made himself guilty of no less odious a violation of the law of nations. Although Great Britain was already at war with Denmark, it was not until the following year (March 3rd, 1813) that she agreed, in spite of herself and after many hesitations, to the conditions which Charles John imposed in return for his participation in the war against Napoleon.

Frederick VI was informed of Charles John's projects towards the close of 1812, and was enabled by negotiations and a change of policy to stave off the immediate danger. It was the more necessary to take this course of action, since, after the defeat of France in Russia, there was little or no hope of assistance from her. The king sent word to Napoleon that circumstances imposed on him the pressing necessity of separating his cause from that of the empire and of seeking to come to terms with England and the other powers which



FINLAND PEASANT

were threatening Denmark. Napoleon recognised that the king's representations were well founded, and left him free to act as the interests of his realm demanded — an extraordinary piece of moderation on the emperor's part, which, however, would have been much more praiseworthy in the days of his prosperity than in the decline of his power. Frederick VI now began negotiations with Russia and England, offered to enter the league against Napoleon, and sent special plenipotentiaries to Alexander and the English government to appeal to their sense of equity.

Renewal of the Alliance between Denmark and the French Empire

Repelled by both England and Russia, Frederick turned once more to Napoleon, who received him with kindness and in such a manner that the alliance between Denmark and the French Empire was renewed. About ten thousand Danes, under the leadership of Prince Frederick of Hesse, the king's brother-in-law, joined the French army of north Germany, commanded by Marshal Davout, Prince of Eckmühl. A prince of royal blood, Christian Frederick, son of the crown prince Frederick, was sent to Norway. The situation was a difficult one for the young Christian Frederick, but his sympathetic personality won him the people's love and made his task easier. If it had been a matter for the Norwegians only, the danger would not have been so great, for they were still devotedly attached to their ancient union with Denmark, and had no desire to contract a new one with Sweden. There were only a few malcontents; at whose head was Count Herman Wedel, who plotted a crime and entered into relations with his sovereign's enemy.

For a moment fortune appeared to smile on Denmark. Napoleon seemed to have recovered his former vigour; he defeated his enemies in several battles, and in the beginning of 1813 assumed an energetic and threatening attitude, which gave Denmark the hope of a successful solution of her difficulties. The Danish army, under Frederick of Hesse, operating in concert with Davout, entered Mecklenburg in August, and fought with success until some reverses overtaking the French in Eastern Germany forced it to fall back to Lauenburg, where, throughout the autumn of 1813, it sustained the honour of the Danish arms in a series of skirmishes with the Germans and Russians, under Walmoden and Tettenborn. But finally fortune completely abandoned Napoleon. The loss of the great battle of Leipsic and the defection of his allies compelled him to evacuate Germany. Marshal Davout was thus compelled to shut himself up in the fortified city of Hamburg, and to cut himself off from the Danish contingent, which had nothing left to do but to retire before the great masses of troops that poured upon it from all sides. The brave French general Lallemand stayed with the Danish army, and Davout kept with him the Jutland dragoons, commanded by Colonels Engelsted and Bonnichsen. By their courage and exploits in this short campaign, this body of cavalry won a brilliant reputation. Charles John, who had taken an important part in the success of the allies against Napoleon, now commenced to look after his own interests. Abandoning the pursuit of the French army, at the end of November he deviated from Hanover towards the Danish frontier; it was in Holstein that he was to conquer Norway. He had twenty-five thousand men under his orders, but Walmoden's German troops and Tettenborn's Russian corps having effected a junction with him, the combined army reached a total of fifty thousand men, which could easily be augmented, if necessary, by the divisions encamped in the vicinity.

It was this force that the little Danish army, reduced to nine thousand

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men, was called upon to resist. Charles John marched across eastern Holstein, through Lubeck and Segeberg; Walmoden, through the middle of the duchy, by way of Oldesloe and Neumunster; and Tettenborn, across the western portion, towards the Eider. In their retreat, the Danish troops had a first encounter with those of Walmoden near the village of Boden, in the outskirts of Oldesloe; but a short time after (December 7th) a more serious struggle took place at Bornhoved. The advance of the Swedish army, composed of twelve squadrons of hussars under General Sköldebrand, had let pass without molestation the Danish rear-guard, under General Lallemand, on the moors of Segeberg; but when the greater part of this body of troops had entered the narrow pass, nearly a mile in length, which is crossed by the road to the south of Bornhoved, the Swedes charged upon it with great fury, captured two cannon placed before the entrance to the pass, pushed into it, fought their way through the Danes, and advanced as far as Bornhoved.

But here they found superior forces and had to beat a retreat. It was now necessary to get through the narrow way again, and to pass through the shot and shell of the Danes, who occupied both sides of the defile. The Swedish losses were considerable; from their own report, they left behind several hundred dead and wounded.

The Battle of Sehested (1813 A.D.)

The Danish army continued its march to the north, and reassembled in the neighbourhood of Kiel to prepare to cross the Eider canal, which it did on the 9th of December. But the situation soon became critical. Walmoden advanced to the Eider, and took possession of the crossing of Kluvensiek, opposite Sehested; a division of his army, under General Dornberg, crossed the Eider, and marched in the direction of Egernfjord. General Tettenborn had crossed the Eider at Frederiksstad, and his Cossacks galloped towards the city of Schleswig. The Swedes, finally, were on the march to form a junction with Walmoden. The Danish army was turned, its line of retreat towards the south cut off, and communication with the fortress of Rendsburg intercepted.

Under these circumstances, Frederick of Hesse resolved to open up, cost what it might, the road to Rendsburg; for there alone his troops would find protection, and so could the rest of the Danish army if the latter took the field, as might be expected. The only way by which he could reach Rendsburg lay through Sehested, and a lively battle took place for the possession of this town. It began at ten o'clock in the morning of the 10th of December, and lasted the whole day. The Danes drove the enemy from the position he held north of Sehested, and made themselves masters of the town after several hours of fierce fighting. But the Swedes rallied at the southern gate of the village, which they took after reinforcements had come up. They did not keep it long: Prince Frederick gave the order of attack to three squadrons of dragoons from Fünen; and they dashed madly into the town, causing havoc among the battalion that occupied it, seized several cannon, and took 250 prisoners. The fate of the battle seemed to be decided; but when the dragoons, in their progress, encountered fresh troops, and had to retire with loss, Walmoden thought the moment had come for a fresh attack, and decided to try to tempt fortune to his side. A furious fight broke out anew to the south of Sehested; and after a bloody *mêlée*, in which a whole squadron of Mecklenburg chasseurs at the front of the attacking line was cut to pieces, the enemy was finally repulsed, and retreated towards the Eider. To clear

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them entirely from the northern bank of the river, a fresh charge was made by the two squadrons called Holsteiners, but exclusively composed of Jutlanders from the neighbourhoods of Kolding and Hadersleben. They routed all the enemy's infantry which they met; but as their courage knew no bounds, and, in their zeal, they ventured too far, like the cavalry of Funen, they met with considerable losses. Walmoden, despairing of obtaining a better result, crossed the Eider at Kluvensiek between four and five in the afternoon, and encamped on the south bank of the river.

The road was now free for the Danish army, which continued its march to Rendsburg without molestation. The Danish loss amounted to about three hundred killed and wounded; the enemy admitted a loss of from four to five hundred dead and wounded, and about 650 prisoners. The battle of Sehested was a fine feat of arms, and gave much prestige to the Danish army, but it fell far short of satisfying the patriotism of the Danish people. In seeing a single corps fight with such bravery, they might well ask, What might not a whole army do?

The Peace of Kiel (1814 A.D.)

The army, however, remained motionless, like a chained lion. Nothing was done; Frederick VI was abandoned by everyone; and he did not find in himself the confidence, strength, and decision demanded at this critical moment. After the fight at Sehested, an armistice was concluded and negotiations begun, which ended in an unfavourable peace. Shortly before the signing of the treaty, a new misfortune was added to the others. General Chernikov, commanding the well-provisioned fortress of Glückstadt, surrendered it unnecessarily to the enemy, after a short and feeble resistance. By the Peace of Kiel (January 14th, 1814), Norway was ceded to Sweden, which gave a sort of indemnity to Denmark by resigning to her Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen, later exchanged with Prussia for Lauenburg and a sum of money. Iceland, the Faroe islands and Greenland remained to Denmark. The same day and at the same place, a peace was concluded with England, which obtained the island of Heligoland. Denmark further undertook to take part in the war against Napoleon, and to provide to that end a contingent of ten thousand men. The former relations with Russia, Prussia, and Spain were re-established a short time after, by different treaties.^d

The Norwegians, however, were not inclined to submit tamely and at once to absorption into Sweden. They rallied round the Danish king's nephew and heir presumptive, Prince Christian Frederick, afterwards Christian VIII, and elected him their king, while at the same time the national assembly voted a new constitution for Norway. A comparison of this with the Danish constitution of 1849 has been drawn up by Jenssen-Tusch, the biographer of Christian VIII.^a

THE NORWEGIAN CONSTITUTION OF 1814 AND THE DANISH CONSTITUTION OF 1849

The Norwegian fundamental law, dated from Eidsvold, May 17th, 1814, states in its first paragraph that "the kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, and indivisible realm. The form of its government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy." The Danish fundamental law, dated from the castle of Christiansborg, June 5th, 1849, likewise states in its first paragraph, "The form of government is a limited monarchy; the sovereignty is heredi-

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tary." The Norwegian constitution declares the Protestant (*evangelisch-lutherisch*, the united Calvinist and Lutheran bodies) religion to be the established religion of the country; enjoins on those subjects who profess it the duty of educating their children in its tenets; and excludes Jesuits, monastic orders, and Jews from the kingdom. The Danish constitution, on the other hand, states that the Protestant (*evangelisch-lutherisch*) church is the national church of Denmark, and as such is supported by the state; while paragraph 7 grants complete liberty in matters of faith and worship.

In the second paragraph, which treats of the executive power, the king and the royal family, the Norwegian constitution runs: "The executive power is in the hands of the king;" and the Danish fundamental law contains a statement to the same effect. In like manner, the paragraphs dealing with the king's majority and the responsibility of his ministers are almost identical in substance. But while, according to the Norwegian fundamental law, the succession passes in direct line through heirs-male only, so that only an heir-male can inherit from a male progenitor, the Danish constitution abides by the provisions of the *Königsgesetz* (King's Law) of November 14th, 1665, paragraphs 27-40, which establish lineal succession through the male and female line (agnates and cognates). Should there be no heir to the throne, the king of Norway may propose a successor to the storting, which is at liberty to accept or reject him. The Danish fundamental law, on the contrary, states that under such circumstances it is for the diet to choose an heir to the throne and determine the future succession. The case, however, could occur only on the supposition that both the male and the female lines were extinct. By the Norwegian fundamental law, the king comes of age on the attainment of his twentieth year, while that of Denmark fixes his majority at eighteen. By the *Königsgesetz*, he is qualified to assume the reins of absolute government on entering his fourteenth year. The tenor of the oath taken by the king of Norway on his accession, is that he will govern the kingdom in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the country; the king of Denmark's oath is limited to the promise to maintain the fundamental law of the kingdom. Both fundamental laws agree in requiring the king's oath to be taken before the assembled storting in Norway and before the united diet in Denmark.

The coronation and anointing of the king of Norway take place in the cathedral of Trondhjem, the ceremonial being decided upon by the king himself. The Danish fundamental law contains no such provision; hence the ceremony must be regarded as non-essential. The king of Norway is obliged to reside within the boundaries of his kingdom, nor may he be out of the country for more than six months without the sanction of the storting, on pain of forfeiting his personal right to the crown. On this point, again, the Danish constitution has no provision except that if the king, by reason of absence or ill-health, shall find it necessary to nominate a regent, he shall convoke the diet and submit to it a bill to that effect. According to the constitution of Eidsvold, the king of Norway may not assume the crown or government of any other country, unless with the assent of two-thirds of the storting. This answers to the provision of the Danish fundamental law: "Without the sanction of the diet the king cannot be ruler over other countries than those pertaining to the Danish monarchy." The king of Norway must profess, and always have professed the tenets of Protestantism, and must be ready to defend and protect them. In the Danish constitution, on the other hand, the phrase is merely: "The king must be a member of the Protestant church." By the Norwegian constitution the king is

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enjoined to have the oversight over public worship and religious assemblies, and to see to it that teachers adhere to the rules prescribed for religious instruction. There is no such provision in the Danish fundamental law, which, on this subject, says concisely, "The national church is regulated by law."

The king of Norway can issue regulations dealing with commerce, trade, and police, but such regulations must not be contrary to the constitution and the laws passed by the *storting*, and remain in force provisionally only, until such time as they shall have received the sanction of the next *storting*. The Danish fundamental law, on the other hand, contains a provision that under circumstances of peculiar urgency, and when the diet is not sitting, the king may issue provisional laws, provided they are not contrary to the fundamental law, and that every such law must be submitted to the next diet for ratification. "The king levies the taxes and duties imposed by the *storting*," says the Norwegian fundamental law; that of Denmark contains no such definition, but in general terms assigns the executive power wholly to the king. "The king sees to it that the state property and royalties are used and administered in such wise as is prescribed by the *storting* and conducive to the common weal," so runs the law of Norway; while that of Denmark prescribes that no demesne pertaining to the state shall be alienated except by a decree of the diet. According to the Norwegian constitution, the king in council has the prerogative of pardoning criminals after sentence has been pronounced by the Supreme Court, and on the advice of the same. The condemned person is free to choose whether he will accept the king's pardon or undergo the sentence awarded by the court. In actions brought before the Supreme Court by the *odelsting* (one division of the national assembly), the king cannot exercise the prerogative of mercy except by remitting a capital sentence. With regard to such cases the Danish fundamental law merely says, "The king can pardon and grant amnesties; he can exempt ministers from the penalties imposed upon them only by consent of the *folkething*."

In accordance with the fundamental law of Norway, the king selects and appoints all civil, ecclesiastical, and military officers, after consultation with the council of state; and they are required to take the oath of allegiance to the constitution and the king. Princes of the blood royal are incapable of holding civil office. The king, after consulting with the council of state, may dismiss any member of the said council, or any person holding an appointment in the office of the said council, or any ambassador, consul, superior official either civil or ecclesiastic, regimental or divisional commander, commandant of a fortress or naval officer in command of a man-of-war, without the formality of a trial. Other officials the king can only suspend, after which they must immediately be brought to trial; but they may not be deprived of their office except by sentence of the court, nor transferred to another without their own consent. All these cases the Danish fundamental law covers by the statement: "Appointments to all offices are in the king's hands to the same extent as heretofore." This general statement, however, points back to a legal ordinance by which the signature of a responsible minister must be added to that of the king in the case of each appointment. As a rule the king of Denmark can dismiss the officials he has appointed; but there is a proviso that judges are not to be deprived of their offices without trial, or transferred elsewhere against their will, and exceptions in the case of other classes are to be determined by law. It is a curious fact that the fundamental law of the kingdom of Denmark contains no provision whereby officials are required to take the oath to the constitution and vow loyalty and obedience to the king.

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According to the Norwegian constitution, the king can, at his good pleasure, bestow orders as a reward for distinguished service, but no title except such as is inseparable from office. Nor can he grant personal or mixed hereditary privileges to any person. This last provision corresponds to the article in the Danish constitution whereby all privileges appurtenant to lineage, title, or rank are abrogated, and whereby no fiefs, family estates, or entail may be established for the future, while those which already exist are gradually to pass over into free tenure; but the Danish law says not a word of orders and rewards for service rendered to the state. The provisions with regard to the civil list are practically the same in both fundamental laws, but by a clause subjoined to that of Denmark, the civil list may not be burdened with debt. The Norwegian constitution gives the king a free hand in the appointment and dismissal of his court officers and servants. The king has supreme command over the forces by land and sea, but they may not be transferred to the service of a foreign power without the consent of the storting, nor may foreign troops be admitted into the country, except as auxiliaries in case of hostile invasion. The king likewise has absolute power to muster troops, to declare war and conclude peace, to enter into and dissolve alliances, and to send and receive ambassadors. The provisions of the Danish constitution are similar to these, except with regard to foreign troops, and it contains the addition that the king cannot cede any portion of the country to a foreign power, or dispose of the public revenue, or subject the country to burdensome obligations, without the consent of the diet.

The provisions respecting the king's competence to take despotic measures against subjects are alike in both fundamental laws, which is also the case in the matter of the constitution of the council of state and ministerial responsibility. Some provisions of the Norwegian constitution concerning princes and princesses of the blood royal are adopted from the Danish *Koningsgesetz* (King's Law) of 1665, to which the Danish fundamental law likewise refers in conclusion. According to both constitutions, a regency or government by a guardian, with the co-operation of the storting or diet, may be instituted; but the Norwegian constitution makes special mention of the members of the royal family; while that of Denmark permits the diet to appoint a regent. In default of any heir to the throne, the storting may found a new dynasty, while in Denmark, under similar circumstances, the diet chooses a king and determines the succession. The Norwegian fundamental law also contains a series of provisions on the subject of the education of a king under age, by the queen-mother and certain men selected by the storting; of which nothing is said in the Danish fundamental law.

The third section of the Norwegian constitution, headed, "Of Civil Rights and the Legislative Authority," states that the Norwegian nation exercises legislative authority by means of its storting, which consists of two Things, the ladthing and the odelsting, that meet together under certain circumstances in a storting session. The Danish Parliament likewise consists of two chambers: the folkething and the landsting. When they meet together, as they do under certain circumstances, and form a single assembly, the two chambers constitute the united diet, while the Norwegian Things remain two distinct bodies. The Eidsvold constitution admits of only one election for the whole storting; the Danish fundamental law institutes a two-fold election, each chamber being elected separately. Only such Norwegian citizens are qualified to vote as have attained their twenty-fifth year, have been five years domiciled in the country, and hold or have held public office, or such as have possessed or managed registered property in land for more than five

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years, or are freemen of a city, or possess houses or land in ports or places of lading to the value of 300 *rchsbkthlon*. By the Danish fundamental law, on the other hand, every man in the country who is thirty years of age, and of unimpeachable reputation, is entitled to vote for both Things, provided he possesses the rights of a native. Hence, in the kingdom of Denmark no census is taken to decide electoral qualifications; and on this point again its fundamental law is far more liberal and democratic than that of Norway.

In sparsely populated Norway, one elector is nominated by every fifty persons qualified to vote. From amongst themselves or the other qualified voters, these electors choose one-fourth of their own number to sit in the storthing; any number of electors from three to six sending one member; any number from seven to ten, two members; from eleven to fourteen, three members; and from fifteen to eighteen, four members; which last is the largest number of deputies any one town can send to the storthing. If a town has less than one hundred and fifty inhabitants, it elects in conjunction with the next town. In every country parish the qualified voters among the inhabitants choose electors in proportion to their numbers, one for every hundred, two for any number between one and two hundred, three for any number between two and three hundred, and so on. The electors proceed, like the others, to elect one-tenth of their own number, either from among themselves or from the qualified voters of their administrative district, to take their seats in the storthing; any number from five to fourteen electing one; from fifteen to twenty-four, two; from twenty-five to thirty-four, three; and of thirty-five and over, four, as the largest number of deputies that can be sent by any one electoral district. The storthing has the power of making alterations in these electoral regulations, so as to arrange for the representation of town and country in the proportion of one to two, and to keep the total number of deputies in the storthing above seventy-five and below one hundred. In Norway, no man can be a popular representative who has not passed his thirtieth year and been ten years domiciled in the country.

In Denmark this mode of election is employed only for the first chamber or landsting, and the provisions of the Danish fundamental law are consequently more democratic in this respect than the constitution of Norway. The number of deputies to the second chamber or folkething in Denmark is approximately one to every fourteen thousand of the population (the constitution of Eidsvold sets it at about one to every ten thousand). The votes are taken by circles, the extent of which is determined by the election law. Each circle chooses one candidate out of those who present themselves for election. The only qualification necessary for election to the folkething is that the candidate shall have attained the age of twenty-five; for the landsting, he must be forty years of age, and must have fulfilled the conditions necessary for qualification as a voter, though no limitation is imposed in respect of length of residence in the electoral circle. No man is eligible for election to the Danish landsting unless he has paid to the state 200 *rchsbkthlon* in direct taxes during the preceding year, or can prove that he enjoys an annual income of 1,200 *rchsbkthlon*; while the Norwegian constitution requires no property qualification in a candidate. On the other hand, by the fundamental law of the latter country, neither members nor subordinate officials of state, nor court officers, nor pensioners are eligible for election; a restriction which does not exist in Denmark, where officials accept or refuse nomination as deputies to the diet without reference to the government.

According to the constitution of Eidsvold, the popular representatives thus elected constitute the storthing of the kingdom of Norway and the diet

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of Denmark, which last-named body consists of the folkething and landstthing. The Norwegian storthing is held every three years at Christiania, the capital of the country; the Danish diet annually, wherever the seat of government happens to be. The storthing elects one-fourth of its own members to form the lagthing; the remaining three-fourths constitute the odelstthing. Thus, in Norway the whole storthing is the original body, by the division of which the two Things come into being; while in Denmark, on the contrary, the folkething and the landstthing constitute the original body, and the united diet is the product of the coalition of the two Things. The storthing and the diet are both legislative and deliberative assemblies. In Norway, every legislative proposal must first be moved in the odelstthing, either by a member of that body or by the government through a member of the council of state. If the odelstthing accepts the proposal it is sent on to the lagthing, which either assents to or rejects it; and, in the latter case, sends it back to the odelstthing with an explanation of its motives in so doing. The odelstthing deliberates upon these observations, and then either passes over from the original motion to the order of the day, or sends it back to the lagthing for fresh consideration, with or without alteration. If a motion has been twice submitted to the lagthing by the odelstthing and twice rejected, the two chambers meet in a session of the storthing, and the final decision is given by a majority of two-thirds. An interval of three days, at least, must elapse between any two of the above named transactions.

When a legislative proposal of this kind, brought into the odelstthing and approved by the lagthing or the assembled storthing, has been voted on and passed in the manner described, it is submitted to the king or his representative by a deputation from both chambers of the storthing, with a request for his assent. If he approves of the proposal, he appends his signature to it, thus giving it the force of law. If he does not approve it, he sends the draught back to the odelstthing, with the remark that he does not think it expedient at this time to sanction the resolution of the storthing; after which the proposal cannot again be made and submitted to the king by the same storthing. If the next lawfully elected storthing again brings forward the same law, the king can again prevent its promulgation by refusing his assent. But if a third lawfully elected storthing submits the same proposal to the king, after it has again been deliberated upon by both chambers, and again requests his assent to a law which, upon mature consideration, they think for the public advantage, the proposal acquires legal validity even if the royal assent is not given before the end of the session. A law thus adopted by the storthing is drawn up in a different form from those which have received the royal assent. The Danish fundamental law, on the other hand, concedes to both Things the right of moving and discussing legislative proposals; but no final decision can be taken upon any proposal until it has been under deliberation three times in each Thing. There is, however, an essential difference between the two fundamental laws in the fact that the veto of the king of Norway is suspensive only, while that of the king of Denmark is absolute. It cannot, therefore, be denied that upon this point the constitution of Norway is more democratic than that of Denmark, though the latter more vigorously champions the rights of the people. Hence, the legislative authority in Denmark pertains neither to the diet nor to the king alone (not even in exceptional cases to the latter, as it does in Norway), but to the two conjointly.

With respect to the judicature, and especially to the Supreme Court, the provisions of the two fundamental laws are almost identical. By the con-

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stitution of Eidsvold the defendant can challenge as many as one-third of the members of the court, without giving any reason, so long as he does not reduce the number below fifteen. The constitution of Christiansborg contains no such provision. The fifth and last section of the Norwegian fundamental law bears the superscription "General provisions." It provides, among other things, that offices of state in Norway shall be occupied by none but Norwegian subjects who profess the Protestant religion, have taken the oath to the constitution, sworn fealty to the king, and are able to speak the language of the country. The Danish constitution is more liberal, for it briefly lays down the principle that no man shall forfeit his claim to the full enjoyment of all civil and political rights on account of his religion, and here again there is no mention of any oath to be taken by holders of office. The Norwegian constitution contains various other precepts of general application respecting the administration of justice, among which is the singular provision that no dues may be levied by the state upon the fees paid to constables. The sixth and eighth sections of the Danish fundamental law treat of the administration of justice on principles of natural law which are to be brought into use by fresh legislation, and lays down the special rule that the courts must be competent to settle all questions beyond the scope of magisterial authority.

The freedom of the press is guaranteed by both fundamental laws. The Norwegian constitution lays down the principle that no new and permanent restrictions may in future be anywhere imposed upon trade; while the Danish fundamental law states that all restrictions upon admittance to the freedom and equal rights of industry, which are not based upon considerations of public advantage, are for the future abrogated by law. Thus, the former extends protection to that which already exists; while the latter refers the question to the wide principle of interpretation: what may or may not be regarded as conducive to the public weal. The fundamental law of Norway permits inquisition in criminal cases; that of Denmark runs: "The home is inviolable; where no exception is by law established, domiciliary visits and the seizure and examination of letters and other papers may not take place till after the verdict of the court." Both fundamental laws agree in recognising the inviolability of property and in providing for full compensation where the interests of the state or the common weal require an owner to resign possession. The Norwegian constitution ordains that udal rights and the right of inheritance in landed property shall not be abrogated, but that the details of the conditions under which these privileges shall continue to exist, for the greater advantage of the state and the good of the rural population, shall be determined by the next duly elected storting or the next after that; and that in future it shall not be lawful to institute counties, baronies, ancestral seats, nor entailed estates. The Danish constitution contains a corresponding provision to the effect that the manner in which the fiefs, ancestral seats, and entailed estates, then existing, shall pass over into free tenure shall be regulated in detail by law, and that no new possessions of this kind shall be acquired, while all privileges pertaining to descent, rank, or title shall be abolished. Both fundamental laws enunciate the principle of universal obligation to military service, but the diet of Denmark was slower to admit of the provision of a substitute.

The purpose of the 110th and last paragraph of the Norwegian constitution is that the provisions of the constitution here set down shall become the fundamental law of the kingdom, so soon as they shall have received the assent of the diet. Should future experience go to prove that any part of

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them require alteration, a proposal to that effect shall be submitted to a duly elected storting, and be made public through the press. But it shall be reserved for the next duly elected storting to decide whether the proposed alteration shall be made. Such a proposal, however, may never be subversive of the principles of the fundamental law, but must merely aim at a modification of particular provisions not affecting the spirit of the law, and two-thirds of the members of the storting must vote in its favour. The hundredth and concluding paragraph of the Danish fundamental law likewise assumes the possibility that alterations may be necessary; but they cannot be made as easily as in Norway. Proposals of this nature must first be moved in a duly elected diet. If this and the next duly elected assembly accept the proposal without alteration and it receives the royal assent, both Things are dissolved, and fresh elections take place both to the folkething and the lands-thing. If the proposed alteration is accepted by the new diet in ordinary or extraordinary session and sanctioned by the king, it thereby acquires the force of a fundamental law.

The constitution of Eidsvold is signed by the deputies of the kingdom, and sealed by each of them; and this draught of a constitution which had been accepted by the diet is thereby raised to the rank of a fundamental law. The constitution of Christiansborg, on the other hand, is signed by the king and his ministers for the time being, and the royal seal is appended to it.^g

The failure of Norway's efforts to preserve her independence of her eastern neighbour will be more fully described in our next chapter: the constitution of Eidsvold survived the union with Sweden, and the separate rights of Norway continued to be stoutly maintained. For Denmark the great problem was now that of her relations with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, a question which became a matter of agitation to all Europe.^a

THE FIRST SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WAR

After the restoration of peace in 1815, the estates of the duchy of Holstein, never so cordially blended with Denmark as those of Schleswig, began to show their discontent with the continued non-conconvocation of their own assemblies, despite the assurances of Frederick VI. The preparation of a new constitution for the whole kingdom was the main pretext by which the court evaded the claims of the petitioners, who met, however, with no better success from the German diet, before which they brought their complaints in 1822.

After the stirring year of 1830, the movements in the duchies, soon to degenerate into a mutual animosity between the Danish and the German population, became more general. The scheme of the court to meet their demands by the establishment of separate deliberative assemblies for each of the provinces failed to satisfy the Holsteiners, who continually urged the revival of their long-neglected local laws and privileges. Nor were matters changed at the accession in 1839 of Christian VIII [the quondam king of Norway], a prince noted for his popular sympathies and liberal principles. The feeling of national animosity was greatly increased by the issue of certain orders for Schleswig, which tended to encourage the culture of the Danish language to the prejudice of the German. The elements of a revolution, being thus in readiness, only waited for some impulse to break forth into action.^b

In 1846, King Christian VIII of Denmark thought the propitious moment had come for announcing, by a so-called "open letter," that, on the extinction

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of the royal line, the union of Schleswig-Holstein with Denmark would continue to be maintained. Contrary to all expectation, the opposition to this arbitrary proceeding was not confined to the two duchies, but found vigorous support in all parts of Germany. Men everywhere began to remember that the hardy race which had chosen king Christian I of Denmark to be its duke, in 1460, had entered into union with the neighbouring kingdom only on condition that the duchies should retain their independence, and should remain in undivided conjunction for all time (*ewig tosamende ungedeelt*). Experts pointed out that the conjunction of the duchies, which had found expression in a common administration, had not been impaired by the fact that Holstein had become a member of the German Confederation, together with Lauenburg, which had been ceded by Prussia in 1815. The song composed by M. F. Chemnitz, first sung at the musical festival (*Sängerfest*) at Schleswig, and now adopted by an indomitable race as its song of defiance, winged its way to every corner of the common fatherland, and was presently sung all over Germany.

The growing resistance of the Schleswig Holsteiners was greeted with no less unanimous applause. The emphatic repudiation which the estates of the duchies returned to the declaration of King Frederick VII, who had succeeded his father Christian VIII, on the 20th of January, 1848, to the effect that Schleswig-Holstein was to be incorporated with Denmark, met with general approval, as did the formation of a separate government, by which they proceeded to reply to that declaration. Prussia and the German Confederation declared that they regarded Schleswig and Holstein as independent and intimately allied states, in which only the male line was entitled to succeed. To give point to this declaration, the Prussian general Wrangel crossed the frontier in concert with the troops of the Confederation, and on the 23rd of April inflicted so decisive a defeat upon the enemy that in a few days they evacuated the duchy as far as Alsen. He then carried the war into Jutland, beyond the Konge Aa, to indemnify Germany for the injury Denmark had inflicted upon her by the seizure of large numbers of merchant vessels. His operations for that year were only brought to a close by the armistice of Malmö. In spite of these defeats, however, Denmark was not yet vanquished. Trusting to the support of foreign powers and to dissensions in Germany itself, she terminated the armistice in the spring of 1849, and set on foot a simultaneous attack on the German troops, from Jutland, Alsen and Eckernförde. The Danes achieved some successes at the first two points, but on the 5th of April suffered a defeat at Eckernförde, than which history records few more memorable. The two proudest ships of the Danish fleet, the Christian VIII, a ship of the line of eighty-four guns, and the Gefion, a frigate of forty-six guns, under cover of which the transports had run into harbour to land their troops, were not merely vigorously repulsed by two insignificant shore batteries mustering only ten guns between them, but were compelled to surrender. However great a part may have been played in this disaster by a singular concatenation of untoward circumstances, the credit of it is chiefly due to the resolution of the heroic men who took up the struggle and carried it through to the end.

In the other theatres of war the Danes did not hold their ground against the steady advance of the Germans. On the 13th of April, the Confederate troops stormed the entrenchments at Düppel, and on the 16th of May, General Bonin, the leader of the forces of Schleswig-Holstein, proceeded to besiege Fredericia. There the tide of fortune turned. On the 5th of July, the enemy's army made a night sortie, broke through the attenuated line of

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besiegers, and inflicted severe loss upon them. Before the injury could be avenged, Prussia confounded all hopes by the peace which she concluded in her own name and that of the Confederation. She abandoned the duchies. They still strove to maintain their rights by their own sword, but the defeat of Idstedt, not far from Schleswig (July 25th), put an end to their resistance; the country lay defenceless at the conqueror's feet. But the worst was still to come. The very power which two years before had nerved it for the struggle helped to disarm those who refused even then to despair of the ultimate victory of their rightful cause. And policy, while it imposed its stern laws on the stubborn race in the present, robbed it of its hope for the future, by settling the succession question. By the London Protocol (May 8th, 1852), Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, France, and Sweden resolved to maintain the existing frontiers of the Danish dominions, and to recognise Prince Christian of Glücksburg as the rightful successor of the childless king Frederick VII, compounding with the duke of Augustenburg for passing over his prior claim. The plenipotentiaries ignored the fact that, to make this arrangement valid, the consent of the parties principally concerned, the estates of Schleswig-Holstein, was necessary and also that, in the case of Holstein, they could not dispense with the consent of the German Confederation; and yet this very neglect bore in it the seeds of fresh complications. The German great powers were guilty of an additional error; for, relying on Denmark's assurance that she did not contemplate the incorporation of Schleswig with the kingdom, they rested satisfied with the royal proclamation of January 28th, 1852, which promised absolute political equality to German and Danish subjects and separate government departments for the kingdom and provinces.



CHRISTIAN IX

The authorities at Copenhagen cherished no serious intention of fulfilling this last condition. The party of so-called Eider Danes, who desired to see Schleswig completely severed from Holstein and finally incorporated with Denmark, soon gained the upper hand; and the government yielded to their wishes. The alterations they introduced into the constitution, and the administrative measures they adopted, provoked such vehement opposition on the part of the estates of the duchies and the German Confederation that even the non-German great powers advised them to give way, but in vain. A royal proclamation of March 30th, 1863, declared that the fulfilment of the promise of January 28th, 1852, was impracticable, and decreed the separation of Holstein and Lauenburg from the coalition, that is to say, the severance of the duchies. This proceeding naturally called forth tremendous excitement there, and loud protests were raised at public meetings against such a breach of the law. The Danish government replied by arbitrary measures: German officials were dismissed on frivolous pretexts and super-

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seded by Danes, the use of the German language in churches and schools was restricted, and even prohibited in districts unquestionably German. Even German travellers on whose passports the words Schleswig and Holstein were united by a hyphen, had to suffer much annoyance at the hands of the police. The hopes of the Eider Danes seemed to have been fulfilled: the duchy of Schleswig was transformed into "South Jutland."^e

In vain did the leading powers of Germany and the German Confederation enter formal protests, in vain did they threaten to put the execution of the league in force. The Danish government, trusting to English and Swedish support, submitted to the rigsråd the draught of a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, which was intended finally to consummate the separation of Holstein and the incorporation of Schleswig.¹ At the same time they asked for special grants for reinforcing the army and fleet. It was an audacious step, well adapted to exhaust the patience of the most long-suffering of nations. The Germans were sensitive to the blow, and laments for the violence their kinsmen suffered were mingled with the rejoicings with which they celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the victory of Leipsic.

On the 13th of November, the fatal constitution was accepted, with the provision that it should take effect from January 1st, 1864. It lacked nothing but the royal signature to give it the force of law. Then a sudden event took place, fraught with momentous consequences. King Frederick VII died, on the 15th of November, after a short illness, and was succeeded by Prince Christian of Glücksburg, under the title of Christian IX.^e

THE DANISH CONSTITUTION

At the same time that Denmark was undergoing insurrection as well as a hard struggle with Germany, a great work of peace — her liberal constitution — was being formed. Frederick VII had promised on March 22nd, 1848, to share his power with the nation, and had faithfully kept his word. On the 23rd of October the constituent assembly met for the first time at Copenhagen. Its members had been chosen under an electoral law which took no account of wealth or property; but a few members chosen by the king took their seats alongside of those elected by universal suffrage. The March ministry had laid aside the project of a fundamental law for the Danish monarchy — a scheme to which the November ministry, coming into power a short time after, gave its adherence. After lengthy debates, in the course of which several articles underwent modification, the constitution was adopted by the assembly, and received the king's approval, June 5th, 1849. Its application extended to Schleswig; and the right of consent was reserved to this duchy, which had been prevented by the war from taking part in the labours of the constituent assembly.

The principal articles of this fundamental law, which afterwards received various modifications, concerned elections to the landsting; the legislative power and the right to impose taxes were vested in the *rigsdag* (parliament) and the king conjointly; the voting of all laws, in the *rigsdag*; and no contribution could be imposed, modified, or abolished save by a law. The ministers were to be held responsible for the acts of the government, for which they could be called to account and judged before the supreme court

[¹ Allen ^a says that there was no question of incorporating Schleswig with Denmark, because the separate constitution of Schleswig was to continue to operate. He speaks of the new constitution as intended to provide for the management of such matters as concerned both Denmark and Schleswig.]

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(*Rigsret*). The rigsdag was to meet once a year, and to be composed of the folkething (chamber of the people) and the landsting (chamber of the landed proprietors). The right to elect and to be elected to the folkething belonged to everyone within certain natural limitations — the candidate elected must, for example, be of a certain age, of irreproachable morality, etc., but it mattered little as to his social status and fortune. The right of suffrage for the landsting was also submitted to the same conditions; but it could not be exercised directly — there were two steps. To be eligible to this second chamber, one must, besides complying with the general conditions, possess an annual net income of at least 1200 rix-dollars (£140), or have paid to the state or the commune during the year past 200 rix-dollars (£23), in direct taxes. The members of the folkething were to be elected for three years; those of the landsting, for eight. Officials elected to the rigsdag were not obliged to obtain permission from the government to take their seats.

Among other important articles whose object was to guarantee civil and personal liberty, the independence and impartiality of the magistracy, and the general equality of citizens in regard to public rights and burdens, must be mentioned complete liberty of conscience, the right to form religious societies and hold public worship, on condition that nothing should be done or taught to offend public morality and order; and, besides these, freedom of association, of meeting, of the press under its legal responsibility, and the permanent abolition of the censorship. Personal liberty was guaranteed by the obligation to bring every arrested person before a judge within twenty-four hours; and the magistrate had to decide at once whether the accused was to be kept under arrest, or set at liberty. Every man

in condition to bear arms was obliged to contribute in person to his country's defence. Judges could not be dismissed without trial, or removed without their consent. The administration of justice was to be entirely separated from the executive authority, and the judiciary privileges attached to certain properties were to be abolished by law. Publicity and oral procedure were to be introduced, as far as possible, into the courts. Criminal and political cases were to be submitted to juries. Such were the fundamental points of the new constitution with which Denmark was provided, and through which her society was in future to be governed, directed and developed.^a

When the question came up of a common constitution for the kingdom and the duchies, an attempt was made to give it an autocratic form, but this failed. According to the constitution of 1855, the assembly, intended to deliberate on the affairs common to the kingdom and the duchies, was to be known as the *rigsraad* (council of the kingdom) and to consist of eighty members, of which thirty were to be chosen by direct and thirty by indirect election, while the remaining twenty were to be appointed by the king. It was to have a deliberative voice in all common affairs of legislation and taxation.



QUEEN LOUISE
(1817-1898)

[1863 A.D.]

The constitution of 1863 made some changes.^a The new rigsråd or parliament was to consist of two chambers; the folkething, with 130 members (one hundred and one for the kingdom and twenty-nine for Schleswig), who were to be elected directly by the nation according to the rule in force for the electorate and eligibility to the rigsdag of the kingdom; and the landsting, with eighty-three members, of which eighteen were to be designated by the king, whilst the rest were to be chosen by direct election. Other important steps in a liberal direction were the rights accorded to the rigsråd concerning the initiative for the proposition of laws, amendments in the details, interpellations, etc.^d

CHRISTIAN IX AND THE SECOND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WAR

Christian IX was a younger brother of the reigning duke of Glucksburg, the representative of the Beck line of the house of Oldenburg. The founder of this Beck line was Augustus Philip, whose father, Alexander, was the son of John the Young, a younger son of Christian III. The house of Augustenburg descended from Ernest Gunther, a son of Alexander older than Augustus Philip; and the duke of Augustenburg was therefore the representative of an older line than that of Glucksburg. But the wife of the prince of Glucksburg was the Princess Louise of Hesse, whose mother was a sister of Christian VIII, and in whom the claims of her family to the Danish throne had been vested with their consent. It was on Christian of Glucksburg and the male heirs of him and Louise of Hesse that the London Protocol had settled the succession to the Danish throne; and this arrangement had been finally recognised by the Danish parliament, in June 1853, though not till after a severe struggle, while the duke of Augustenburg had been induced to resign his claim — a resignation in which his son and the other members of his family did not, however, acquiesce.^a

Three days after the death of Frederick VII, the new fundamental law for the kingdom of Schleswig was sanctioned. But in Germany an event had already occurred, which set the smouldering fire ablaze: from the castle of Dolzig in Silesia, the son of the old duke Christian of Augustenburg, the self-styled "crown prince" Frederick of Augustenburg, had notified the people of Schleswig-Holstein, by a manifesto dated the 16th of November, that, being the concessionary of his father's claims to the duchies, and having become duke by the extinction in the person of Frederick VII of the royal male line of Frederick III, he assumed the title of Frederick VIII. On the same day, the envoy of Baden at the Frankfurt diet notified the duke's accession. Throughout Germany there arose a national agitation still greater than that of 1848; it was said that the moment had come for the Germans to deliver their oppressed brothers from the yoke of tyranny. In all the great towns, as Stuttgart, Dresden, Munich, Darmstadt, and Berlin, the governments were overwhelmed with addresses, petitions, and interpellations, requesting them to succour the duchies. The same disposition was manifested in the duchies themselves, where a number of officials refused to take the oath of fidelity to the new king, whilst some of the deputies to the estates of Holstein loudly claimed the protection of the diet of the German Confederation. As the latter had not signed the London Protocol, it had no scruple in denying its validity; and on the suggestion of Count von Beust, the minister of Saxony, it refused to receive into its midst the envoy of Christian IX, and resolved to allow the seat of the representative of Holstein to remain vacant for the time being.

[1863-1864 A.D.]

Neither Prussia nor Austria, however, would follow in the wake of the diet; both were signatories of the London Protocol, and both had motives for maintaining it. Meantime, though the question of the succession held no direct connection with the constitutional question, the courts of Berlin and Vienna, now succeeded in making the confederation diet adopt the resolution to proceed to the occupation of the duchies, without prejudice to the constitutional question (December 7th). It was to no purpose that the Danish government had offered (November 14th) to grant to the representatives of Holstein full authority in matters of finance, and had annulled (December 4th) the proclamation of the 30th of March, 1863. The most violent agitation animated the German people against the Prussian government, because it had betrayed the cause of the Augustenburgs. A numerous assembly of members of the legislative bodies of Germany pronounced in favour of the pretender, and appointed a committee to direct the movement. This agitation was not without its influence on the petty princes of Germany, and the king of Bavaria himself recognised the duke of Augustenburg; but Count Bismarck was unmoved, and supported with imperturbable calm the storm raised in the Prussian chamber of deputies. In consequence of the resolution taken by the confederation diet, Russia, England, and France put pressure on the court of Copenhagen, to induce it to abrogate the fundamental law of the 18th of November, the latter having been qualified by Prussia, in a despatch written two days before the death of Frederick VII, as the stumbling block to a pacific solution; but this abrogation would not have had the effect of suspending the occupation. Under this pressure the Danish government decided to evacuate Holstein; and, consequently, the troops of the Confederation, composed of twelve thousand Saxons and Hanoverians, under General Hake, encountered no obstacles when they crossed the frontier on the 23rd of December. Wherever they passed the pretender was proclaimed duke.

On the 1st of January, 1864, the fundamental law was put in force. On the 11th of January, Prussia and Austria laid before the diet a proposition to the effect that Denmark should be called upon to abrogate the constitution of the 18th of November, 1863, so far as Schleswig was concerned; and that, in case of refusal, that duchy should be occupied in order to compel the court of Copenhagen to fulfil its pretended obligations of 1851 and 1852. When, however, the majority of the diet, which shared the prejudices of the whole German people, and saw in this motion a betrayal of the rights of the pretender, had rejected this plan (January 14th), the two powers resolved to assume the direction of the affair without delay, in spite of the protests of the majority; and, on the 16th of January, they addressed an ultimatum to Denmark, calling upon her to abrogate the fundamental law, so far as Schleswig was concerned, within twenty-four hours. It was in vain that the Danish ministry declared itself ready to convoke the rigsråd for the purpose of proposing to it to effect this abrogation within six weeks; that it entered into the views of England concerning a congress of representatives of the powers signatory of the London Protocol, to whom should be joined a plenipotentiary of the German diet. The decisive moment had arrived; the whole question now was whether Denmark would be left isolated in the struggle. No assistance was to be expected from Russia. The project of the emperor Napoleon of submitting the question in debate to a general congress had shortly before been defeated by the opposition of England, and the emperor had not openly repelled the prince of Augustenburg, who had appealed to him; whilst the French minister for foreign affairs, Drouyn de Lhuys, declared

in general terms that the emperor was inclined to support the principle of nationalities. England, as before, wrote notes upon notes, but that was all. The greatest disappointment, however, was the conduct of Sweden and Norway.

The relations between the Scandinavian states had never been so friendly as under the reign of Frederick VII. Numerous pamphlets had even propagated the idea of a more intimate union between the peoples of the North, but for the partisans of the complex state Scandinavianism was an abomination; and in February, 1857, in a despatch addressed to the Danish envoys at London, St. Petersburg, Paris, and Stockholm, the Swedish minister for foreign affairs had anathematised the Scandinavian idea as incapable of a practical realisation, so long as it was found expedient to adhere to the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy in its present extent. This arbitrary act of the minister troubled not a little the good understanding between the two countries, the more so as King Oscar had proposed to Frederick VII an alliance between Sweden and Norway, and Denmark "to the Eider," including Schleswig. In May, 1862, Sweden and Norway had expressed readiness to act in concert with the non-German powers; but she urged on the court of Copenhagen, with increasing insistence, the separation of Holstein. The proclamation of the 30th of March, 1863, was a rapid advance in this direction, and King Charles XV proposed to Frederick VII a defensive alliance between their states (July, 1863); but the death of Frederick VII led the government of Sweden and Norway to withdraw its offers. Nevertheless, in both Sweden and Norway the nation manifested in various ways its sympathy for Denmark.

On the 19th of January, 1864, Prussia and Austria notified the German diet that they proposed to occupy Holstein, where they believed they would encounter no opposition from the troops of the Confederation, and on the same day Prussian couriers announced that Prussian troops would be quartered at Hamburg. The two great powers did as they had said. On January 21st Prussian troops entered Holstein, and the next day were followed by the Austrians, the troops of the Confederation making no show of resistance. The Prussians were commanded by King William's nephew, Prince Frederick Charles, who had taken part in the war in the same countries six years before; the Austrian leader was Gablenz; and the chief command of the combined armies, which numbered about seventy thousand men, was in the hands of Field-Marshal Wrangel, who had distinguished himself in the first Prussian campaign in the peninsula of Jutland (April-August, 1848). To these forces Denmark could oppose little more than thirty-five thousand men, under Lieutenant-General Meza, who had occupied the position of the Dannevirke, which had been so strongly fortified during recent years that many regarded it as impregnable, provided it were defended by sufficient troops. On the 31st of January, a Prussian major sent by Wrangel summoned the Danish commander to evacuate the duchy of Schleswig; and, on the latter's refusal, Prince Frederick Charles attempted an assault against the intrenchments of Missunde, at the extreme left of the Danes. He had intended to cross the Schlei at this point, but Lieutenant-General Gerlach victoriously repelled the attack after six hours of fighting. On the 3rd of that month, the Austrians succeeded better when, after a combat at Jagel and Oberselk, they took by assault the Kongshøei, and arrived at the foot of the Dannevirke. It was then resolved that, whilst the Austrians attacked the front of the position, the Prussians should make a turning movement by Arnis and Kappel, to the east of Missunde.

[1864 A.D.]

Meantime, at the Danish headquarters it was decided, in a council of war, to evacuate the position of the Dannevirke; the execution of this measure began at a late hour of the evening, without due warning having been conveyed to the government. In a dark winter night the Danish army operated in despair its painful retreat, which the biting cold, the frost, and hunger and thirst rendered still more difficult. The Danish nation was struck to the earth by the news of this movement to the rear. The government deprived Meza of his command, which was given provisionally to Lieutenant-General Luttichau, who was in his turn soon replaced by General Gerlach.

The Lines of Düppel

As soon as the allies got wind of the evacuation of the Dannevirke, they set to work to pursue the Danish army; but, as the latter had a considerable start, it was only at Sankelmark, to the south of Flensburg, that its rear guard, under Colonel Max Muller, was caught up by the advance guard of the Austrians. The encounter which followed was extremely sanguinary. Meantime, the main body of the Danish army, consisting of three divisions, occupied without obstacle its other principal position, the lines of Düppel (Dybbel) on the peninsula of Sundewitt, while the fourth division, under Hegermann-Lindencrone continued its retreat towards the north of the peninsula. Wherever the allies passed they assumed the rôle of masters; the Danish officials were expelled, often with brutality; the fortifications of the Dannevirke were rased; the column at Skamlingsbanke, where innumerable national fêtes had been celebrated in honour of the dawn of liberty, was destroyed by a mine; German once more became the language of the schools and the administration, for everything that recalled the Danish dominion was to be effaced.

Whilst the Austrians and a division of the Prussian guard advanced northwards, the main body of the Prussian army turned on Düppel and invested the Danish position. But it was not till the 17th of March, after the arrival of the siege train, that the Prussians succeeded in gaining possession of Rægebol, Düppel, and Arnbjerg. They then opened a heavy fire on the enemy's fortifications and gradually approached them. The Danes responded as well as they could to the fire of the besiegers; but the earthworks could not resist the ravages of the projectiles, and it soon became impossible to defend them. Although the Danes endured with admirable fortitude the perils and privations of the siege, the issue of the affair could not be doubtful. On the morning of the 18th of April, the Prussians made the assault. The first six works at once fell into the power of the assailants; it was the same with the second line, where General Duplat, who fell there gloriously, arrested for some time the progress of the enemy; but soon the Danes were compelled to retire behind the fortified *tête de pont*. A fierce artillery duel resulted in the capture of this intrenchment also, though the victors were unable to cut off the retreat of the Danish army and prevent it from regaining the island of Alsén. The losses of the vanquished rose to 4,846 killed, wounded, and prisoners, including 108 officers; those of the Prussians were 1,184 men, of whom 70 were officers. Meantime, Jutland had also fallen into the power of the allies. As early as the eighteenth of February, they had crossed the Konge Aa, which forms the boundary between North Jutland and South Jutland or Schleswig; but for the time being the Austrians, who were not anxious to prolong hostilities, remained motionless near Kolding. It was not till the Prussian general Von Manteuffel had smoothed away all difficulties at Vienna that operations were resumed. After a savage fight, the

[1864 A.D.]

Danes were compelled to evacuate Veile, and Fredericia was invested the same day. General Heggermann-Lindencrone had retired to the island of Mors in the Limfjord. On the 28th of April, the Danish government ordered the evacuation of the fortress of Fredericia; and the allies thus became masters of the peninsula of Jutland as far as the Limfjord.

While these events were passing diplomacy had given matters a new turn. England had worked energetically to assemble a conference of the states signatory of the Treaty of London; and, after many difficulties, it had been agreed that the plenipotentiaries of those powers should enter into negotiations, though on no defined basis and without the interruption of hostilities. The conference was to open on the 12th of April, but the German courts delayed the arrangements until the taking of Düppel had rendered their position more favourable; it was not till the 25th that the session was opened. On the 9th of May, an armistice for one month was concluded which was afterwards extended to June 25th. On that day the conference closed, having accomplished nothing, and hostilities were resumed. On the 9th of May, the day on which it had been agreed at the London conference that the armistice should be concluded, a Danish squadron, consisting of the frigates *Niels Juel* and *Jutland* and of the corvette *Heimdal* had sustained an honourable struggle against the Austrian frigates *Schwarzenberg* and *Radetzky*, which were escorted by an Austrian steam corvette with two Prussian gunboats and a Prussian bark. But the fight could exercise no influence on the general course of events; and the Danish fleet was reduced to playing a merely accessory part in a war carried on chiefly by land.

The impotence of the navy was deplorably manifest when the decisive moment arrived. During the night between the 28th and the 29th of June, the Prussians, under Herwarth von Bittenfeld, crossed the Alsen Sound, the Danes making no serious resistance; and next day the island, feebly defended by General Steimann, was in the power of the Germans, with a loss of 3200 men for the Danes. The peninsula of Vendsyssel, north of the Limfjord, was evacuated soon after, and German officers pitched their tents as far north as the Skaw (July 14th). Finally, the islands in the North Sea belonging to Jutland were likewise occupied by the enemy (July 19th).

THE SEVERANCE OF THE DUCHIES

The force of the resistance was broken. The court of Copenhagen entered into negotiations, and by the 4th of August the preliminaries of peace were signed at Vienna; the final treaty was concluded on the 30th of October. Denmark surrendered to Prussia and Austria the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, and undertook to recognise as valid the dispositions which those two powers might make relative to their conquests. The portions of Jutland enclosed in the territory of Schleswig were also ceded to that duchy, but in return Denmark might incorporate the island of *Ærø* and some portions of Schleswig territory enclosed in that of Denmark; no war indemnity was to be paid; the duchies assumed a share of the common debts.

Thus, the present moment paid dearly for the political errors of the past and the absence of a national policy with regard to Schleswig; one of the oldest monarchies of Europe had been humiliated and dismembered, while none held out a hand to sustain her. The indifference of the powers which had guaranteed Denmark in the possession of Schleswig gave a melancholy idea of the nature of political morality.^d The gainer by the war was not the insignificant Augustenburg claimant, whose resistance to the demands of

[1864-1901 A.D.]

Bismarck soon ended in his abandonment by that too powerful friend. Austria, who continued to support his cause, was herself soon involved in a disastrous war with Prussia, which ended in the Treaty of Prague, whereby she abandoned the duchies to her conqueror. Clause 5 in that treaty did indeed provide for the restoration to Denmark of the northern portion of Schleswig, if such an arrangement were desired by the inhabitants of that district, where there was a large Danish population: but this clause was subsequently abrogated.^a

The loss of Schleswig necessitated a revision of the Danish constitution; and a bill to that effect was brought forward by the government, in December, 1864. This was, in the main, a revision of the fundamental law of 1849; but there were several new and important articles, as for example, concerning the composition of the landsting; the restriction of the suffrage to those who had had in recent years a net revenue of 2,000 rix-dollars (\$1165, £233), or had paid 200 rix-dollars in direct taxes; the submission of the budget to a committee composed of members of the two assemblies, equal in numbers and enjoying the same rights, in case the chambers should be unable to agree on financial questions; the convocation of the rigsdag every two years and, in consequence, the vote of the budget for a biennial period.^a This project did not meet with universal approval, but at last, in 1866, after long disputes, it finally became law.^a

RECENT HISTORY OF DENMARK

The recent political history of Denmark offers very little of general interest. The country has not been engaged in the political struggles of Europe, and has been left in peace.

The most noticeable feature in the internal history of Denmark is the constitutional struggle which has been going on for many years between successive governments and the Left party, which commands an overwhelming majority in the folkething. No practical questions of great importance have been at the bottom of this disagreement, save that of the fortification of Copenhagen. The government considered this necessary, because without it the capital was exposed to a *coup de main* at any time, while the Left opposed it as a piece of aggressive militarism, which would be unnecessary if Denmark only proclaimed her neutrality in any war that might arise. For this reason the majority of the folkething refused to sanction the outlay; but the government — considering that the danger was real, and that the neutrality of a state cannot be secured by her own declaration, but depends on the goodwill of her neighbours, which cannot be guaranteed — nevertheless carried out the work by means of a huge accumulated surplus. In the course of this conflict, the majority in the folkething even went the length of refusing supplies altogether; but under the premiership of M. Estrup the government nevertheless collected the revenue and sought its justification in the approval of the landsting, whose political power, according to the charter, is in every respect equal to that of the folkething. This procedure met with no serious resistance in the country. The election in the spring of 1901 resulted in the return to the folkething of seventy-six members of the reform party of the Left, sixteen members of the moderate Left, fourteen social democrats, and only eight members of the Right, the party which had held the reins of power for so many years.

Professor Deuntzer, one of the law professors in the University of Copenhagen, became the head of a government composed of prominent men, drawn

[1901-1906 A.D.]

from the different sections of his own side of the folkething, and including among their number a simple peasant as minister of agriculture. The most prominent articles in the policy of the new government were a reform of the customs, a readjustment of the system of taxation, a reform of the judicial procedure, a reform of primary education, and a reduction in the expenditure for military purposes.⁷

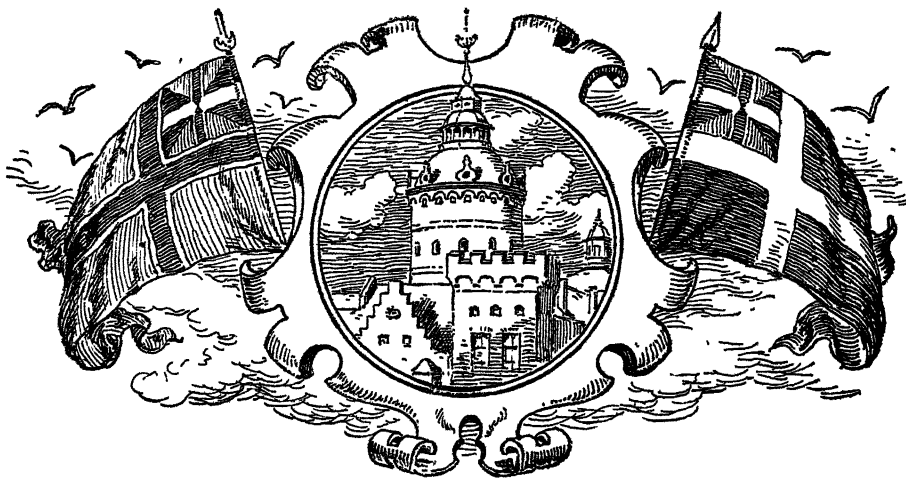
In 1902 the question of the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States being on the *taps* and the sale being apparently on the verge of completion after years of delay, the results of a new election seemed to promise the ratification of the treaty concerning it. But the event proved otherwise; the landsting refused the ratification and those islands still remain in possession of the little kingdom whose power has been established there since the seventeenth century, though the material advantage she derives from them is somewhat problematical.

Professor Deuntzer's government was sustained in the elections of 1903, but in January, 1905, a cabinet disagreement occurred over the question of national defense, and Jens Christian Christensen, who had previously been minister of public instruction, undertook the formation of a ministry. The new premier announced a program which included universal manhood suffrage in communal elections, the settlement of the national defense on the basis of the neutrality of the state, and a rearranging of the districts for elections to the folkething.

A year later, on the 29th of January, 1906, King Christian IX died after a long reign of forty-two years. His death excited universal regret among his subjects; and since one of his sons-in-law was king of England, one of his sons king of Greece, and grandsons the rulers of Norway and of Russia, while others of his descendants were connected with yet other ruling families, it threw most of the European courts into mourning. The crown prince quietly succeeded to the vacant throne under title of Frederick VIII.

In the summer of 1907 the new king, accompanied by Premier Christensen, visited Iceland, where the question of home rule is being agitated.^a





CHAPTER XIV

SWEDEN AND NORWAY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN the wars consequent on the French Revolution, the duke of Södermanland, regent of Sweden, took no part. By a treaty which he entered into with Frederick prince regent of Denmark (1790), sixteen vessels were equipped to defend the entrance of the Baltic against the ships of the belligerent powers. Russia was indignant at this exclusion; she tried to hurl the duke of Södermanland from power by flattering the vanity of Gustavus IV. That young prince, who attained his majority in 1796, was tempted by the offer of Alexandrina Paulovna, grand-daughter of Catherine II; but the difference of religion was an obstacle which could neither be surmounted nor removed. Sweden, reformed Lutheran Sweden, would not allow the princess the exercise of her own worship. Yet, by marrying the princess Frederica of Baden, sister to the wife of the grand-duke Alexander, Gustavus, who had little strength of intellect, was merged into the sphere of Russian influence.

For some years after his accession, the Swedish monarch was satisfied with condemning the encroaching ambition of France. His alliance with Alexander led him more deeply into the political views of that emperor. Like the other, he protested against the murder of the duke d'Enghien and the assumption of the imperial dignity by Napoleon. As duke of Pomerania, too, he inveighed in the Germanic diet against the usurper. In revenge, Bonaparte, who affected to despise him, caricatured him in the *Moniteur*. He was reproached with having deserted his allies the Danes at the battle of Copenhagen, and was ridiculed for his imitation of Charles XII, of whom he had inherited only the jack-boots and the rashness. To these insults he was more sensitive than became a wise man. He ordered the minister of "Monsieur Napoleon Bonaparte" to leave Sweden, and prohibited all intercourse, public or private, between the two countries. Hence he joined with eagerness the coalition formed by Pitt (1805). Subsequently he agreed that Hanoverian troops should be located in Pomerania, and that Swedish regi-

[1808 A.D.]

ments should serve in the pay of England. The folly of Prussia, then the slave of Bonaparte, prevented the execution of these conditions, but could not prevent Gustavus from placing himself at the head of his armies, and proceeding to expel Bernadotte from Hanover. He arrived too late: the confederacy which had been formed was dissolved by the victories of Napoleon, who after the battle of Austerlitz dictated terms of peace to the emperor Francis. Hanover was evacuated by the allies, and the Continent left to the victor.

Though Russia and Prussia, like Denmark, were banded with the great enemy of European independence, Gustavus would listen to no overtures of conciliation. Among the most tempting of them was the offer of Norway; but he preferred his honour and his principles to every advantage. He cannot, however, be exculpated from the charge of extreme rashness in venturing to withstand, single-handed, the colossal power of his enemy. Arriving in Pomerania, he assailed Marshal Brune; but being vanquished, he was forced to retire under the cannon of Stralsund. Leaving that fortress, he had the mortification to see it invested and taken. Rügen and all the islands on the Pomeranian coast were equally reduced.

In these transactions Gustavus had expected English co-operation, but it was delayed until it was too late to be of any service in Pomerania. Now when the Danish islands were occupied by the French and Spanish forces, he had a right to urge it. But the danger was averted by the war with Austria, and by the escape of the Spanish troops under the marquis de la Romana. Denmark, however, at the instigation of Napoleon, declared war against Gustavus [February, 1808]

LOSS OF FINLAND (1808 A.D.)

The situation of Gustavus at this time was one of peculiar embarrassment. He was menaced by Russia, now the tool of Napoleon, with hostilities if he did not co-operate with her and Denmark in declaring the Baltic *mare clausum* and by Prussia, the slave of that emperor, war was declared against him. With Denmark, Prussia, France, and Russia against him, he looked to England for aid. A subsidy of £100,000 monthly emboldened him to resist. The war soon raged. Finland was occupied by the Russians and immediately declared an integral portion of Russia. The Swedish armies were defeated everywhere. The arrival from England of Sir John Moore with eleven thousand men might have been of some little advantage to Gustavus had he not insisted on the command of these auxiliaries, and by other demands so offended the general that he returned, without striking a blow, to England. Hence all his subsequent attempts to expel the enemy from Finland were unavailing. Nor was the war more fortunate in Norway, which the Swedish troops had invaded, and from which they were soon expelled with much loss. He was unfortunate, too, on the deep; and was even advised to make peace with both France and Denmark. But he declared that he would never treat with the French usurper, or with any ally of that usurper.^b

In many respects Gustavus resembled the best of his progenitors. His private life was unimpeachable, and his zeal for the social and domestic improvement of his people unwearied. His devoted patriotism and inflexible honour were manifested in the resolute perseverance with which he alone, of all the continental sovereigns, rejected the offers and defied the power of the French conqueror. But there was in his constitution that family disease which had displayed itself in the eccentricities of Christina and the military

[1808-1809 A.D.]

madness of Charles XII. His unreasonable obstinacy, his capricious sallies of passion, his conduct towards Sir John Moore, and his whole system of policy in the Finnish and Norwegian campaigns, were all symptoms of that mental derangement which rendered it necessary for the interests of the kingdom to put an end to his reign. Besides these causes, others existed, arising purely from incidental circumstances. The machinery of government was ill compacted, and this defect became doubly mischievous when the helm of administration was guided by the hand of a prince who knew not how to regulate his own conduct. The long struggle between the crown and the aristocracy had left a rankling spirit, which even the blood of Gustavus III had not satiated. The discontent of the nobles was inflamed by the haughtiness of the king, who exacted the strictest etiquette at court, and was never approached except with the most ceremonious respect. Towards the close of 1808, he is said to have proposed rigorous measures for punishing the disaffected, but the threat, if really made, was in vain, as he had not the power of carrying it into effect. Many among the higher classes were imbued with that baneful attachment to the language and manners of France which had contributed so fatally to the overthrow of the continental thrones; and this treasonable spirit both Denmark and Russia openly abetted by the unworthy means which they adopted to corrupt the loyalty of the Swedish people.^c

General Akrell, in his Memoirs, writes of Gustavus as follows: "The imprudent policy of Gustavus IV, his foolhardy obstinacy in face of overwhelming odds, and his blind, fanatical belief in supernatural aid, had ended by bringing upon his country the calamity which had long been foreseen. At the beginning of March, in the year 1808, news came that the Russians had crossed the frontier of Finland at several points. The meagre force which was all the Swedes could muster in haste had been repulsed, and after the Finnish army had received orders to retreat, the whole country lay open to the enemy." Thus the year 1808 opened upon gloomy and alarming prospects. Sweden could send no succour, and Finland and its brave defenders were therefore left to their fate. The universal indignation aroused among the people of Sweden by this abandonment was increased by the traitorous surrender of the fortress of Sveaborg to the enemy. Denmark's declaration of war against Sweden was followed by an attack in the rear, from the direction of Norway. In Sweden, on the other hand, dejection, mistakes, and lack of method were the order of the day, and from the war department issued orders, counter-orders, and disorders.

The year 1809 opened under circumstances from which Sweden had good cause to apprehend absolute annihilation and disintegration, unless some efficacious remedy were promptly discovered. Finland was already lost, Åland occupied by the Russians; the remnants of the gallant Finnish army had capitulated, the winter was so exceptionally severe that troops could cross the ice at Åland and Quarken; a flying squadron of Russians appeared at Grislehamn, another paid a visit to Umeå. The unhappy Swedish militia had perished by hundreds from neglect and insufficiency of clothing, a pestilential sickness was raging among the survivors at home; all the hospitals were filled to overflowing, while the treasuries and depôts stood empty, and a grant in aid (*kronsteuer*) of five millions was about to be imposed upon the whole country. In every department of defence, error and confusion came to light; the temper of the nation was sullen and menacing; the king met danger by defiance, obstinately repelling all reasonable remonstrances and relying upon the supernatural succour which, as a chosen instrument of the divine will, he expected speedily to receive.

DEPOSITION OF GUSTAVUS (IV) ADOLPHUS (1809)

The prompt dethronement of the king now began to be generally spoken of, without the slightest pretence of secrecy, as the only means of saving the country. A conspiracy was soon set on foot by determined men, who purposed to arrest him on his way to the town from the castle of Haga, where he resided. The plan was generally known several days before that fixed for its accomplishment, the sovereign alone remained in ignorance. In spite of this fact, and although the enterprise was attended with no real danger, the whole scheme was frustrated by the indecision of one of the conspirators at the very moment when they were assembled in Becker's Tavern, in Norrtullsgatan (North Toll street) at Stockholm, for the purpose of putting it into effect. Meanwhile, the western army had started under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre, and was now marching on Stockholm to bring about a change of government. The king, at length apprised of the matter, resolved to go to the towns of southern Sweden, under the escort of the second Pomeranian regiment, which was in garrison at Stockholm, and to take with him such ready money as was lying at the bank. Thus civil war was imminent, but was fortunately averted by General Adlercreutz's bold resolution to arrest the king on the 13th of March, the very day of his meditated flight.

"The rumour of extraordinary proceedings in the capital soon spread to Karlberg" (where Akrell was engaged as instructor at the military academy). "Suspecting what was in the air, I went at once to the city, accompanied by Wallin (afterwards archbishop), who was at that time assistant-master in theology at the academy; but at the toll office we were refused entrance into the city by a guard of the town militia stationed there. In answer to a question from me, the sentry confessed that the muskets of the guard were not loaded with balls, so that it would have been easy for us to jump over the turnpike gate and go on; but Wallin would not hear of such a proceeding, and we were therefore obliged to get into the town another way. On my arrival at the castle I met General Adlercreutz, commander-in-chief at the time, in the *Trabantensaal* (halberdier's hall); and he gave me orders to stay, and to undertake the office of keeping guard over the king, who was under arrest, in concert with a few other officers who had already collected there. This unexpected and absolutely illegal command had to be obeyed. The officers mounted guard, two at a time; and when the watches were apportioned, Lieutenant Gripenwald of the Finnish guards fell to my lot as companion. Our very first period on duty was signalised by gruff questions on the part of Gustavus Adolphus and rude unseemly answers from Gripenwald, and ended in behaviour and expressions which plainly showed that the former was not merely dull-witted, but suffered from actual mental aberration.

"The king was to be removed to Drottningholm later in the evening. The carriages had already driven up to the castle hill and been ranged in order, when it became known that large crowds had collected round the castle hill and the hill where the church stood. Instead of dispersing them by means of the military, General Adlercreutz very sensibly gave orders that two officers should try to induce the mob to break up, by kindly words and suitable expostulations. Captain Lagerheim of the cavalry and I were detailed for this duty. Lagerheim was admirably qualified for the task; my appointment was less happy, as I did not possess his ready tongue and easy knack of persuasion. I addressed myself to various well-dressed persons of the so-called upper class, told them that it was true that the king was under

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restraint, but that he was treated with all due respect, and was to be removed to Drottningholm under a strong escort; I reminded them of the mischief that might ensue if the people there assembled placed obstacles in the way of his removal, etc., and begged them by suitable admonitions to induce the crowd to disperse. This they very soon did; and a short time after, when the procession was to start, not a creature was visible in the vicinity of the castle or in the streets. The silence and tranquillity that prevailed in the city, where people were fully aware of what had happened that morning, bore eloquent testimony to the temper of the lower classes. No patrol marched through the streets, no extraordinary measure of precaution was perceptible, only the ordinary fire-watches (*Brandwachen*) proclaimed to us, as we drove by, that the hour of midnight was past.

"At the castle of Drottningholm, the state bedchamber was assigned to the use of Gustavus Adolphus, and there he was guarded day and night by relays of two officers apiece. A squadron of cuirassiers and a battalion of the king's own regiment kept guard before the castle. General Silversparre was the chief in command. Differences of opinion prevailed among the officers who had to be on guard in the king's chamber, as to the behaviour to be observed towards him; the general opinion being that they ought to treat him with the respectful attention due to the great position he had held, and to his present misfortunes. A few, among whom was Lieutenant Gripenwald, did not share this view. Gripenwald declared that the king had forfeited every claim to respect, and that he intended to treat him accordingly. Unfortunately, the king's stiff manners and want of tact furnished Gripenwald with abundant opportunities for uncivil behaviour. The position in which this placed the other officers was all the more painful because the noble prisoner never conversed upon any but the most trivial, dull, and even tiresome subjects; sometimes indulging in scornful looks and gestures, and sometimes responding to the officers' observations with a stupid, clumsy condescension, rendered more awkward still by his unconquerable suspiciousness of temper and his dread of an attempt on his life."^d

CHARLES XIII AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Meantime the duke of Södermanland, who was no stranger to the intrigues against his sovereign, was invested with the title of administrator until the meeting of the diet, on the 1st of May. The people expected that this revolution would at once put an end to the war; but neither the czar nor the Danish king would treat with an insecure government. Hostilities therefore continued; the isle of Åland was taken, and Sweden itself was invaded from the north; but the regent obtained an armistice. The diet met at the appointed time; an act of abdication, signed by Gustavus, was produced; and a double decree was passed — first, that having broken his compact with the people, the throne was vacant; and secondly, that his posterity, born and unborn, should forever remain excluded from it.¹ The duke of Södermanland was raised to the throne as Charles XIII; and a new constitution, restoring the power of the monarch, was drawn up.^b

The throne was pronounced to be hereditary, with limitation to the male issue; the sovereign was required to profess the Lutheran religion, and to conduct the ordinary administration of business with the assistance of a

[¹ The dethroned king retired to Switzerland with his family, and died at St Gallen in 1837. He left a son known as the prince of Vasa and two daughters. The prince of Vasa's only child was a daughter.]

state council, to be appointed by him, and responsible for their advice. The members, who must be native Swedes and of the established faith, were to consist of nine individuals: the two ministers for judicial and foreign affairs, the chancellor of the court, and six councillors, one-half of whom, at least, must be civil officers. The four secretaries of state were to sit in council whenever any case belonging to their respective departments should be under consideration; all matters, except the foreign and diplomatic relations, were to be submitted to the deliberation of the king and his legal advisers, of whom three, at least, were required to be present (that number being necessary to constitute a council for the transaction of business); but he was not obliged to adopt their suggestions, and might by virtue of his prerogative decide in opposition to their votes or opinions. In the event of his decision being repugnant to the laws of the realm, the assessors were bound to remonstrate, and to record their protest; otherwise they should be deemed guilty of counselling and abetting him in his unconstitutional proceedings, as he was not held responsible for any act of his own. Before declaring war or concluding treaties, he was expected to state his motives to the council and hear the sentiments which it was their duty to express. Of the army and navy he was to have the supreme command, and the ultimate determination in all matters relating to both services, assisted by the ministers of state for these departments. Civil and military employments were placed at his disposal, as also the appointment of archbishops and bishops; but he could not remove a judge from office, except for just cause and on proof of criminality. He was not allowed to deprive any subject of life, liberty, or property, without a legal process; nor could he arraign religious opinions, unless the profession or dissemination of them should appear to be injurious to the public. The supreme court of justice was composed of six nobles and six commoners, whose continuance in office depended solely on their upright conduct; the king had a double voice, and might pardon criminals and mitigate or commute punishments.

The deputies of the estates were to be freely elected, and to enjoy liberty of speech during their deliberations. The diet was to assemble in the capital every fifth year; and the session was not to continue above three months, unless urgent business should demand an extension of that period. It was part of their duty to nominate a committee for superintending the freedom of the press and inquiring into the conduct of the ministers and council. No taxes could be imposed without their sanction; nor had the sovereign the privilege of negotiating a loan, or altering the currency, or alienating any part of the Swedish territory. Several changes and reforms of minor importance were at the same time effected. A decree of Gustavus, prohibiting the entrance of any Jews into his dominions, was revoked; and the fashion of wearing a white scarf round the left arm, which, since the revolution of 1772, had continued as a badge to distinguish the king's friends, was abolished. A pension was also granted to the deposed monarch and his family, after the amount of his private property had been ascertained; and to obtain credit for economy, his successor gave up to the disposal of the estates most of the royal palaces, with their gardens, parks, and dependencies. He likewise dismissed the household of the late sovereign, contenting himself with the same establishment as when he was duke of Södermanland.^c

Thus Charles, who readily sanctioned the new constitution, obtained the object which he had so long pursued. As he had no issue, the succession had yet to be settled; the choice of the diet fell on Christian Augustus of Holstein Augustenburg, a prince connected by birth with the dynasty of Vasa,

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and by marriage with the royal family of Denmark. This revolution did not lead to peace. Alexander of Russia, with his usual haughtiness, would not grant it without the cession of Finland, which Bonaparte had guaranteed to him, and of the isle of Åland. The north of Sweden was again ravaged by his troops, and the generals of Charles were, as before, beaten. In one or two isolated cities the natives had the advantage; but their best defence lay in the nature of the country, where provisions could not be obtained, and in the activity of the English cruisers, which intercepted the supplies destined for the Russian army. Still, peace was indispensable; and in September of the same year, it was concluded at Fredrikshamn, on conditions deeply humiliating to Sweden. Finland was surrendered, so was the isle of Åland, so was East Bothnia, so was West Bothnia, down to Torneå; and all these were declared an integral portion of the empire. Sweden then acceded to the continental system, and closed her ports to British shipping. She was, however, after much difficulty, permitted to import salt and colonial produce from England. Thus she lost one-third of her population, one-fourth of her territory, and her best fortresses; while internally every province was exhausted.

Before the conclusion of the year, a treaty of peace was also signed between Sweden and Denmark. Both kingdoms remained in the same position to each other as before the war. The opening of the ensuing year was signalised by a treaty with France which virtually rendered Sweden a province of that empire.^b

SWEDEN AND THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

Excluded from Holland and thwarted upon the North Sea, English commerce, under a neutral flag, was carried on and flourished on the Baltic. While the enemy continued his northerly movement by sea, Napoleon followed him on the shores in order to close issues with him. In July, Napoleon ordered Denmark, Prussia, and Mecklenburg not to receive any ships laden with colonial articles. Shortly afterwards, by the decrees of August 5th and September 10th, 1810, which he forced all the German states to adopt, he put upon these commodities the enormous duty of fifty per cent. In principle, this tax was only applicable to merchandise captured on the high seas, all other being absolutely excluded; but, in point of fact, it might be applied to articles admitted through tolerance, provided the stigmata of their origin were not too clearly shown.

When he believed himself to have enclosed the North Sea and the German Baltic with a continuous line of circumvallation, he perceived an almost imperceptible fissure which would allow English products to get through, and decrease the whole efficiency of the scheme. Between Prussia and the duchies of Mecklenburg a small piece of shore line, a narrow band of territory—a fraction of Pomerania—still belonged to the Swedes. This was all that remained of their vast possessions in Germany, a fragment or, rather, a souvenir of the empire created by the great Gustavus Adolphus. When Napoleon had granted them peace, on January 6th, 1810, he had restored them Pomerania, on condition that they would declare war on England and bind themselves to all the necessities for the blockade. In spite of this positive agreement, Pomerania with the port of Stralsund remained open to colonial products; here they found protection, were collected together, and distributed throughout neighbouring countries. Moreover, Sweden proper kept up direct relations with the enemy, and lent him precious aid. For if the Scandinavian peninsula, poor and sparsely populated, did not offer any

considerable market to the prohibited articles, she collected them in her ports, particularly in that of Gothenburg, where they were accumulated and stored up, awaiting a propitious occasion to seek German soil. A contraband was organised, and found here a point of support and facilities for activity. In the Baltic Gothenburg rendered the English the same services as did Helgoland in the North Sea, but in an infinitely greater degree.

It was this vast storehouse, with its branches in Germany and Pomerania, that Napoleon now wished to close, and Sweden took a prominent place in his thoughts. Only, by Sweden's side stood Russia; if he established his authority too openly at Stockholm he would adjoin, on the extreme north, the empire which he already touched with the duchy of Warsaw; and by creating a second point of contact, he would redouble the opportunities for quarrels and discord. In the month of May, Napoleon addressed to the Stockholm government a peremptory and threatening note, demanding at the same time the declaration of war with England, the extradition of a certain number of French refugees, and the sequestration of all the colonial merchandise stored in Pomerania. By failing to acquiesce in these demands within five days, Sweden was to lose all the benefits of the treaty, and expose herself to a rupture and its consequences.

By instinct and tradition Sweden inclined to France. She felt the advantage of adhering to her old ally and Napoleon's protection seemed indispensable in order to resist Russia, established henceforth just across from her capital, and to renew her political existence. But the first necessity of a people, even before providing for the security and dignity of the state, is to meet its daily needs. Now a rupture with England would render Sweden literally without the necessities of life. Trade with the ports of the United Kingdom had become one of the normal and essential functions of her life. This means alone enabled the Scandinavians to turn the riches of their soil into money; to exploit their forests and mines by opening a permanent outlet for their timber, iron, and steel. In exchange for these products, England furnished her northern creditors with a quantity of articles necessary to their existence — commodities of the highest importance, as salt, for example, which Sweden did not possess or know how to manufacture. A complete suspension of these relations would have submitted her to intolerable privation. Between Napoleon, who could crush her or at least deliver her over to the Russian, and England, who possessed the means of starving her, she found herself reduced to ruse and subterfuge, making the former promises which she constantly eluded in favour of the latter.

THE QUESTION OF THE SUCCESSION

To the agonies of the situation were added the difficulties and danger of the morrow of a revolution. In the interior, passions were not yet quieted down; they remained active and irreconcilable, and nothing appeared strong enough to thwart or master them. King Charles XIII was old, infirm, and without posterity. The queen was unpopular and despised, and suspected of the worst intrigues. The elder branch of the Vasas formed a party by themselves; the leaders of the nobility were accused of connivance with Russia and denounced by the hatred of a turbulent demagoguery, which coloured its subversive tendencies with an exalted patriotism.

In the midst of this confusion and danger, Sweden sought desperately for means to recover herself, or at least to bolster up her tottering destinies, and

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conceived the great idea of creating a new dynasty, in order to give herself a race of kings which should succeed the younger branch of the Vasas on the death of Charles XIII. This would be to graft a new limb on the dying trunk. On June 14th, 1809, the estates had chosen Charles of Augustenburg, brother-in-law of the king of Denmark, as heir to the crown, but at this moment, as if adversity were eager to strike the unhappy people, an unexpected thunderbolt fell upon Sweden. On the 28th of May, 1810, during a review, the prince of Augustenburg was suddenly stricken with illness, fell from his horse, and died on the spot. This catastrophe, too sudden to be attributed in the popular grief to natural causes, put Sweden's future again in suspense and delivered her over to every uncertainty. It was now necessary to proceed to the election of a new prince royal, and convoke a diet, which meant the re-opening of scenes of competition and disorder. In the midst of this confusion, the government perceived that providence had pointed out a means of shortening and simplifying the crisis. The prince they mourned had a brother, and by calling this young man to replace him, thus limiting themselves to the substitution of a member of the same family, they would cut short the conflicting intrigues beginning to work on all sides.

On the 2nd of June, while the cabinet was subscribing in principle to all the demands of a French note, the king wrote the emperor a pitiful letter; he dwelt upon the misfortunes which were crowding on his old age, indicated his preferences, made allusions to the second prince of Augustenburg, and asked Napoleon, in sufficiently explicit terms, to accept this candidate and give him the investiture. Before receiving this letter, Napoleon had learned of the death of the prince royal. The choice of a successor concerned him little as to the person himself; his purpose was simply to build up in Sweden a power strong enough to impose the rupture with England upon the nation, and strong enough, also, not to come under the influence and guidance of Russia. His idea all along was to bring it—a friend of France, without being an enemy of Russia, and already master of Norway—into close connection with Denmark, and then create around the Baltic a group of powers, a sort of Scandinavian federation. Had not the hour now come to take a decisive step—not only to establish the most intimate relations between the two governments, but to unite their crowns? This could be done by calling to the succession, instead of a Danish prince, the king of Denmark himself. When Napoleon for the first time passed the possible candidates in review, there was a slight inclination in favour of this *dénouement*; or, at least, this seems to be indicated in an article that appeared under date of June 17th, in the official *Journal de l'Empire*. The attention of the Swedes is there called to the king of Denmark in a few lines sufficiently clear to justify this opinion.

The candidature submitted to the emperor in Charles XIII's letter did not materially differ from that which in the first place had his preference; it tended in less direct fashion to the same end. Without preparing the union of the two crowns, it made a tie between Sweden and Denmark; and it had the advantage of being more acceptable to Russia, whom the prospect of complete fusion between the Scandinavian states would probably have alarmed. Napoleon accepted with good grace the choice of the prince of Augustenburg. He did not pronounce his adhesion to it in formal terms, having made it a principle not to meddle directly in the Swedish affair, but he inserted in his reply to the king the following words: "I have received your majesty's letter of June 2nd. I take a sincere share in all your anxieties, and I am troubled by the predicament into which this new circumstance puts you. I have had some satisfaction in seeing by your letter that providence has

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spared you your strength. The project of binding more closely the ties of Sweden and Denmark seems to have special advantage for your country."

French diplomacy was charged with furnishing the commentary to these vague words. Since the peace, France had retained at Stockholm only a simple *chargé d'affaires*, and if the emperor had already appointed Baron Alquier his minister at the capital, he had ordered him to remain in Paris until Sweden had fulfilled all the conditions in the matter of the blockade. On the 24th of June, he sent M. Alquier the order to set out the following day and immediately join his post.

• *The Election of Bernadotte*

The next day (the 25th of June) the letter was sent off, and Alquier hastily made preparations to depart. Everything seemed disposed towards action in favour of the prince of Augustenburg; and the emperor would doubtless have been greatly astonished to learn that, at that very hour, in the heart of Paris at the house of a marshal, brother-in-law to King Joseph, a very different scheme was being hatched, unknown to him. A few days before, a young Swedish officer, Lieutenant Moerner, had arrived in Paris. He came without a commission from his government; he did not represent any party, but only a clique — a circle of friends who had given him orders to create a prince royal for Sweden. A few military men, and some professors at the University of Upsala, eagerly desiring the regeneration of their country, and passionate admirers of France and her army, had conceived the idea of feeding Sweden from this source of warlike virtue and heroism; and they set about to seek, from among the marshals in the imperial staff, the heir to the crown and the future king.

Among the marshals, their choice very naturally fell upon the only one whom Sweden knew other than by reputation. During the campaign of 1807, Bernadotte, prince of Pontecorvo, had had to fight the Swedes in Pomerania; and he had shown himself towards them a courteous enemy and a generous conqueror. Later, in 1808, charged with operating a descent upon Skåne, while Russia attacked Finland, he took advantage of the indefinite terms of his instructions, to respect Swedish territory. He preferred to be lenient towards old allies to vanquishing them at their own expense; and his course of action, which gave great displeasure at St. Petersburg, was the foundation of his popularity in Sweden. This is what Moerner and his friends had principally in mind; and the young lieutenant, with the daring confidence of his years, had offered to sound the ground at Paris, propose new destinies to the marshal, solicit the adherence of the French government, and win over Bernadotte and Napoleon.

At Paris Moerner began with an obscure friend, a geographer named Latapie, provided with a modest berth in the ministry of foreign affairs. Moerner and Latapie, after having taken up and gone over together the list of marshals, were convinced that Bernadotte, who shared in Napoleon's prestige, without passing for a blind servitor of his policy, was the only one in the whole list who possessed the necessary qualities. The most difficult thing was to make France believe in the reality and importance of a plan which had as yet taken shape only in a few minds "filled with military enthusiasm." The scheme which did not exist in Sweden, it was necessary to develop in France. Moerner won over to his idea the consul of his country, M. Signeul, and after him the count of Wrede, a man of great name and distinguished bearing, who had been sent by his government to congratulate

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the emperor on his marriage. It was Wrede who was charged to inform Bernadotte and make the first overtures. This he did on the 25th of June. Bernadotte asked nothing better than to be a reigning monarch, but at first he affected the disinterestedness which is proper and customary in such circumstances, and then let himself be convinced that he was indispensable to the welfare of Sweden. A few hours later, he was with the emperor, declaring that a powerful party was clamouring for him, and begging permission to present himself to the suffrage of the diet.

The emperor listened at first with some incredulity, and could scarcely take this unexpected candidacy seriously. But when the Swedes in Paris brought it to his attention through various persons who surrounded him, and to whom the scheme had been mentioned, he gave the matter more respectful consideration. There was a new element in the whole matter which now arose. Would it suit him next to crush the movement peremptorily, or to make use of it? Napoleon had known Bernadotte too long to rely upon his character and fidelity. He prized his military talents, without ever having liked him. In him Napoleon had never found, at any time, that impulse from the heart, that passionate devotion, which he recognised and appreciated in his other marshals. He credited him with an underlying thought for self which had showed itself on many occasions, a reasoning and intractable mind, and a stubborn temperament—everything, in fact, which he included under the generic term “Jacobinism.” After showering wealth and favours upon Bernadotte, without drawing him any nearer, Napoleon had been compelled to reprimand the marshal more than once; and, in fact, since Wagram he had been in a kind of semi-disgrace, which did not at all lessen the marshal’s smothered rancour. It was therefore quite possible that the latter would not be a docile agent of the imperial will; and Napoleon placed so little confidence in him that he thought for a moment of proposing another French candidate, Prince Eugène, to the Swedes who were asking Bernadotte of him. But as Eugène refused, and was not willing to change his religion—an indispensable condition in order to reign at Stockholm—it was necessary to fall back on the prince of Pontecorvo, who did not exhibit the slightest scruples on this subject.

In Sweden, during the same period, the government was far from taking the marshal’s candidacy seriously, although the idea had begun to work its way among the lower classes and the army; and it seemed little more disturbed at hearing this candidacy distinguished from the others as the emperor’s choice; but its impatience grew under the pressure of more urgent alarms. At Stockholm the instincts of disorder and anarchy in the people had just broken out into flame. On June 20th the body of the crown prince was brought back to the capital. During the passage of the convoy, Count Fersen,¹ grand marshal of the kingdom, upon whom all sorts of iniquitous suspicions were fastened, was dragged from the procession and massacred by a mob of frenzied people. It was demagoguery which now came upon the scene, with its accompaniment of violence and crime. Terrified by the spectacle, Charles XIII and his council turned the more anxiously to Napoleon, and looked to him as their saviour—to him who could with one word calm the excited passions, reunite divided opinions under any name whatever, and renew the moral unity of the nation. In their anguish they addressed themselves to the only Frenchman they had near them, the humble secretary of

¹ This nobleman had served with distinction as a volunteer in the American war, and he was known at the court of Louis XVI for his gallantries and the favourable notice which he received from Marie Antoinette.

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legation who was acting chargé d'affaires, M. Désaugiers, by name, who found himself importuned with visits, pressed with questions, and begged to speak only a word, which would be received as a command. Sweden threw herself at Napoleon's feet and asked to know his intentions, that she might conform to them, and only begged the right to obey.

"Let the emperor give us one of his kings, and Sweden will be saved," said the king's first aide-de-camp, M. de Suremain, to Désaugiers; and he

would not believe that the latter did not possess the secrets of the French court. It was only too true, however, for Champagny, the French minister for foreign affairs, in order the better to serve the emperor's negative intentions, had thought it well to break off all correspondence with Désaugiers and leave him isolated and like an exile at his distant post. Astonished and humiliated by this silence, Désaugiers strove like everybody else to discover, to divine the reason which was now nothing but a great riddle; and, in default of any precise information, was reduced to examining and interpreting the lightest symptoms, questioning the slightest rumours, and seeking in the gazettes for the opinions of his government. At the moment, the article of June 17th in the *Journal de l'Empire* came under his eyes. It will be remembered that this article, the echo of an early, immature consideration of the subject, was expressed in terms sympathetic to the king of Denmark. This vague indication was in accord with the personal preferences of the chargé d'affaires, and encouraged by the language of the official paper, he thought to act in concert with his court by following the bent of his own aspirations.



AXEL VON FERSEN, MARSHAL OF SWEDEN
(1755-1810)

Entreated by all the Swedes who surrounded him to speak some word, to take some action, he did not have the wisdom to refuse, but loosened his tongue. Twice, on the 4th and 5th of July, he made his declaration in favour of the king of Denmark and the union of the two crowns, by presenting this measure as a means of offence and defence against Russia. It would have been difficult for Désaugiers, in thus permitting himself to indulge his own opinion, to have gone more completely in opposition to the emperor's actual intentions. Above all things, Napoleon wished to keep, at least in appearance, on good terms with Russia; and it was to this end that he refrained from supporting Bernadotte. To repair as far as possible the effect produced by Désaugiers's statements, the emperor at last despatched Alquier. But if he were to leave Paris at once, the minister could not arrive in Sweden before the end of August; that is to say, after the election, which was appointed to take place in the first fortnight of the month. Therefore he would play no rôle in it, which pleased his master; but he was charged to

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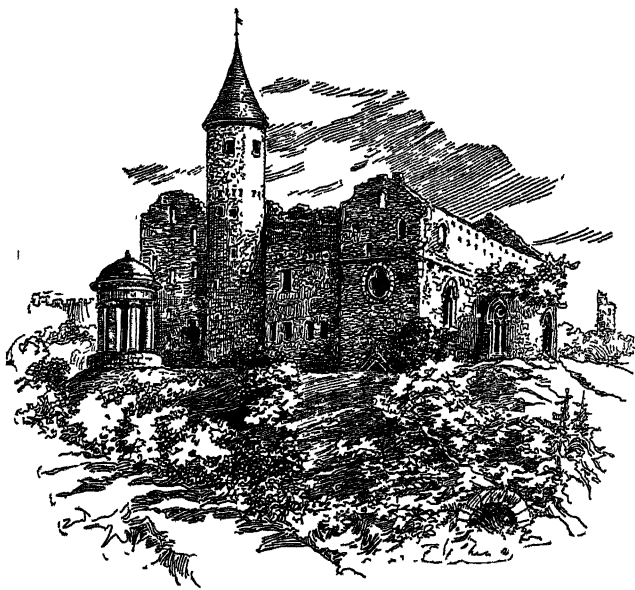
say and to repeat that, whatever the outcome was, the emperor would have preferred most the prince of Augustenburg, who was the neutral and, above all the colourless candidate. The object of this retrospective, and consequently essentially disinterested statement was to release the French from any responsibility to Russia, without in any way influencing a result already determined.

The diet assembled the 25th of July in the city of Örebro. At this moment the royal government was more perplexed and more out of reckoning than ever. The words of M. Desaugiers had not removed doubts, for Charles XIII received at the same time the letter of the 24th of June, in which the emperor seemed to pronounce in favour of the late prince's brother. In the presence of these contradictory signs — for, on the other hand, Napoleon had omitted giving Bernadotte the least sign of sympathy — the Stockholm cabinet judged itself authorized to follow its first inspiration, and work for the success of the Augustenburg candidate; and to accomplish this end, it trod devious paths and employed the subtlest of strategy. The election of the candidate recommended by the court seemed assured, the desired *dénouement* predetermined and accomplished when, at the eleventh hour, a rumour arose, spread, and blazed up, like a train of powder: it was on everyone's lips that Napoleon had spoken; that he desired, that he was determined to have Bernadotte; and that he had made this known to the electors of Sweden. This report was untrue, and the deed of an impostor. At the time when a few Swedes had fixed upon the candidacy of the prince of Pontecorvo, a Frenchman named Fournier had taken an active part in their manoeuvres. He had formerly been a merchant in Gothenburg, and had even filled the office of vice-consul, but had to give up his post as the result of some unfortunate speculations in which he had sunk his wealth and much of his reputation. Having been unsuccessful in trade, he sought a means of recruiting his fortune in politics. Bernadotte's election seemed to him an affair worth supporting, and he entered into it heart and soul. Skilful and insinuating, he wormed his way into the ministry of foreign affairs, and even laid siege to the door of the ministerial chamber.

After some little time, Fournier succeeded in persuading Champagny that France would find it to her advantage to have someone on the look-out in the Swedish city where the diet was to be held, and obtained permission to betake himself to Örebro in the rôle of a spectator, charged solely with seeing, listening, and notifying Paris of the incidents of the struggle. In order to facilitate his introduction into Sweden and the accomplishment of his mission, Champagny furnished him with a paper, known as a diplomatic passport, and even stretched his complaisance to the point of signing it himself. Thus armed, Fournier set out at once, not without having taken, on the other hand, commissions and instructions from Bernadotte. In truth, it was not long before Champagny realized his imprudence, and feared that he had placed in the hand of an unsafe man a weapon it would not be impossible to make bad use of. As quickly as possible he wrote to the French Legation at Stockholm, in order to release himself from all responsibility with regard to the dismissed vice-consul. Unfortunately, the precaution was taken too late. While the letter of disavowal was pursuing him, Fournier, well in advance, landed in Sweden, and reached Örebro the 11th of August, some days before the date of the election. He had scarcely arrived before he turned round and boldly altered his course. A simple emissary of the marshal and observer for the minister, he posed as the spokesman of France. His language was this: the French government desired the success of the prince of Pontecorvo, and

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as the high interests France had at stake did not permit her to express this wish openly, it had been necessary to resort to modest intermediary, to bring it to the knowledge of the diet. In support of these words, Fournier presented his passport, showed the ministerial handwriting, and used it to establish confidence in the Swedes. He had also brought other things — a letter written by the marshal, and a portrait representing “Bernadotte’s young son playing with his father’s sword.” With these various objects of propaganda he knew how to play a wonderful part. In one night he made a hundred copies of the letter; his lodgings were transformed into a work room, putting forth at every moment brochures, pictures, patriotic songs, and popular dialogues, which flooded the town and circulated among the members of the diet. Pamphlets, distributed in profusion, appealed



HAPSAL CASTLE, ESTLAND

to the national passions and hates, endeavouring to represent the success of the French hero as a moral defeat for Russia and the beginning of revenge. At the same time, the four orders of the diet — nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants — were successively taken in hand; yielding to appropriate arguments, each class of the nation came to believe that Bernadotte cherished for it a particular predilection and would accomplish its happiness. Above all, the thought that Napoleon was showing

himself behind his representative, that he had broken the silence and made known his intentions, stimulated devotion, discouraged resistance, and silenced all opposition. In forty-eight hours, with a promptness scarcely credible, the current was formed, grew, threw itself along, and carried everything before it.

The old king alone resisted. He was not resigned to accepting an heir, a parvenu of the sword, whom Napoleon had not even placed on the first steps of the throne by the gift of one of the states at his disposal. The ministry, feeling the necessity of yielding to the torrent, deputed M. de Suremain to the king, to reason with the latter and make him give way. Suremain found him exhausted by a night of insomnia, wearing the imprint of his distress on his features. “I know no longer whom to choose,” he said. “I had decided on the prince of Augustenburg. He is my cousin and a brother of the late prince. But now that cannot be; even you have spoken against it. Now they come with their Bernadotte. They say the emperor wants him. His chargé d’affaires acts differently. It is enough to drive me mad. If the Emperor wishes me to accept a French general it would be better for him to

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say so than to leave me to guess it. Haven't you told me that he doesn't like Bernadotte?"

"Yes, sire, that was so well known that last winter during my visit to Paris I was advised to see very little of him."

"What do you think of him? Gustave Moerner praises him to the skies."

"It is impossible for me to judge the essential qualities of a man with whom I have had only social relations. He is a handsome man, very polished, and expresses himself with great facility. His whole bearing is truly distinguished."

"Nothing that reeks of the Revolution?"

"I noticed nothing. He has a good reputation in France; he is not judged by the amount of his thievings."

"Even if he should have all the necessary qualifications, have you thought of the absurdity of taking a French corporal for the heir of my throne?"

"Sire, I agree with you, and the idea shocks me as much as it does you. But we must think of the danger there will be of being forced to do it."

"Do you think they can force me to it?"

"Sire, think of the unhappy state of the kingdom, and of your own age."

"He questioned me for a long time about the prince of Pontecorvo," adds Suremain in his account, "on his origin, his son, and his wife. I told him all I had learned. When we parted he said with emotion, 'I fear there is nothing for me to do but to swallow the pill. God alone knows how all this will end.'"

Five days after this conversation, the ministerial council, furnished with royal authority, officially presented Bernadotte; and on the 21st of August the four orders elected him, fully persuaded that they were obeying an order from the Tuileries, and were voting for the emperor's candidate. Thus compromised and thwarted by a series of stupidities and intrigues, Napoleon suffered the penalty of a policy which was purposely obscure and veiled, and which always systematically neglected to declare itself. A word from him in the beginning would have prevented everything; Désaugiers's blunder, Fournier's impudent envoy, and the decisive manœuvres of this "messenger magician." Instead of stopping Bernadotte's budding enterprise with one decisive word, Napoleon had preferred to let it develop and take its chance; he thought to get profit from it, both by forbidding it and by refraining from taking any part in it. But nobody believed in that surprising abnegation, in that effacement of a will which Europe was accustomed to look for, and find everywhere, and feel perpetually active. As the emperor had not spoken everyone assumed the right to speak for him; finally his name, audaciously usurped, brought about the election.^e

BERNADOTTE AS CROWN PRINCE

If Napoleon expected to find a mere instrument in the new crown prince [henceforth known as Charles John], he was soon miserably disappointed. The latter had duties and interests irreconcilable with such a state of vassalage. For some time the outward forms of amity were observed; and when invested with the chief cares of government through the infirmities of Charles XIII, he grew more cautious, more eager to profit by the course of events. He would not offend Bonaparte; and therefore he embraced the continental system, and even declared war against England. But he adopted no serious measures to the prejudice of this country; and what he did was the result of fear rather than of enmity.

By degrees, he ventured to remonstrate against the mandates of the

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emperor, and in some instances to return a decided negative. In revenge, Napoleon urged his privateers to seize Swedish vessels wherever they could be found. The injury thus effected was incalculable, and it produced some energetic representations from the crown prince. But they led to no result. The seizure of Pomerania and Rugen by the French broke the last remaining bond which united him with his native country. From this moment, Charles John turned towards the English, whose vessels he freely admitted into his ports, and with whom he signed a treaty of peace. He also cultivated the friendship of Alexander, then menaced by the most formidable power Europe had seen since the days of Charlemagne.^b The treaties with Great Britain and Russia provided for the cession of Norway to Sweden as a consolation for the recent loss of Finland to Russia; and as the country thus coolly assigned to Bernadotte's kingdom was the property of Denmark, the latter power was to receive compensation in Pomerania. The island of Guadeloupe was also ceded to Sweden by Great Britain, and large subsidies promised. It is said that in these transactions the crown prince of Sweden did not always allow his personal advantage to be thrust into the background in favour of that of his adopted country. In Ahnfelt's narratives of the Scandinavian court and state the crown prince is represented as playing a decidedly ignoble rôle.^a

An inquiry into the benefits that accrued to Sweden from the sale of Pomerania and Guadeloupe [in 1815] lies outside the scope of this record; let it suffice to say that Charles John took more than an equal share, and stipulated, moreover, for a large annual sum, which the Bank of Sweden was required by the estates to place at the disposal of his dynasty in perpetuity. If to this sum we add the notorious rouble fund (*Rubelfonds*) and the old *Passevolanskasse* deposited with the college of War — which may reasonably be regarded as a reserve fund for Charles John's private ends, since he kept it under lock and key, by his resolute refusal to give the auditors of the estates of the kingdom access to it — we must own that the adopted son of Charles XIII knew how to get paid for the honour he had done Sweden in accepting the succession to the throne. At this point it may be well to say a few words concerning the manner in which the above-mentioned rouble fund came into being. In the summer of 1812, the emperor Alexander's situation was so desperate that almost his only chance of saving his dominions, and maintaining the sovereignty of Russia in Europe, was to pave the way for an alliance with Sweden, and to associate himself with Charles John, then crown prince, at any price. This was the motive of the ill-starred interview between the two at Åbo. It is asserted, and not without good reason, that in the Russian deliberations which preceded the interview, it was decided that Alexander should begin by making a money payment the basis of negotiation, and, if necessary, should proceed to offer the restoration of Finland and Åland, and, it may be, the possession of Norway.

Alexander himself was far too skilled a diplomatist not to have given his minister at Stockholm instruction to make the study of the new heir-apparent his first object, after Charles John had arrived in Sweden, and while a rupture between France and Russia appeared imminent; and more especially after the latter had gained the absolute ascendancy over the cabinet which he already enjoyed over the army. And, in truth, the task could have been confided to no better man than that adroit and practised diplomatist, General van Suchtelen the elder [a Dutchman who had entered the Russian service]. The Russian diplomatist held good cards in his hand. Charles John's envy and hatred of Napoleon were already a matter of historical

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certainly; his bombastic speeches and proclamations were the sure indication of a character steeped in self-love and ambition; and lastly, it is not likely that his domestic economy had escaped Van Suchtelen's practised observation. We are therefore tolerably well justified in assuming that, even before the interview at Åbo, Alexander knew with whom he had to do, and was in a position to frame the lines on which to negotiate with the heir-apparent. The interview itself was a snare laid for Charles John's vanity. When they met, Alexander and the crown prince locked themselves into a private apartment together. The most distinguished members of Alexander's suite were in waiting in the adjoining room, as well as a few gentlemen who had accompanied the crown prince. The Russians had gathered together in a group near the room in which the conference was held, to await the result. While they were talking together, the door opened, and Alexander came out alone, turned straight to the group of Russians, and with evident self-satisfaction exclaimed, "He will take the money!" This was the rouble fund.^d

During Napoleon's expedition to Russia, Charles John kept in check the French troops in the north of Germany. The following year he declared war against France, and in return for the guarantee by Great Britain of the annexation of Norway to Sweden, agreed to take the field with a large force against the common foe of Europe. Landing at Stralsund, he took command of a combined army of ninety thousand men, and thence proceeded to Berlin, where he fixed his head quarters.^b

SWEDEN IN THE WAR OF LIBERATION

In this memorable campaign, none of the allied generals bore a more distinguished part than the crown prince of Sweden, by whom the plan of operations is said to have been originally sketched. Detachments of the allies had already driven the invaders from Hamburg, Lubeck, and Lauenburg, from the duchy of Mecklenburg and Swedish Pomerania; but the Danes and the French, under Davout, occupied the two first-named cities (May 30th, 1813), which were subjected to the horrors of pillage and devastation. Numerous engagements during the summer months had taken place in Saxony, the chief theatre of the war, from which Napoleon had suffered so severely that he was obliged to solicit a truce. An armistice was concluded (June 4th) at Poischwitz, and this interval the confederated sovereigns employed in contracting new engagements with foreign courts, and arranging those treaties of alliance and pecuniary subsidies with Britain and Austria, which constituted the sixth grand coalition against France, and ultimately led to the restoration of the Bourbons.

Hostilities were resumed (August 10th), when the cities and plains of Poland, Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, and Silesia were once more deluged with the blood of contending nations. In this sanguinary strife, victory declared unequivocally for the allies; and on various occasions they owed their success to the prudent dispositions of the crown prince of Sweden. The plan of the campaign, as arranged in a conference held at Trachenberg, was to allure Bonaparte from his asylum at Dresden, and draw him into a situation more accessible to the combined operations of his antagonists. In this scheme they succeeded entirely to their wishes; and Leipsic, which had so often witnessed the triumphs of civil and religious liberty under its walls, was again destined to see the freedom of oppressed Europe vindicated and restored on its classic soil; where nearly half a million of combatants were assembled

exhibiting a strange diversity of nations and tongues, unparalleled in history since the expeditions of Xerxes and Attila.^c

However useful the talents of Bernadotte may have been to the allies they entertained doubts of his good faith. He is said to have cherished a design of replacing Napoleon on the French throne, for which reason he refrained from striking decisive blows at the power of France.^c The small rôle played by the Swedish troops in the great battle of Leipsic is thus described by one of their own officers.^a

A Swedish Narrative of the Battle of the Nations (1813 A.D.)

The emperor Napoleon's attempt to prevent the junction of the north German army with that of Silesia having been frustrated by the retrograde movement beyond the Saal, he collected all his forces in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, there to await the attack of the allies. He did not wait in vain. On the 16th of October, he was hotly engaged with the Bohemian army to the south of Leipsic and with the Silesian army to the north, but without decisive results in either case, though the latter force, under General Blücher, gained some advantage. On the 17th a few skirmishes took place to the north of the town, considerable reinforcements were brought up, and all the necessary preparations made for the general conflict, the great battle of the nations, which was to be fought next day by more than half a million men.

The allied armies advanced in massed columns, early on the morning of the 18th, overpowered the advanced posts of the enemy, and took up their position in such order as to surround the enemy with an unbroken concentric curve, more than two miles in length. About 8 o'clock the Bohemian army opened the cannonade, which spread along the whole line; at noon the highest pitch of horror was reached in every part of the vast battle-field, over which between thirteen and fourteen hundred throats of fire breathed death and destruction from all directions. One by one, the lines of fire were pushed forward; and it was evident that the united armies were advancing concentrically, and that victory, though dearly bought, would fall to the allies. But there were many fierce struggles to come: the enemy's positions were everywhere stubbornly defended; villages were taken and retaken; nor did even darkness set a truce to the conflict — the men fought on by the light and amidst the flames of burning villages. As usual, the Swedish army had no share in the glory and danger of that memorable day; it was only held in reserve, together with a Russian corps of ten thousand men. But for all that, a portion of the Swedish artillery, which was posted on the right wing to support General Luageron's army corps, found an opportunity of distinguishing itself — in consequence, it must be owned, of a colossal blunder on the part of its commander, General Cardell.

The inaction imposed upon the Swedish army aroused discontent and displeasure in the ranks, and was a real grief to General Adlercreutz, who longed for at least one chance of showing what could be done with it. In the absence of any such opportunity, he kept perpetually hurrying to the points where the fight was fiercest and the firing hottest, thus exposing his person and his staff with the express object, as he repeatedly said, of "showing the Swedish uniform under fire." An opportunity for so doing presently arose in the storming of Paunsdorf, with which the north German army began its attack. The expulsion of the enemy from Sellerhausen and the taking of Schönefeld decided the victory on the right wing, and ended the day's bloody work at this point of the fighting line. Next morning it was evident that the

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enemy had abandoned the field of battle and withdrawn to Leipsic, leaving strong detachments in the villages about the town to cover its retreat. These villages had consequently to be taken before the town could be attempted.

While the Silesian and Bohemian armies were making an assault on the northern and southern sides of the town, Swedish and Prussian columns, under the command of General Adlercreutz, stormed the eastern portion, known as the *Grimmaische Thor* (Grimma gate). The storming parties met with desperate resistance at all points, but this did not suffice to check the advance of the attacking columns of the allies, nor prevent the reduction of the town. By midday Leipsic was completely in their power. The Swedish troops had suffered a loss of about 150 killed and 100 wounded — a considerable number in proportion to the force engaged, for barely 1,200 men of the Swedish army had been under fire. I myself was among the wounded, and was obliged to quit the field just at the decisive and eagerly desired moment when General Adlercreutz came up with fresh troops.^d

UNION OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY (1814 A.D.)

After the battle of Leipsic Charles John displayed much activity. He blockaded Hamburg; and by the Peace of Kiel, concluded in January, 1814, he forced Denmark to give up Norway. He then entered France, but soon returned, and devoted his energies to the conquest of Norway.^f

The rupture of the ties which for several centuries had made two peoples brothers, evoked lively grief in Denmark, which was shared by the great majority of the Norwegian people. If at different periods complaints and discords, comparatively rare, had arisen, they were now completely forgotten; the one thought was of the services which the two nations had mutually rendered one another, of their common historic memories, of the fidelity with which they had remained side by side in good and evil ways, of the intimacy established during a long union which had, so to speak, fused the two peoples together. Through the violence and injustice of foreign nations they were now separated; and Norway, treated as a domain or as booty, became the prey of the successful conqueror. But such treatment aroused every feeling of the Norwegian people. Prince Christian Frederick [afterwards Christian VIII of Denmark], who had won the nation's love while the king's representative in Norway, and who returned this affection, became the leader round whom all who wanted independence and liberty for Norway gathered. He consulted with several important personages, and took up the reins of government, rejecting on Norway's part the dispositions of the Peace of Kiel, and proclaiming the country's independence. An elective assembly was convoked at Eidsvold on April 10th, 1814, to deliberate on the fate of Norway, and provide her with a constitution [the details of which we gave in the last chapter]. This constitution, constructed on new liberal ideas, was voted by the national assembly of Eidsvold on the 17th of May, and the same day Christian Frederick was elected king of Norway.

But it was now necessary to maintain the country's independence by force of arms; for Charles John hurried back to Sweden with all haste, and set out for the Norwegian frontier, to carry out forcibly the conditions of the Peace of Kiel with an army of thirty thousand men, trained and hardened by recent campaigns. England and Russia had promised help in this enterprise, while English and Swedish ships blockaded the ports and coast of Norway. It was difficult, and almost impossible, to resist such aggression. The people were, in truth, brave and determined, but badly trained in arms; and Norway

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lacked money, provisions, war supplies and, more than all, a capable general — for, while Christian Frederick was dowered with fine qualities, he was no strategist. There was no help to be expected; Denmark was powerless, and Frederick VI, pushed by the other governments, found himself in the painful position of having to reprimand and threaten Christian Frederick. Hostilities began on the 26th of July. Success alternated with reverses for the few weeks the war lasted, but it was not difficult to foresee the final result. Fortunately, Charles John was disposed towards moderation; he realized that the new union would be badly cemented with blood, and sought to win over the Norwegian people by considerate treatment. He proposed an armistice and conditions by which no one would lose anything, unless it were Christian Frederick, who would have to give up his newly acquired crown. The truce was signed at Moss, August 14th, 1814, and at the same time and place an agreement was reached in which Charles John, in the name of the king of Sweden, recognised the constitution voted at Eidsvold, to which nothing was to be added but modifications necessary to the union with Sweden, and these only with the consent of the *storting* (grand assembly). Christian Frederick undertook to resign before a *storting* convoked for that purpose. This was done, and on the 10th of October he laid down his crown and power before the assembly. He deserves the kind remembrance and gratitude of the Norwegian people, who owe to him principally the ease with which they passed from the old to the new order of things. It was under him that were founded at the same time their independence and liberty; and this work, once accomplished, was not easily destroyed. Who knows what would have happened if Norway had not had in him a leader at this critical moment? His presence prevented the discord, indecision, and disorder which would so easily have been generated in such circumstances, and which would doubtless have suggested, and partly justified, other sentiments in Charles John.^g

At 10 o'clock in the morning of the 13th of October, 1814, the Swedish commissioners appeared in the *storting*. They handed the president their credentials and the proposal for a Norwegian constitution with their signatures appended. In principle and in all essential points this constitution was identical with that of the 17th of May, and only contained such alterations as were considered necessary in view of the new relations between Norway and Sweden. The President promised to inform the commissioners of the resolution at which the *storting* should arrive after mature consideration; and they thereupon withdrew. On the 14th, the *storting* resumed its deliberations. A committee was appointed to inquire into the internal condition of the country, and another to treat with the Swedish commissioners on points of detail in the terms of union. National antipathy to the union was by no means extinct, and found vent most freely among the representatives of the remoter provinces, who were least well acquainted with the true state of the kingdom. From several districts the *storting* received offers of voluntary contributions in money and kind, which were placed at the regent's disposal, to help to maintain the independence of the country. These offers were manifest proofs of the zeal of the givers for what they thought their country's good; and they were all the more worthy of respect because the sacrifices they entailed must have been made out of the poverty of persons who certainly did not suffer from superfluity; but considerable as they might appear in proportion to the circumstances of the givers, they were wholly inadequate to fill the great chasm opened by the lack of every kind of necessary. It is not known how or where they were used. The *storting* also

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received information that a volunteer corps of chasseurs had been formed at Trondhjem, to contribute to the defence of the country, and that its regulations were already drawn up. Several demonstrations of this kind went to show that the union with Sweden was by no means universally desired.

The committee appointed to examine the internal condition of the country presented an exhaustive report, the tenor of which was anything but an encouragement to prosecute the war. On the 19th of October, Etatsrath Treschow came forward, and submitted the following proposal to the consideration of the storting: "Tomorrow the period of armistice will be at an end. No decisive resolution has yet been arrived at concerning the principal subject under deliberation in this assembly; no step of any importance has been taken to effect a *rapprochement* with Sweden or to accept any of her proposals. If no such resolution is taken, it is probable that within a week the war will have broken out more destructively than ever, and whether with great hopes of a happy issue for our cause, I leave it to the storting to infer from a consideration of that knowledge of the resources and feeling of the nation as a whole — though not of the opinion that prevails in certain districts — which it has gathered, partly in time past, and partly from the investigations of the select committee as to the state of the country and the army. The result of these investigations, together with the considerations concerning the relations of Norway to Sweden, as well as to other European powers, which I have put forward now and at previous times, lead me to submit the following proposal to the storting: (1) Whereas King Christian Frederick has resigned the government into the hands of the people, absolved the people of Norway from the oath of allegiance sworn to his majesty, and abdicated, for himself and his descendants, all rights to the crown of this country; and whereas Norway, according to its fundamental law, must always be governed by a king, another king shall and must be chosen in place of him and his descendants, as speedily as possible; (2) the Norwegian storting declares a union with Sweden, in conformity with the first paragraph of the proposals made by the Swedish commissioners, to be for the advantage of both kingdoms and, in view of external conditions and the safety and independence of both, necessary to be concluded upon this basis. (3) Whereas Charles XIII, king of Sweden, by the ratification of the assembly of the estates of the kingdom at Eidsvold and the fundamental law therein enacted, and by the declaration that he will propose only such alterations as are manifestly necessary for union with Sweden, in the proposal made to this storting by his accredited commissioners, and in the statements and explanations by them given, has not only furnished convincing proofs of his respect for the honour, liberties, and rights of the Norwegian nation, but also manifested his inclination to accede to our demands and give ear to our representations, his aforesaid majesty King Charles XIII is hereby elected king of Norway. (4) Until this proposal has been debated and put to the vote, no other proposal hitherto submitted or hereafter to be submitted shall be considered by the storting. (5) Memoranda upon the second and third points of the proposal shall be made orally and entered in the protocol. (6) The election must be unconditional, for whereas very diverse opinions may prevail concerning the conditions under which the union should take place, unanimity would be unattainable by any other means; and the committee appointed for the purpose shall conclude the examination of the numerous proposals submitted concerning the matter, at such time as is convenient in view of the date at which the resolution must be taken; the danger of precipitancy being greater now than hereafter, since after the election of the king the storting will be

allowed sufficient time for mature consideration of any alteration proposed in the fundamental law."

On the 20th of October, the storting resumed its deliberations, and the proposal of Treschow, quoted above, was made the subject of debate. The principal question at issue was the second article of the proposal: union with Sweden. Several of the representatives made lengthy speeches, the net result of which was in the main in favour of union. Every representative then voted *viva voce*, and the votes were added to the protocol. Seventy-two were in favour of union, and five against it. The five dissentients deposed that they gave their votes in conformity with the express desire of their constituents, a declaration which implied that they were not actuated by their personal convictions in so doing. Thus the most knotty question was solved, and it only remained to elect the king. By forty-seven votes against thirty, it was decided to postpone the election until an agreement should have been arrived at, respecting the alterations in the fundamental law. The deliberations were resumed and concluded on the 4th of November, and on the same day Charles XIII, king of Sweden, was unanimously elected king of Norway.^h

The union was more fully defined by the act of Union, which was accepted by the national assemblies of both countries in the following year. In the preamble to the act it is clearly stated that the union between the two peoples was accomplished "not by force of arms, but by free conviction"; and the Swedish foreign minister declared to the European powers, on behalf of Sweden, that the treaty of Kiel had been abandoned, and that it was not to this treaty, but to the confidence of the Norwegian people in the Swedish, that the latter owed the union with Norway. The constitution framed at Eidsvold was retained, and forms the *Grundlov*, or fundamental law of the kingdom. It is generally acknowledged to be the freest and most democratic constitution of all monarchical states. The union thus concluded between the two countries was really an offensive and defensive alliance under a common king, each country retaining its own government, parliament, army, navy, customs. The relations between the two countries may be more clearly understood when it is realised that a Norwegian is a foreigner in Sweden, and a Swede in Norway; and that consequently a Norwegian can hold no official appointment in Sweden, and *vice versa*. In Sweden the people received only an imperfect and erroneous insight into the nature of the union, and for a long time believed it to be an achievement of the Swedish arms; while to the leading men of the country, who knew the terms of the union better, it was a great disappointment. They had hoped to make Norway a province of Sweden, and now they had entered into a union in which both countries were equally independent. During the first fifteen years, the king was represented in Norway by a Swedish viceroy, while the government was, of course, composed only of Norwegians, selected from various parties in the country. Count Wedel Jarlsberg was the first to be entrusted with the important office of head of the Norwegian government, while several of Prince Christian Frederick's councillors of state were retained, or replaced by others holding their political views. The Swedish count von Essen was appointed the first viceroy of Norway, and was succeeded two years afterwards by his countryman Count von Morner, over both of whom Count Wedel exercised considerable influence.

During the first years of the union, the condition of Norway was in many respects most unprosperous. The country suffered from poverty and depression of trade, and the finances were in a deplorable condition. The first storting was chiefly occupied with financial and other practical measures.

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In order to improve the finances of the country, a bank of Norway was founded, and the army was reduced to one half, as the defence of the country was not considered to be of great importance now that the union had been concluded. The paid-up capital of the bank was procured by the assessment of an extraordinary tax; and this, together with the growing discontent among the peasantry, brought about a rising in Hedemarken and the neighbouring districts, the object of which was to dissolve the storting and to obtain a reduction in the taxation. It was also rumoured that the organizers of this agitation intended establishing an absolute government, and many therefore imagined they saw the machinations of the royal power behind the rising; while, on the other hand, the king himself believed he had to deal with Danish intrigues. The rising, however, soon subsided, and the bountiful harvest of 1819 brought more prosperous times to the peasantry.

Meanwhile, however, the financial position of the country had nearly endangered its independence. The settlement with Denmark with regard to Norway's share of the national debt common to both, which had so long been deferred, and could not be evaded, had assumed threatening proportions. In the interest of Denmark, the allied powers asked for a speedy settlement; and in order to escape their collective intervention, Charles John, who had now succeeded to the throne of Sweden, and Norway, on the death (February 5th, 1818) of the old king Charles XIII, accepted England's mediation, and was enabled in September, 1819, to conclude a convention with Denmark according to which Norway was held liable for only 3,000,000 specie dollars (nearly £700,000). But the Norwegians considered that this was still too much, and the attitude of the storting in 1821 had nearly occasioned a fresh interference of the powers. The storting, however, yielded at last, and agreed to raise a loan and pay the amount stipulated in the convention.

NORWAY UNDER CHARLES (XIV) JOHN

Although this matter now seemed to be in a fair way of being settled, the king evidently had his doubts as to whether the Norwegians really intended to fulfil their obligations. As his relations with the storting had already become strained, and as he was occupied at that time with plans which, it is now known, meant nothing less than a *coup d'état* in connection with the revision of the Norwegian constitution, he decided to adopt military preparations; and in July, 1821, he collected a force of three thousand Swedish and three thousand Norwegian troops in the neighbourhood of Christiania — ostensibly for the mere purpose of holding some manœuvres, but his object was undoubtedly to impress the storting with his authority, and to frighten it into submission. In a circular note (June 1st) to the European powers, signed by the Swedish foreign minister Engström (but it is not difficult to recognize the hand of the king as the real author); the minister complained bitterly of the treatment the king had met with at the hands of the storting, and represented the Norwegians in anything but a favourable light to the powers, the intention being to obtain their sympathy for any attempt that might be made to revise the Norwegian constitution, as, for example, by the substitution of an absolute for a suspensive veto, by conferring upon the king the right to dissolve the storting and to elect its presidents — in short, to adapt the Norwegian constitution to the liking of his less democratic Swedish subjects.

About this time another important question had to be finally settled by the storting, which the king was anxious to oppose at all costs. The stor-

things of 1815 and 1818 had already passed a bill for the abolition of nobility, but the king had on both occasions refused his sanction. The Norwegians maintained that the country was too poor consistently to keep up an aristocracy, and that the few counts and barons still to be found in Norway were all Danish and of very recent origin, while the really true and ancient nobility of the country were the Norwegian peasants, descendants of the old jarls and chieftains, who had no desire for titular distinction. According to the constitution, any bill which has been passed by three successively elected storthings (elections are held every third year) becomes law without the king's sanction. When the third reading of the bill came on, the king did everything in his power to obstruct it, but in spite of his opposition the bill was eventually carried and became law. These conflicts with the king had increased the strained relations which for some time had existed between him and the storting; but after the question of the debt to Denmark had been settled, and the king had formally sanctioned the bill for the abolition of nobility, a more conciliatory feeling set in.

In 1822 Count Wedel Jarlsberg retired from the government. He had become unpopular through his financial policy, and was also at issue with the king on vital matters. In 1821, he had been impeached before the Rigsret (the supreme court of the realm) for having caused the state considerable losses. J. Collett was appointed as his successor to the post of minister of finance.

Royal Proposals for Constitutional Revision

The king had by this time apparently abandoned his plan of a *coup d'état*, for in the following August he submitted to the storting several proposals for fundamental changes in the constitution, all of which aimed at removing what was at variance with a monarchical form of government. The changes, in fact, were the same as he had suggested in his circular note to the powers, and which he knew would be hailed with approval by his Swedish subjects. It may seem strange that the king, favoured as he was by circumstances, took the constitutional course, when he might easily have gained his end by a *coup d'état*; but although Charles John was a man of courage on the battlefield, he seems to have been wanting in *courage civil*, and he doubtless feared that a *coup d'état* might result in unpleasant and humiliating consequences for himself. At the same time he knew that the great powers looked upon him with distrustful eyes, and that even in Sweden there were powerful enemies working against him.

When the storting met again, in 1824, the royal proposals for the constitutional changes came on for discussion. The storting adopted a friendly attitude towards the king personally, without, however, showing itself subservient; but the assembly unanimously rejected not only the king's proposals, but also several others by private members for changes in the constitution. The king submitted his proposals again in the following session of the storting, and again later on; but they were always unanimously rejected. In 1830, they were discussed for the last time, with the same result. The king's insistence was viewed by the people as a sign of absolutist tendencies, and naturally excited fresh alarm. They felt they would have to be on their guard against all attempts at encroachment and at amalgamation between Norway and Sweden. In the eyes of the people the members of the opposition in the storting were the true champions of the rights and the independence which they had gained in 1814.

[1827-1829 A D]

For several years the Norwegians had been celebrating the 17th of May as their day of independence, it being the anniversary of the adoption of the constitution of 1814; but as the tension between the Norwegians and the king increased, the latter began to look upon the celebration in the light of a demonstration directed against himself; and when Collett, the minister of finance, was impeached before the supreme court of the realm for having made certain payments without the sanction of the *storting*, he also considered this as an attack upon himself and his royal prerogatives in general. His irritation knew no bounds, and although Collett was acquitted by the supreme court, the king, in order to express his irritation with the *storting* and the action they had taken against one of his ministers, dissolved the national assembly with every sign of displeasure. The Swedish viceroy at the time, Count Sandels, had tried to convince him that his prejudice against the celebration of the 17th of May was groundless, and for some years the king had made no objection to the celebration. In 1827 it was, however, celebrated in a very marked manner, and later in the same year there was a demonstration against a company of Swedish actors who had been performing a foolish political piece called *The Union*. This being privately reported to the king, and represented to him in as bad a light as possible, he thought that Count Sandels, who had not considered it worth while to report the occurrence, was not fitted for his post, and had him replaced by Count Platen, an upright but narrow-minded statesman, who was looked upon as a mouth-piece of the prevailing opinion in Sweden, where the people considered themselves defrauded of the real union they had hoped for.

Count Platen's first act was to issue a proclamation warning the people against celebrating the day of independence; and in April, 1828, the king against the advice of his ministers, summoned an extraordinary *storting*, in consequence of the judgment of the supreme court and the uncertain basis upon which that judgment seemed to place his royal prerogatives; his intention being to wrest from the *storting* the supremacy it had gained in 1827. He also intended to take steps to prevent the celebration of the 17th of May, and, in order to give due emphasis to his proposals, he assembled a force of two thousand Norwegian soldiers in the neighbourhood of the capital. The king arrived in Christiania soon after the opening of the extraordinary *storting*. He did not succeed, however, in his attempt to make any constitutional changes; but the *storting* met the king's wishes with regard to the celebration of the 17th of May by deciding not to continue it, and the people all over the country quietly acquiesced.

The "Battle of the Market-place"

This was all that resulted from the king's great efforts on this occasion; but even this little triumph did not last long. The following year trouble broke out again. The students had decided to celebrate the 17th of May with a festive gathering, which, however, passed off quietly. But it was known that the authorities had made extraordinary preparations, and large masses of the people paraded the streets, out of curiosity, singing and shouting, and gathered finally in the market-place. There was no rioting or disturbance, but the Riot Act was read, and the police and the military eventually dispersed the people, and drove them to their homes with sword and musket.

This episode has become known as the "Battle of the Market-place," and did much to increase the general ill-feeling against Count Platen, who, it has since been proved, was no friend of Norway, having actually advised

[1833 A.D.]

the king to try a *coup d'état*. His health eventually broke down from disappointment and vexation at the indignities and abuse heaped upon him. He died in Christiania at the end of the year, and owing to the state of public feeling his post was not filled by a Swede, but remained vacant for several years, the presidency of the Norwegian government in the meantime being taken by Collett, its oldest member. From this time the day of independence has been celebrated every year with increasing enthusiasm.

Increased Political Power of the Peasantry

By the July Revolution the political situation in Europe became completely changed, and the lessons derived from that great movement reached also to Norway. A new generation had grown up, which was more familiar with the forms of political freedom, and also bolder in adopting them. The representatives of the peasantry, for whom the constitution had paved the way to become the ruling element in political life, were also beginning to distinguish themselves in the national assembly, where they now had taken up an independent position against the representatives of the official classes, who in 1814 and afterwards had played the leading and most influential part in politics. This party was now under the leadership of the able and gifted Ole Ueland, who remained a member of every *storting* from 1833 to 1869. The *storting* of 1833 was the first of the so-called "peasant *storthings*." Hitherto the peasantry had never been represented by more than twenty members, but the elections in 1833 brought their number up to forty-five — nearly half of the total representation.

The attention of this new party was especially directed to the finances of the country, in the administration of which they demanded the strictest economy. They often went too far in their zeal, and thereby incurred considerable ridicule and even the contempt of the officials and well-to-do classes, who began to regard the new party with distrustful and hostile feelings. About this time the peasant party found a champion in the youthful poet Henrik Wergeland, who threw himself heart and soul into the political questions of the day, and soon became one of the leaders of the "Young Norway" party. He was a republican in politics, and the most zealous upholder of the national independence of Norway, and of her full equality with Sweden in the union. He soon became as much detested by the so-called "party of intelligence" — the official and well-to-do classes — as was the party he had joined. In addition to the political struggles of the day, a literary conflict now began, which lasted for many years, and which in violence and intensity has scarcely ever been equalled in the history of the country. A strong opposition to Wergeland and the peasant party was formed by the upper classes, under the leadership of another rising poet and writer, Johan Sebastian Welhaven, and other talented men, who wished to retain the literary and linguistic relationship with Denmark; while Wergeland and his party wished to make the separation from Denmark as complete as possible, and in every way to encourage the growth of the national characteristics and feeling among the people. Wergeland had therefore welcomed with joy the increase of the peasant party: he considered the peasantry the real descendants of the old Northmen — the kernel of the nation in fact — and, with the prophetic foresight of the poet, saw the important part they would play in the future political and intellectual life of the country. He devoted much of his time, by writing and other means, to promote the education of the people; but although he was most popular with the working and poorer classes, he was not able to

[1839 A.D.]

form any political party around him, and at the time of his death he stood almost isolated. He died in 1845, and his opponents now became the leaders in the field of literature, and carried on the work of national reconstruction in a more restrained and quiet manner. The peasant party still continued to exist, but restricted itself principally to the assertion of local interests and the maintenance of strict economy in the budget.

The violent agitation that began in 1830 died away, and, after Wergeland's death, the political life of the country assumed a more quiet and harmonious aspect. The tension between the king and the legislature, however, still continued, and reached its height during the session of 1836, when all the royal proposals for changes in the constitution were laid aside, without even passing through committee, and when various other steps towards upholding the independence of the country were taken. The king, in his displeasure, decided to dissolve the *storting*; but before it dispersed it proceeded to impeach Lövenskiöld, one of the ministers, before the supreme court of the realm, for having advised the king to dissolve the *storting*. He was eventually sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 kroner (about £550), but he retained his post. Collett, another minister who had greatly displeased the king by his conduct, was dismissed; but unity in the Government was brought about by the appointment of Count Wedel Jarlsberg as viceroy of Norway. From this time the relations between the king and the Norwegian people began to improve, whereas in Sweden he was in his later years not a little disliked.

The National Flag Question

When the king's anger had subsided, he summoned the *storting* to an extraordinary session, when several important bills were passed. Towards the close of the session, an address to the king was agreed to, in which the *storting* urged that steps should be taken to place Norway in political respects upon an equal footing with Sweden, especially in the conduct of diplomatic affairs with foreign countries. The same address contained a petition for the use of the national or merchant flag in all waters. According to the constitution, Norway was to have her own merchant flag, and in 1821, the *storting* had passed a resolution that the flag should be scarlet, divided into four by a blue cross with white borders. The king, however, refused his sanction to the resolution, but gave permission to use the flag in waters nearer home, but beyond Cape Finisterre the naval flag, which was really the Swedish flag, with a white cross on a red ground in the upper square, had to be carried. In reply to the *storting's* address the king, in 1838, conceded the right to all merchant ships to carry the national flag in all waters. This was hailed with great rejoicings all over the country; but the question of the national flag for general use had yet to be settled, and later on gave rise to long and violent strife before it was finally settled in accordance with the wishes of the people.

With regard to the question raised in the address of the *storting* about the conduct of diplomatic affairs, and other matters concerning the equality of Norway in the union, the king, in 1839, appointed a committee of four Norwegians and four Swedes, who were to consider and report upon the questions thus raised. In 1835 a royal decree had ordained that when the Swedish minister of foreign affairs transacted business which concerned the two countries, or Norway only, the Norwegian minister in attendance upon the king at Stockholm should be present; but the *storting*, in its address,

declared that it only considered this resolution to be a preparatory step towards a more complete and satisfactory arrangement of this important matter.

During the sitting of this first "union committee," as it was called, the question of a complete revision of the act of union was raised by the division of the Norwegian government in attendance upon the king at Stockholm, but the proposal was not accepted by the Norwegian home government. The powers of the committee were, however, extended to consider a comprehensive revision of the Act of Union, with the limitation that the fundamental conditions of the union must in no way be interfered with. But before the committee had finished their report, the king died (March 8th, 1844), and was succeeded by his son Oscar I.

CHARLES JOHN SUCCEEDED BY OSCAR I

According to the constitution, the Norwegian kings must be crowned in Trondhjem cathedral, but the bishop of Trondhjem was in doubt whether the queen, who was a Catholic, could be crowned; and after the question had become the subject of public discussion, the king decided to forego the coronation both of himself and his queen. The new king soon showed his desire to meet the wishes of the Norwegian people. Thus he decided that, in all documents concerning the internal government of the country, Norway should stand first where reference was made to the king as sovereign of the two kingdoms. After having received the report of the committee concerning the flag question, he resolved (June 20th, 1844) that Norway and Sweden should each carry its own national flag as the naval flag, with the mark of union in the upper corner; and it was also decided that the merchant flag of the two kingdoms should bear the same mark of union, and that only ships sailing under these flags could claim the protection of the state. The union committee did eventually present a report, in which it was proposed that the two countries should have a foreign minister in common, which the Norwegian government gave their opinion upon, but which the Swedish government rejected.

The financial and material conditions of the country had now considerably improved; and King Oscar's reign was marked by the carrying out of important legislative work and reforms, especially in local government, of which Norway now possesses one of the most perfect systems. New roads were planned and built all over the country, the first railway was built, steamship routes along the coast were established, lighthouses were erected, and trade and shipping made great progress. The king's reign was not disturbed by any serious conflicts between the two countries, and the relations between the government and the storting were of a harmonious character, both working for the internal development of the country. No change took place in the ministry under the presidency of the viceroy Lövenskiöld upon King Oscar's accession to the throne; but, on the death or retirement of some of its members, the vacant places were filled by younger and talented men, among whom was Frederik Stang, who in 1845 took over the newly established ministry of the interior. During the Schleswig-Holstein rebellion (1848-50) and the Crimean war, King Oscar succeeded in maintaining the neutrality of Norway and Sweden, by which Norwegian shipping especially benefited. The abolition of the English Navigation Acts (repealed in the year 1850) was of great importance to Norway, and opened up a great future for its merchant fleet.

Relations with Russia

In 1826, a treaty had been concluded with Russia, by which the frontier between that country and the adjoining strip of Norwegian territory in the Polar region was definitely delimited; but in spite of this treaty, Russia, in 1851, demanded that the Russian Lapps on the Norwegian frontier should have the right to fish on the Norwegian coast, and have a portion of the coast on the Varanger Fjord allotted to them to settle upon. The Norwegian government refused to accede to the Russian demands, and serious complications might have ensued if the attention of Russia had not been turned in another direction. While his father had looked to Russia for support, King Oscar was more inclined to secure the western powers as his allies, and during the Crimean war (1855) he concluded a treaty with England and France, according to which these countries promised their assistance in the event of any fresh attempts at encroachment on Norwegian or Swedish territory by Russia. In consequence of this treaty, the relations between Norway and Sweden and Russia became somewhat strained; but after the peace of Paris (1856) and the accession of Alexander II, whose government was in favour of a peaceful policy, the Russian ambassador at Stockholm succeeded in bringing about more friendly relations.

In 1855 two commissions, consisting of an equal number of Norwegians and Swedes, were appointed. One of these was to consider a new bill for regulating the commercial relations between the two countries, which was to take the place of an older one of 1827; while the other commission was to prepare a bill for the execution, in either country, of judicial judgments delivered in the other. The reports of these commissions were laid before and passed by the Swedish riksdag; but when they came before the Norwegian storting, they were rejected as unsuitable for Norway, a decision which caused great irritation in Sweden.

CHARLES XV

Owing to the king's ill-health, his son, Crown Prince Charles, was appointed regent in 1857, and two years later, when King Oscar died, he succeeded to the thrones of the two countries as Charles XV. He was a gifted, genial, and noble personality, and won the hearts of all who came into contact with him. He was also of an artistic nature, and devoted himself to painting, poetry, and music. He had desired to inaugurate his reign by giving the Norwegians a proof of his willingness to acknowledge the claims of Norway but he did not live to see his wishes in this respect carried out. According to the constitution, the king had the power to appoint a viceroy for Norway, who might be either a Norwegian or a Swede. Since 1829 no Swede had held the post, and since 1859 no appointment of a viceroy had been made, the general hope being that the office would be abolished altogether. But the paragraph in the constitution still existed, and the Norwegians naturally wished to have this stamp of "provinciality" obliterated.

A proposal for the abolishment of the office of viceroy was laid before the storting in 1859, and passed by it. The king, whose sympathies on this question were known, had been appealed to, and had privately promised that he would sanction the proposed change in the constitution; but as soon as the resolution of the storting became known in Sweden, a violent outcry arose both in the Swedish press and the Swedish estates. The latter adopted a resolution declaring that the paragraph relating to the office of viceroy was a necessary condition of the union between the two countries, and could not

be altered without the consent of the Swedish executive. Under the pressure that was brought to bear upon the king in Sweden, he eventually refused to sanction the resolution of the storting; but he added that he shared the views of his Norwegian counsellors, and would, when "the convenient moment" came, himself propose the abolition of the office of viceroy. This was but a poor consolation for the Norwegian people, who well knew that it was the dominant feeling in Sweden against the equality of Norway in the union which had come out triumphantly on this occasion. When the storting received the news of the refusal, it adopted an address to the king (April 1860), which stated that no Norwegian who had any regard for his country and his own honour would take any share in the revision of the act of Union on any other basis than that of the complete equality of the two kingdoms in the union.

Swedish Proposals for Revision of Act of Union

In the following year, the Swedish government again pressed the demands of the Swedish estates for a revision of the Act of Union, which this time included the establishment of a union or common parliament for the two countries, on the basis that, according to the population, there should be two Swedish members to every Norwegian. The proposal was sent to the Norwegian government, which did not seem at all disposed to entertain it; but some dissensions arose with regard to the form in which their reply was to be laid before the king. The more obstinate members of the ministry resigned, and others, of a more pliable nature, were appointed under the presidency of Frederik Stang, who had already been minister of the interior from 1845 to 1856. The reconstructed government was, however, in accord with the retiring one, that no proposal for the revision of the act of Union could then be entertained, as the attitude of Sweden towards the claims of the Norwegians for equality in the union seemed to be the same as in 1859 and 1860, and the question was in consequence to be allowed to rest for the time being. The king, however, advocated the desirability of a revision, but insisted that this would have to be based upon the full equality of both countries.

In 1863 the storting assented to the appointment by the king of a union committee — the second time that such a committee had been called upon to consider this vexatious question. It was not until 1867 that the report of the committee was made public, but it could not come on for discussion in the storting till the latter met again, in 1871. During this period the differences between the two countries were somewhat thrust into the background by the Danish complications in 1863-64, which threatened to draw the two kingdoms into war. King Charles was himself in favour of a defensive alliance with Denmark; but the Norwegian storting would consent to this only if an alliance could also be effected with two, or at least one, of the western powers. Under the circumstances, the king felt himself obliged to withdraw from the proposed alliance with Denmark, as none of the western powers showed any sign of assisting the Danes, although they had guaranteed the indivisibility of Denmark.

Foundation of the Norwegian National Party

In 1869, the storting passed a resolution by which its sessions, from 1871, were made annual instead of triennial according to the constitution of

[1871-1872 A.D.]

1814. The first important question which the first yearly storting, in 1871, had to consider was once more the proposed revision of the act of Union. The Norwegians had persistently maintained that, in any discussion on this question, the basis for the negotiations should be: (1) the full equality of the two kingdoms; and (2) no extension of the bonds of the union beyond the line originally defined in the act of 1815; but the draft of the new act contained terms in which the supremacy of Sweden was presupposed, and which introduced important extensions of the bonds of the union. Strangely enough, the report of the union committee was adopted by the new Stang ministry, and even supported by some of the most influential newspapers and in several of the leading circles of the Norwegian community. The reactionary tendencies which were hidden under the plausible garb of "Scandinavianism," reasserted themselves, and the official classes saw in this new union a safeguard against the growing liberal and democratic movements in the country.

Under these circumstances the "lawyers' party," under the leadership of Johan Sverdrup, who was to play such a prominent part in Norwegian politics, and the "peasant party," led by Søren Jaabæk, a gifted peasant proprietor, who was also destined to become a prominent figure in the political history of the country, formed an intimate alliance, with the object of guarding against any encroachment upon the liberty and independence which the country had secured by the constitution of 1814. This was the foundation of the great national party, which became known as the *Venstre* (the left), and which before long became powerful enough to exert the most decisive influence upon the political affairs of the country. When, therefore, the proposed revision of the Act of Union eventually came before the storting of 1871, it was rejected by an overwhelming majority; and this contentious question, which, since 1859, from time to time had assumed a most threatening aspect, may now be said to have been finally shelved and disposed of. The position which the government had taken up on this question helped to open the eyes of the Norwegians to some defects in the constitution, which had proved obstacles to the development and strengthening of the parliamentary system, of which the constitution had laid the foundation; and to the desirability of a harmonious co-operation between the executive and legislative powers of the country, in order that the smaller state might more effectively assert its rights and position in the union, in opposition to the greater, which seemed ever intent upon assuming the rôle of the predominant partner in the union. And this gave rise to the great question of the admittance of the ministers to seats in the national assembly, which came to a crisis in the 'eighties.

In 1872, a private bill came before the storting, proposing that the ministers should be admitted to the storting and take part in its proceedings. After a number of stormy debates, the bill was successfully carried under the leadership of Johan Sverdrup, by a large majority (80 against 29); but the government, evidently jealous of the growing powers and influence of the new liberal party in the storting, advised the king to refuse his sanction to the bill, although the government party itself had several times in the preceding half-century introduced a similar bill for admitting the ministers to the storting; but at that time the opposition had looked with suspicion on the presence of the ministers in the national assembly, lest their superior skill in debate and political experience should turn the scale too readily in favour of government measures. Now, on the contrary, the opposition had gained more experience and confidence in its own strength, and no doubt found that the legislative work could be better carried on if the ministers

[1872-1874 A.D.]

were present to explain and defend their views; but the government saw in the proposed reform the threatened introduction of full parliamentary government, by which the ministry could not remain in office unless supported by a majority in the storting. The king's refusal created great dissatisfaction and irritation, both in the storting and throughout the country. The relations between the government and the majority in the storting were already considerably strained, and in the refusal the storting only saw another ill-timed assertion of governmental authority. Before the storting separated, the liberals carried a vote of censure against the government; but the king declared that the ministers enjoyed his confidence, and that he would uphold his right to appoint and keep what ministers he pleased, and took no further notice of the vote. However, two of the ministers, who had advised the ratification of the bill, resigned. Numerous public meetings were held all over the country in support of the proposed reform, fully approving of the step the storting had taken by proposing the vote of want of confidence. Among the speakers was Johan Sverdrup, who had now become the acknowledged leader of the liberal party, and who was hailed with great enthusiasm as the champion of the proposed reform.



KING OSCAR II
(1829-)

This was the political situation when King Charles died (September 18th, 1872). He was succeeded by his brother, who ascended the throne as Oscar II. In the following year this monarch gave his sanction to the bill for the abolition of the office of viceroy, which the storting had again passed; and the president of the ministry was afterwards recognised as the prime

minister and head of the government in Christiania. Frederik Stang, who was the president of the ministry at the time, was the first to fill this office. In the same year Norway celebrated its existence for a thousand years as a kingdom with great festivities.

PROPOSALS BY THE STORTHING FOR FULL POPULAR CONTROL

In 1874 the government, in order to show the people that they to some extent were willing to meet their wishes with regard to the great question before the country, laid before the storting a royal proposition for the admittance of the ministers to the national assembly. But this was to be accompanied by certain other constitutional changes, such as giving the king the right of dissolving the storting at his pleasure, and providing fixed pensions for ex-ministers, which they held up as a guarantee against the majority of the assembly's misusing its new power. The liberal party, in the meantime, received more and more support all over the country for their proposal and for full parliamentary government. Johan Sverdrup well summed up their policy in the following curt sentence: "All power must be

[1877-1882 A.D.]

gathered in this hall." The bill which the government brought in was unanimously rejected by the storting, the conservatives also voting against it, as they considered the guarantees insufficient. The same year, and again in 1877, the storting passed the bill for admitting the ministers to the national assembly, but in a somewhat different form from that of 1872. On both occasions the king refused his sanction to the bill.

The storting then resorted to the procedure provided by the constitution to carry out the people's will. In 1880 the bill was passed for the third time, and, on this occasion, by the overwhelming majority of 93 out of 113. Three storthings after three successive elections had now carried the bill, without the adoption of any divergent resolution in the period between the first and third reading, and according to the constitution, the bill would then become law with or without the king's sanction. It was, however, generally expected that the king and his government would at length comply with the wishes of the people; but the king on this occasion also refused to sanction the bill, declaring at the same time that his right to the absolute veto was "above all doubt." A feeling of disappointment and irritation pervaded the whole country, and many even of the conservatives, both in and out of the storting, deeply regretted the king's decision. Johan Sverdrup, the leader of the liberal party and president of the storting, brought, however, the question to a prompt issue, by proposing to the storting that the bill, which had been passed three times, should now be declared to be the law of the land without the king's sanction. This proposal was carried by a large majority on the 9th of June, 1880, but the king and his ministers in reply firmly declared that they would not recognise the validity of the resolution.

From this moment the struggle may be said to have centred itself upon the existence or non-existence of an absolute veto on the part of the crown. The king requested the faculty of law at the Christiania University to give its opinion on the question at issue; and, with one dissentient, the learned doctors upheld the king's right to the absolute veto in questions concerning amendments of the constitution, although they could not find that it was expressly stated in the fundamental law of the country. The ministry also advised the king to claim a veto in questions of supply, which still further increased the ill-feeling in the country against the government; and the conflict in consequence grew more and more violent. In the midst of the struggle between the king and the storting, the prime minister, Frederik Stang, resigned, and Christian August Selmer became his successor; and this, together with the appointment of another member to the ministry, K. H. Schweigaard, plainly indicated that the conflict with the storting was to be continued. In June, 1882, the king arrived in Christiania to dissolve the storting, and on this occasion delivered a speech from the throne, in which he openly censured the representatives of the people for their attitude in legis-



SOPHIA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN
(1886-)

lative work and on the question of the absolute veto, the speech creating considerable surprise throughout the country. Great preparations were now made by both parties for the impending elections, and public meetings were held during the recess all over the country. Johan Sverdrup and Bjornstjerne Bjornson, the popular poet and dramatist, were the principal speakers, and called upon the people to support the storting in upholding the resolution of the 9th of June, and to rouse themselves to a sense of their political rights. The elections resulted in a great victory for the liberal party, which returned stronger than ever to the storting, the liberals now numbering eighty-three and the conservatives only thirty-one. The ministry, however, showed no sign of yielding or resigning their offices; and when the new storting met in February, 1883, the odelsting (the lower division of the national assembly) decided upon having the question finally settled by impeaching the whole of the ministry before the rigsret, or the supreme court of the realm — the last constitutional means by which the storting could obtain the dismissal of the ministry, which for years had continued to govern without the confidence or support of the national assembly. The jurisdiction of the rigsret is limited to the trial of offences against the state, and there is no appeal against its decisions. The charges against the ministers were of having acted contrary to the interests of the country, by advising the king to refuse his sanction — first, to the amendment of the law for admitting the ministers to the storting; secondly, to a bill involving a question of supply; and thirdly, to a bill by which the storting could appoint additional directors on the state railways.

The trial of the eleven ministers of the Selmer cabinet began in May, 1883, and lasted over ten months. In the end, the rigsret sentenced the prime minister and seven of his ministers to be deprived of their offices, while three, who had either recommended the king to sanction the bill for admitting the ministers to the storting, or had entered the cabinet at a later date, were heavily fined. The excitement in the country, already considerable before the verdict had been given, rose to feverish anxiety in expectation of what the king would do. The conservative organs of the country openly advised the king to disregard the judgment of the supreme court, while party feeling everywhere ran high. Rumours of all kinds were afloat, and it was generally believed that the king would attempt a *coup d'état*. Many of the conservative party in Sweden also encouraged the king to set the judgment aside; and it was even hinted that he might depend upon the Swedish army to assist him in carrying out his policy in Norway. Fortunately, the king did not follow this advice, and after some hesitation, he issued (March 11th) an order in council, announcing that the judgment of the supreme court would be carried into effect; and Selmer was then called upon to resign his position as prime minister. The king, however, in his declaration upheld the constitutional prerogative of the crown, which, he maintained, was not impaired by the judgment of the rigsret. The conservatives were much disappointed with the king's course of action, but consoled themselves by forcing upon the king the urgent necessity of appointing a new conservative ministry, which would carry on the policy of the late cabinet. The following month the king, regardless of the large liberal majority in the storting, asked Schweigaard, one of the late ministers whose punishment consisted in a fine, to form a ministry, and the so-called "April ministry" was then appointed. It tried to adopt the policy of its predecessors in a moderate form, but it met with such opposition from the very first that it sent in its resignation in the following month. Professor Broch, a former minister, next attempted to form a ministry, but without success, and the king was at last compelled to appoint a ministry in

[1883-1891 A.D.]

accordance with the majority in the storting. In June, 1883, Johan Sverdrup was asked to form a ministry. He selected for his ministers leading men on the liberal side in the storting, and the first liberal ministry that Norway had was at length appointed. The storting, in order to satisfy the king, passed a new resolution admitting the ministers to the national assembly, which then received the formal sanction of the king.

During the following years, a series of important reforms were carried through. Thus, in 1887, the jury system in criminal matters was introduced into the country after violent opposition from the conservatives. A bill intended to give parishioners greater influence in church matters, and introduced by Jakob Sverdrup, the minister of education and a nephew of the prime minister, met, however, with strong opposition, and was eventually rejected by the storting, the result being a break-up of the ministry and a disorganization of the Liberal party. In June, 1889, the Sverdrup ministry resigned, and a conservative one was formed by Emil Stang, the leader of the conservatives in the storting; and during the next two years the storting passed various useful measures; but the ministry was eventually wrecked on the rock of the great national question which about this time came to the front — that of Norway's share in the transaction of diplomatic affairs.

THE QUESTION OF DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION

At the time of the union, in 1814, nothing had been settled as to how diplomatic affairs were to be conducted, but in 1835 a resolution was issued, that when the Swedish foreign minister was transacting diplomatic matters with the king which concerned both countries, or Norway only, the Norwegian minister of state in attendance upon the king at Stockholm should be present. This arrangement has not always proved satisfactory to the Norwegians, especially as the Swedish foreign minister cannot be held responsible to the Norwegian government or parliament; but in the meanwhile this state of affairs has been allowed to drift on, and gradually the Swedish foreign minister has come to be looked upon as the foreign minister for Norway also. But this is not sanctioned by any paragraph in the constitution or the Act of Union, neither has it been confirmed by any act of the storting; and the Norwegians maintain that Norway has not enjoyed equal rights in the union and equal share in the transaction of diplomatic affairs with Sweden, as, according to the Act of Union, it had a right to demand.

By a change in the Swedish constitution, in 1885, the ministerial council, in which diplomatic matters are discussed, came to consist of the Swedish foreign minister and two other members of the cabinet on behalf of Sweden, and of the Norwegian minister at Stockholm on behalf of Norway. The king, wishing to remedy this disparity, proposed that the composition of the council should be determined by an additional paragraph in the Act of Union. The representatives of the Norwegian government in Stockholm proposed that three members of the cabinet of each country should constitute the ministerial council, to which the Swedish government were willing to agree, but on the assumption that the minister of foreign affairs should continue to be a Swede as before, which the Norwegians, of course, would not accept. The matter was, in consequence, shelved and remained in abeyance for some time, but continued to be discussed in the press and at public meetings. At the king's instigation, the negotiations with the Swedish government were resumed at the beginning of 1891; and the Stang ministry succeeded in coming to an

agreement with the Swedish government that a measure should be introduced, by which the Norwegians would practically obtain what the storting of 1886 had asked for, while the question of the nationality of the minister of foreign affairs was left for settlement in the near future. The Swedish riksdag, however, rejected the proposal, while the Norwegian storting insisted upon "Norway's right, as an independent kingdom, to full equality in the union, and therewith her right to watch over her foreign affairs in a constitutional manner."

The Stang ministry then resigned; and a liberal ministry, with Steen, the recognized leader of the liberal party after Sverdrup's withdrawal from politics, as prime minister, was appointed. In the same year, the provision in the constitution empowering the king to instal the crown prince as regent in Norway was repealed, and the resolution was sanctioned by the king. The new ministry had placed the question of a separate minister of foreign affairs for Norway prominently in their programme, but little progress was made during the next few years. Another and more important question for the country, as far as its shipping and commerce are concerned, now came to the front. The storting had, in 1891, appointed a committee to inquire into the practicability of establishing a separate Norwegian consular service, instead of the existing combination with Sweden, with which the Norwegians maintain they have had reason to be dissatisfied. In 1892, the storting, acting upon the committee's report, determined to establish a consular service in accordance with a plan prepared by the department of the interior. The king, no doubt influenced and supported by public opinion in Sweden, which was against the proposed separation of the consular services, refused his sanction; and the Norwegian government, in consequence, sent in their resignation, whereupon a complete deadlock ensued. This was terminated by a compromise to the effect that the ministry would return to office, on the understanding that the question be postponed by common consent. The following year the storting again passed a resolution, calling upon the Norwegian government to proceed with the necessary measures for establishing the proposed consular service for Norway, but the king again refused to take any action in the matter. Upon this, the liberal ministry resigned (May, 1893), and the king appointed a conservative government, with E. Stang as its chief. Thus matters went on till the end of 1894, when the triennial elections took place, with the result that the majority of the electors declared in favour of national independence on the great question then before the country — that of separate consuls for Norway, and eventually of a separate responsible minister of foreign affairs for the country.

The ministry did not at once resign, but waited till the king arrived in Christiania to open the storting (January, 1895). The king would not accept their resignation there and then, but kept the country for over four months without a responsible government, during which time the crisis had become more acute than ever. A coalition ministry was at last formed, with Professor Hagerup as prime minister. A new committee, consisting of an equal number of Norwegians and Swedes, was appointed to consider the question of separate diplomatic representation; but after sitting for over two years, the committee separated without being able to come to any agreement, having, like the two previous "union committees," proved the impossibility of the two countries coming to an understanding on this important question. While the committee was sitting, the disputes concerning the political relations between the two countries were allowed to lie in abeyance.

The elections in 1897 proved again a great victory for the liberal party

[1845-1872 A.D.]

(seventy-nine liberals *versus* thirty-five conservatives), and in February, 1898, the Hagerup ministry was replaced by a liberal, once more under the premiership of Steen. Soon afterwards the bill for the general adoption of the national or "pure" flag, as it was called, was carried for the third time, and became law without the king's sanction. By this act the device or mark of union in the upper corner of the flag was abolished, but is still retained on men-of-war and fortifications. In 1898, universal political suffrage for men was passed by a large majority (seventy-five *versus* thirty-six), while the proposal to include women received the support of only thirty-three votes. In 1901, universal municipal suffrage was given both to men and women; to the latter, however, with certain limitations. In January, 1902, a committee was appointed to consider the consular question, and it was hoped that at last it would be settled. In April, 1902, Steen the prime minister resigned, and retired into private life. He was succeeded by Otto Albert Blehr.²

RECENT HISTORY OF SWEDEN

For Norway's sister kingdom the nineteenth century has been one of material progress and social reform. In 1845, the criminal law was revised, and the establishment of a network of railways at the same time taken in hand; in 1859, permission to acquire land was conceded to the Jews; 1863 saw the establishment of free trade. The problem of political reform and a modification of the Swedish constitution in a popular direction was long found to present insuperable obstacles. At last, in 1866, Charles XV granted a constitution (modified 1894), according to which the executive power was vested in the king, acting by the advice of his responsible ministers, while the legislative body was to consist of two chambers—the lower elected by the people according to a property qualification, the upper, by the provincial assemblies and certain municipalities. The upper chamber was to be chosen for nine years, while the election to the lower chamber was for three only. The members of the lower chamber received allowances.

As regards foreign policy, Sweden has not played a great rôle in the affairs of Europe. During the Schleswig-Holstein troubles her sympathies were with Denmark, and in 1848 she sent troops to Fünen, while the armistice of Malmö, concluded the same year, was effected by her mediation. Subsequently, however, she remained an inactive spectator of the struggle, to the great disappointment of the Danes, who had calculated on her aid. In 1855, whilst the Crimean war was in progress, Sweden, provoked by Russian encroachment on her fisheries, concluded a defensive alliance with Great Britain and France, and obtained a satisfactory adjustment of her difficulties with the Muscovite power by the Treaty of Paris of 1856.^a

The economic condition of Sweden, owing to the progress in material prosperity which had taken place in the country as the result of the Franco-German war, was at the accession of Oscar II to the throne, on the 18th of September, 1872, fairly satisfactory. Politically, however, the outlook was not so favourable. In their results, the reforms inaugurated during the preceding reign did not answer expectations. Within three years of the introduction of the new electoral laws, De Geer's ministry had forfeited much of its former popularity, and had been forced to resign. In the vital matter of national defence no common understanding had been arrived at, and during the conflicts which had raged round this question, the two chambers had come into frequent collision, and paralysed the action of the government.

[1875-1880 A.D.]

The peasant proprietors, who, under the name of the *landtmanna* party,¹ formed a compact majority in the second chamber, pursued a consistent policy of class interests in the matter of the taxes and burdens that had, as they urged, so long oppressed the Swedish peasantry; and consequently, when a bill was introduced for superseding the old system of army organisation by general compulsory service, they demanded, as a condition of its acceptance, that the military burdens should be more evenly distributed in the country, and that the land taxes, which they regarded as a burden under which they had wrongfully groaned for centuries, should be abolished. In these circumstances, the *landtmanna* party in the riksdag, who desired the lightening of the military burden, joined those who desired the abolition of landlordism, and formed a compact and predominant majority in the second chamber, while the burgher and liberal parties were reduced to an impotent "intelligence" minority. This majority in the lower chamber was at once attacked by another compact majority in the upper, who on their side maintained that the hated land taxes were only a kind of rent-charge on land, were incidental to it, and in no way weighed upon the owners, and, moreover, that their abolition would be quite unwarrantable, as they were one of the surest sources of revenue to the state. On the other hand, the first chamber refused to listen to any abolition of the old military system, so long as the defence of the country had not been placed upon a secure basis by the adoption of general compulsory military service. The government stood midway between these conflicting majorities in the chambers, unable to find support in either.

Such was the state of affairs when Oscar II, surrounded by his late brother's advisers, began his reign. One of his first cares was to increase the strength of his navy; but in consequence of the continued antagonism of the political parties, he was unable to effect much. In the first riksdag, however, the so-called "compromise," which afterwards played so important a part in Swedish political life, came into existence. It originated in the small "Skåne" party in the upper house, and was devised to establish a *modus vivendi* between the conflicting parties, *i.e.*, the champions of national defence, and those who demanded a lightening of the burdens of taxation. The king himself perceived in the compromise a means of solving the conflicting questions, and warmly approved it. He persuaded his ministers to constitute a special inquiry into the proposed abolition of land taxes, and, in the address with which he opened the riksdag of 1875, laid particular stress upon the necessity of giving attention to the settlement of these two burning questions; and in 1880 again came forward with a new proposal for increasing the number of years of service with the militia. This motion having been rejected, De Geer resigned, and was succeeded by Count Arvid Posse. The new prime minister endeavoured to solve the question of defence in accordance with the views of the *landtmanna* party. Three parliamentary committees had prepared schemes for a remission of the land taxes, for a new system of taxation, for a reorganisation of the army based on a *stammitrupp* (regular army), by the enlistment of hired soldiers, and for naval reforms. In this last connection, the most suitable types of vessels for coast defence and for offence were determined upon. But Count Posse, deserted by his own party over the army bill, resigned, and was succeeded on the 16th of

¹ The Swedish *landtmanna* party was formed in 1867. It consisted mostly of the larger and smaller peasant proprietors, who at the time of the old *stånders riksdag* were always opposed to the nobility and the clergy. The object of the party was to bring about a fusion between the representatives of the large landed proprietors and the regular peasant proprietors, to support the interests of landed proprietors in general against those of the town representatives; and to resist crown interference in the administration of local affairs.

[1884-1888 A D]

May, 1884, by Oscar Themptauder, who had been minister of finance in the previous cabinet. The new premier succeeded in persuading the riksdag to pass a bill, increasing the period of service with the colours in the army to six years, and that in the militia to forty-two days, and as a set-off, a remission of thirty per cent. on the land taxes.

Protectionist Movement

Influenced by the economic reaction which took place in 1879, in consequence of the state of affairs in Germany, where Prince Bismarck had introduced the protectionist system, a protectionist party had been formed, which tried to gain adherents in the riksdag. It is true that, in the riksdag of 1882, the commercial treaty with France was renewed; but since 1885 the protectionist party was prepared to begin the combat, and a duty on corn, which had been proposed in the riksdag of the same year, was rejected by only a slight majority. During the period of the unusually low price of corn of 1886, which greatly affected the Swedish farmers, protection gained ground to such an extent that its final triumph was considered as certain within a short time. During the riksdag of the same year, however, the premier Themptauder emphatically declared himself against the protectionist party, and while the parties in the second chamber were equal in number, the proposed tax on corn was rejected in the first chamber. In the riksdag of 1887 there was a majority for protection in the second chamber, and in the first the majority against the tax was so small that the tax on corn would have triumphed in a combined meeting of the two chambers. The government, availing itself of its formal right not to dissolve the chamber in which it had the support of a majority, therefore dissolved only the second chamber (March, 1887).

The new riksdag assembled in May with a free-trade majority in the second chamber, but nothing in connection with the great question of customs was settled. In the meantime, the powerful majority in the second chamber split into two groups — the new landtmanna party, which approved protection in the interests of agricultural classes; and a somewhat smaller group, the old landtmanna party, which favoured free trade. The victory of the free traders was not, however, destined to be of long duration, as the protectionists obtained a majority in both chambers in the next riksdag (1888). To the first chamber, protectionists were almost exclusively elected; and in the second, all the twenty-two members for Stockholm were disqualified, owing to the fact that one of their number had not paid his taxes a few years previously, which prevented his being eligible. Instead, then, of twenty-two free-traders, representing the majority of the Stockholm electors, twenty-two protectionists, representing the minority, were elected; and Stockholm was thus represented in the riksdag by the choice of a minority in the capital. This singular way of electing members for the principal city in the kingdom could not fail further to irritate the parties. One result of the Stockholm election came at a convenient time for the Themptauder ministry. The financial affairs of the country were found to be in a most unsatisfactory state. In spite of reduced expenses, a highly estimated revenue, and the contemplated raising of taxes, there was a deficit, for the payment or discharge of which the government would be obliged to demand supplementary supplies. The Themptauder ministry resigned. The king retained, however, for a time several members of the ministry; but it was difficult to find a premier who would be able, during the transition from one system to another, to command sufficient

[1888-1900 A.D.]

authority to control the parties. At last Baron Gillis Bildt, who, while Swedish ambassador in Berlin, had witnessed the introduction by Prince Bismarck of the agrarian protectionist system in Germany, accepted the premiership, and it was under his auspices that the two chambers imposed a series of duties on necessities of life.

The new taxes, together with an increase of the excise duty on spirits, soon brought a surplus into the state coffers. At a council of state (October 12th, 1888) the king declared his wishes as to the way in which this surplus should be used. He desired that it should be applied to a fund for insurance and old-age pensions for workmen and old people; to the lightening of the municipal taxes by state contributions to the schools and workhouses; to the abolition of the land taxes and of the obligation of keeping a horse and man for military service; and, lastly, to the improvement of the shipping trade. The riksdag, however, decided to devote it to other objects, such as the payment of the deficit in the budget, the building of railways and augmentation of their material, as well as to improvements in the defences of the country. Baron Bildt resigned as soon as the new system seemed settled, making room for Baron Gustav Akerhjelm. The latter, however, also soon resigned, and was succeeded on July 10th, 1891, by Erik Gustav Bostrom, a landed proprietor. The protectionist system gained in favour on the expiry of the commercial treaty with France in 1892, as it could now be extended to articles of industry. The elections of 1890, when the metropolis returned free traders and liberals to the second chamber, certainly effected a change in the latter, as the representatives of the towns and the old landtmanna party united, and established a free-trade majority in the chamber; but, in the combined meetings of the two chambers, the compact protectionist majority in the first chamber turned the scale. The customs duties were, however, altered several times in accordance with market prices and ruling circumstances. Thus in 1892, when the import duty on unground corn was reduced from 2s. 10d. to 1s. 5d., and that on ground corn from 4s. 9d. to 2s. 10d., for 100 kilogrammes, the same duties were also retained for the following year. They were also retained for 1894, at the request of the government, which desired to keep faith with their promise that, while the new organisation of the army was going on, no increase of duties on the necessities of life should take place. This measure caused much dissatisfaction, and gave rise to a strong agrarian movement, in consequence of which the government, in the beginning of 1895, before the assembling of the riksdag, made use of its right of raising the two duties on corn just referred to, to 3s. 7d. and 7s. 2d., which were afterwards somewhat reduced as far as seed corn for sowing purposes was concerned.

The question of customs duties now settled, that of national defence was taken up afresh; and in the following year the government produced a complete scheme for the abolition of the land tax in the course of ten years, in exchange for a compensation of ninety days' drill for those liable to military service, proposed to retain the old military system of the country and to strengthen the defences of Norrland; and the government bill for a reorganisation of the army was accepted by the riksdag in an extraordinary session. But it was soon perceived that the new plan was unsatisfactory, and required recasting, upon which the minister of war, Baron Rappe, resigned, and was succeeded by Colonel von Crustebjorn, who immediately set to work to prepare a complete reorganisation of the army, with an increase of the time of active service on the lines of general compulsory service. The riksdag of 1900, in addition to grants for the fortifications at Boden, in the province

[1901 A.D.]

of Norrbotten, on the Russian border, and other military objects, voted a considerable grant for an experimental mobilisation, which fully exposed the defects and faults of the old system. In the riksdag of 1901, E. G. Bostrom resigned, and was succeeded by Admiral F. W. von Otter, who introduced a new bill for the army reorganisation, the most important item of which was the increase of the period of training to 365 days. The cost in connection with the new scheme was expected to amount to 22,000,000 kronor. The riksdag, however, did not accept the new plan in its full extent. The time of drilling was reduced to 240 days for the infantry, to 300 days for the navy, while for the cavalry and artillery the time fixed was 365 days. The plan, thus modified, was then accepted by the government.

Franchise Reform

After the elections in 1890, the alliance already mentioned between the old landtmanna party and the representatives of the towns had the result that the liberals in the second chamber, to whom the representatives of the towns mostly belonged, were now in a position to decide the policy which the two united parties should follow. In order to prevent this, it was proposed to readjust the number of the members of the riksdag. The question was only settled in 1894, when a bill was passed fixing the number of the members of the riksdag in the first chamber at 150, and in the second at 230, of which 150 should represent the country districts and 80 the towns. The question of protection being now considered settled, there was no longer any reason for the continued separation of the two landtmanna parties, who, at the beginning of the riksdag of 1895, combined and became once more a compact majority in the second chamber, as they had been up to the riksdag of May, 1887.

The influence of the country representatives was thus re-established in the second chamber; but now the demands for the extension of the franchise came more and more to the front, and the premier Bostrom at last felt bound to do something to meet these demands. He accordingly introduced in the riksdag of 1896 a very moderate bill for the extension of the franchise, which was, nevertheless, rejected by both chambers, all similar proposals by private members meeting the same fate. When, at last, the bill for the reorganisation of the army, together with a considerably increased taxation, was accepted by the riksdag of 1901, it was generally acknowledged that, in return for the increased taxation, it would only be just to extend the right of taking part in the political life and the legislative work of the country to those of the population who hitherto had been excluded from it. The government eventually laid a proposal for the extension of the franchise before the riksdag of 1902, the chief feature of which was that the elector should be twenty-five years of age, and that married men over forty years should be entitled to two votes. The riksdag, however, finally agreed to a proposal by Bishop Billing, a member of the first chamber, that an address should be presented to the king, asking for a full inquiry into the question of extending the franchise for the election of members to the second chamber.

In 1897, the riksdag had received among its members the first socialistic representative, in the person of R. H. Brauting, the leader of the Swedish social democrats. The socialists, who had formerly confined their activity to questions affecting the working classes and their wages, took, however, in 1902 an active part in the agitation for the extension of the franchise. Processions of many thousands of workmen were organised, in Stockholm and

[1902 A.D.]

in other towns of the kingdom, just before the riksdag began the discussion on the above-mentioned bill of the government; and when the bill was introduced in the chambers, a general and well-organised strike took place, and continued during the three days the debate on the bill lasted. As this strike was of an exclusively political kind, and was intended to put pressure on the chambers, it was generally disapproved, and failed in its object. The prime minister, Admiral von Otter, resigned shortly after the end of the session, and was succeeded by Boström, the ex-premier.

During King Oscar's reign many important social reforms have been carried out by the legislature. In the riksdag of 1884 a new patent law was adopted, the age at which women should be held to attain their majority was fixed at twenty-one years, and the barbarous prison punishment of "bread and water" abolished. In order to meet the cost of the new army organisation, the riksdag of 1902 increased the revenue by progressive taxation, but only for one year. Bills for the improvement of the social conditions of the people and in the interests of the working classes have also been passed. During the five years 1884-1889, a committee was occupied with the question of workmen's insurance, and thrice the government made proposals for its settlement; on the last occasion adopting the principle of invalidity as a common basis for insurance against accidents, illness, or old age. The riksdag of 1901 accepted a bill for insurance against accidents which also extended to agricultural labourers, in connection with the establishment of a state institution for insurance. The bill for protection against accidents, as well as for the limitation of working hours for women and children, was passed, together with one for the appointment of special factory inspectors.

The so-called "Nobel gift" has given Sweden an important rôle in the history of culture which is quite unique. Alfred Nobel, a civil engineer, in 1896 left the whole of his immense property, amounting to over £1,750,000, to a fund, the yearly income of which was to be divided among those who, in the course of the current year, had rendered the greatest service to mankind in various branches of science, in literature, and in the cause of peace. Four of the prizes are adjudged by the Swedish Academy; but the prize for services rendered in the cause of peace is, in accordance with the testator's will, left in the hands of the Norwegian storting to distribute. Each prize amounts to about £8,300, and will be distributed yearly.

When, in 1897, King Oscar celebrated his jubilee of twenty-five years as king, the exhibition which had been organised in Stockholm offered a convincing proof of the progress the country had made, while the thousands of provincial visitors who flocked to the metropolis took the opportunity to attest their respect and loyalty to the king and the royal family. The amount collected all over the country on the occasion of the jubilee as a gift to the king, amounting to £140,000, was, according to his majesty's wishes, applied to the building of sanatoria for sufferers from consumption.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION

But the king's popularity was not sufficient to prevent a great misfortune. Throughout his reign the relations between the two states which composed his dominions had frequently been precarious. One of the chief causes of dissension was the desire of Norway for full equality with Sweden in the management of foreign affairs. In 1899 the Norwegian storting for the third time passed a bill for a national or "pure" flag, and King Oscar eventually sanctioned it. After a time the Norwegian radicals began to press

[1904-1908 A D]

their demands for a separate consular system and a ministry of foreign affairs more vigorously than ever. The Swedish government and king at length agreed to allow separate consuls for Norway, provided these should be subordinate to the minister of foreign affairs in the Swedish cabinet. This was unsatisfactory to Norway, and on May 18th, 1905, the Norwegian storting passed a bill for the establishment of a separate consular service to be placed under the direction of a Norwegian government department. When the king vetoed this measure, the storting empowered the Norwegian ministry to exercise the powers hitherto vested in the king, and pronounced the dissolution of the union, but at the same time issued an address to the king disclaiming animosity to the royal house and asking that a prince of that house might be allowed to accept the Norwegian throne. A plebiscite taken on the question of the dissolution resulted in a vote of 368,200 for, and only 184 against it. For some time an armed conflict between the two countries appeared possible. More peaceful councils, however, prevailed, and on August 31st, delegates from both countries met at Karlstadt, where on the 23d of September a complete agreement for a separation was reached. The agreement was ratified by the legislatures of both countries, and Sweden passed an act dissolving the union and recognising Norwegian independence.

The question of what form of government Norway should adopt was an open one. King Oscar refused to allow one of his family to accept the Norwegian throne, and in Norway many persons favoured setting up a republic. Ultimately a monarchy was established and the kingship was offered to Prince Charles of Denmark, a grandson of King Christian IX, and a son-in-law of King Edward VII of England. The prince accepted the offer, and took the title of Haakon VII. He made his formal entry into Christiania on the 25th of November, 1905, and was crowned the 22d of June, 1906.

The revolution produced some political changes in Sweden also. The Bostrom ministry had taken the view that the union could not be abrogated by the act of one country alone, and decided not to recognise the Norwegian provisional government, but to enter into negotiations with the storting for a resumption of the union. As the riksdag did not sustain this policy, the ministry resigned, and Herr Lundeberg formed a coalition ministry which carried through the negotiations for a dissolution. After the Karlstadt Conference new elections were held for the second chamber. The king desired the Lundeberg ministry to retain office, but owing to dissensions it ultimately resigned, and in November Karl Staaf formed a liberal ministry.

In May, 1906, however, the riksdag rejected the ministry's reform bill for an extension of the suffrage. The ministry resigned, and a new one was formed by Commodore Lindman, director general of telegraphs. In the following December, owing to the illness of the king, the crown prince became regent. In February, 1907, the government brought in an electoral reform bill, which was passed. The measure established practically manhood suffrage, introduced proportional representation in elections to the second chamber, and provided for the choice of members of the riksdag by the provincial assemblies.

King Oscar, who had been ill for some months, died on the 8th of December, 1907, surrounded by his family and sincerely mourned by all his subjects. He was succeeded by the crown prince, who took the title of Gustaf V. After the accession of the new king, the Cabinet resigned, according to custom, but was reappointed by Gustaf. Oscar II was an author, a musician of unusual talent, an orator, a philologist, and a scientist of standing.^a



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^bO DALIN, *Geschichte des Reiches Schwedens*. — ^cK VON SCHLÖZER, *Verfall und Untergang der Hansa und des deutschen Ordens in den Ostseehändern* — ^dS A. DUNHAM, *History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*. — ^eO. PETRI, *Chronica Regum Danorum* (in *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi*) — ^fE. G. GEIJER, *History of the Swedes* — ^gA. FRYXELL, *History of Sweden*. — ^hF. PONTOPPIDAN, *Kurtzgefasste Reformations-Historie der dänischen Kirche*. — ⁱA. HVITFELDT, *Danmarks Riges Krønike*.

CHAPTER VIII. GUSTAVUS VASA TO CHARLES IX (1523-1611 A.D.)

^bK P P PALUDAN-MULLER, *De første Konger af den oldenborgske Slægt* — ^cS A. DUNHAM, *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*. — ^dO CELSIUS, *Geschichte Königs Gustaf des Ersten* — ^eE G GEIJER, *History of the Swedes*. — ^fA. FRYXELL, *History of Sweden* — ^gA. CRICHTON AND H. WHEATON, *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern*. — ^hA. DE FLAUX, *Histoire de la Suède sous les princes de la maison de Vasa*.

CHAPTER IX. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (1594-1632 A.D.)

^bA. DE FLAUX, *Histoire de la Suède sous les princes de la maison de Vasa* — ^cC. L. VON BUCH, *Reise durch Norwegen und Lappland* — ^dA. CRICHTON AND H. WHEATON, *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern*. — ^eA. FRYXELL, *Histoire de Gustaf II. Adolf*. — ^fE. G. GEIJER, *History of the Swedes* — ^gH. VON TREITSCHKE, *Gustaf Adolf und Deutschlands Freiheit* — ^hHISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE IN LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON. — ⁱG. DROYSEN, *Gustaf Adolf*.

CHAPTER X. CHRISTINA TO CHARLES XI (1632-1697 A.D.)

^bS A. DUNHAM, *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway* — ^cENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, article on Christina of Sweden. — ^dJ P W. CATTEAU-CALLEVILLE, *Histoire de Christine, Reine de Suède*. — ^eJ ARCKENHOLTZ, *Mémoires de Christine, reine de Suède* — ^fS LAGERBERG, *Abriégé de l'histoire de Suède* — ^gH. DE TERLON, *Mémoires* — ^hA. CRICHTON AND H. WHEATON, *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern*.

CHAPTER XI. DENMARK AND NORWAY, SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES (1523-1677 A.D.)

^bS. A. DUNHAM, *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway* — ^cA. CRICHTON AND H. WHEATON, *Scandinavia* — ^dJ BERTRAND, *Les fondateurs de l'Astronomie moderne* — ^eC. F. ALLEN, *Histoire de Danemark* — ^fW. ONCKEN, *Das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen*. — ^gLORD MOLESWORTH, *An Account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692*.

CHAPTER XII. SWEDEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

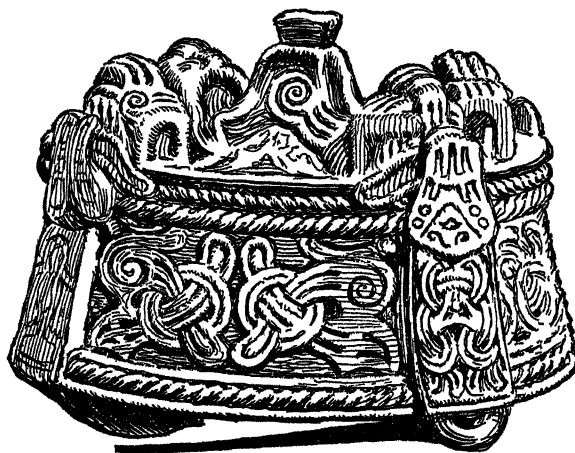
^bS A. DUNHAM, *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*. — ^cK. LUNDBLAD, *Geschichte Karls des Zwölften* — ^dJ W. BARDILL, *Des weyland durchlauchtigen Printzen Maximilian Emanuel Herzogs in Württemberg Reisen*. — ^eCHARLES XII, *Die eigenhändige Briefe König Karls XII.* — ^fHISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE IN LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON. — ^gR. N. BAIN, *Charles XII and the Collapse of the Swedish Empire* (Heroes of the Nations) — ^hOSCAR II, King of Sweden and Norway, *Charles XII.* — ⁱK P P. PALUDAN-MULLER, *Er Kong Carl XII fulden ved Snigmord.* — ^jE. L. POSSELT, *Geschichte Gustafs III.* — ^kE. DE BEAUMONT-VASSY, *Les Suédois depuis Charles XII* — ^lA. CRICHTON AND H. WHEATON, *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern*. — ^mA. RAMBAUD, *History of Russia from the Earliest Times to 1882* — ⁿW. ONCKEN, *Das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen*. — ^oS. LAING, *Tour in Sweden*. — ^pO. HENNE-AM-RHYN, *Kulturgeschichte der neuern Zeit* — ^qF. C. SCHLOSSER, *History of the Eighteenth Century*.

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CHAPTER XIV. NORWAY AND SWEDEN IN THE 19TH CENTURY

^bS. A. DUNHAM, *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*. — ^cA. CRIGHTON AND H. WHEATON *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern*. — ^dA. AHNFELT, *Skandinavische Hof- und Staatsgeschichten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. — ^eA. VANDAL, *Napoléon et Alexandre I^{er}*. — ^fJ. SIME, article on History of Sweden in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — ^gC. F. ALLEN, *Histoire de Danemark*. — ^hG. P. BLOM, *Geschichte der Staatsveränderung Norwegens im Jahre 1814*. — ⁱH. L. BRÆKSTED, article on the recent history of Norway in the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — ^jO. H. DUMRATH, article on the recent history of Sweden in the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.





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The Danish historian, *Carl Ferdinand Allen*, was born at Copenhagen in 1811 and studied at the university there. He spent three years (1845–1848) in investigating the archives in Holland, England, France, Italy, and Germany, and then returning to Denmark became, in 1851, a lecturer at the Copenhagen University, and in 1862 professor of history and northern archæology. His principal work, *De tre nordiske Rigers Historie 1497–1536*, is regarded as one of the masterpieces of Scandinavian history. His *Haandbog* was written in 1836 for a prize which the Society for Posterity (*Selskabet for Efterslaegten*) had offered to the author of the best history of Denmark, giving special attention to the internal development of the state. Allen's work was successful, but was revised according to the suggestion of the society, before publication. The French edition contains a copious bibliography. The views expressed by Allen in his publications on the ethnography and languages of Schleswig, which appeared during the agitated period preceding the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein to Germany in 1864–1866, excited vehement refutations from German writers.

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Edouard Ferdinand de la Bonnière, viscount de *Beaumont-Vassy* (1816-1875), was the author of various novels and of histories on French and European subjects, the last named at any rate of no great merit. To the work on the Swedes, however, for which he collected material during a mission to Sweden, a considerable value has been assigned.

Bernadotte, see Charles XIV, John. — **Bernhardi**, Th. von, Der Streit um die Elbherzogtümer, Tageblätter aus dem Jahre 1863-1864, Leipsic, 1895. — **Bertrand**, J. L. F., Les Fondateurs de l'Astronomie moderne, Tycho Brahe, Paris, 1865. — **Beskow**, B. von, Om Gustaf den tredje såsom Konung och menniska (in Handlingar of the Swedish Academy), 1860-1869, 5 vols., French translation, Gustave III, jugé comme roi, Stockholm, 1868.

The reputation of *Bernhard von Beskow* rests chiefly on his historical dramas. The work on Gustavus III, cited above, is prized rather for its literary merit than its historic faithfulness.

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Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen (1848-1895) was a Norwegian by birth who emigrated to the United States in 1869. From 1882 to 1895 he was German professor at Columbia College, New York. He is chiefly known by his treatises on Norwegian subjects.

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Fredrik Ferdinand Carlson was born in Upland in 1811 and educated at Upsala, where he took his degree in 1833, and where, after travels in Denmark, Germany, Italy, and France, he became professor of history in 1835. He was subsequently appointed tutor to the sons of Oscar I (afterwards Charles XV and Oscar II) and in 1849 became professor of history at Upsala. He was minister of public worship, 1863-1870 and 1875-1878. From 1850 to 1863 he represented the University of Upsala in the lower house of parliament, and in 1865 was member for the Academy of Sciences. In 1873 he took his seat in the upper house. His History in continuation of Geijer is the chief of numerous writings completed in the course of his life, which terminated in 1887.

Carlyle, T., Early Kings of Norway, London, New York, 1875. — **Catteau-Calleville**, J. P. W., Histoire de Christine, Reine de Suède, Paris, 1815, 2 vols. — **Celsus**, O., Konung Gustaf I Historia, Stockholm, 1746-1753, 1792, 2 vols., German translation, Geschichte Königs Gustaf des Ersten, Copenhagen, Leipsic, 1749; Konung Erik XIV Historia, Stockholm, 1774, German translation, Geschichte Eriks XIV, Flensburg, 1777, French translation, Histoire d'Eric XIV, Paris, 1777, 2 vols.

Olof Celsus, bishop of Lund and a member of the Swedish Academy, was the son of the botanist of the same name, from whom he is sometimes distinguished by the epithet of "the younger." He was born in 1716, and died in 1794. In 1747 he became professor of history at the University of Upsala. His historical researches were not confined to the field of Swedish history, though it was here that he won most distinction. The works mentioned above are praised as evidences of careful investigation, and are remarkable for the picturesque presentation of the subject. Their author was the forerunner of the critical historians, but in his other writings still cling to the ancient legends they have discarded. A work on the history of the Swedish church (Svea rikes Kyrkohistoria, Stockholm, 1767) was the earliest attempt of its kind, but only one volume was finished. Celsus was the founder of the first literary periodical in Sweden, which was entitled *Tidningar om de Lärdes arbeten*, and whose first number

appeared in 1749. A tragedy from his pen, entitled *Ingeborg*, appeared anonymously in 1739, and he was also the author of various poems described as lacking in imagination.

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This work of *Bogislaw Philipp von Chemnitz* is a valuable source for the history of the Thirty Years' War down to the year 1636, and also contains an account of the campaigns conducted by the Swedish general Lennart Torstenson between 1641 and 1646. Chemnitz was a German from Stettin who, after spending some time as a soldier in the service of the Dutch, passed to that of Sweden under Queen Christina, and was subsequently appointed by her councillor and historiographer A pamphlet signed Hippolytus a Lapide, and entitled *De ratione status in imperio nostro Romano-Germanico*, was attributed to him and contained a furious attack on the house of Austria. Chemnitz died in Sweden in 1678.

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Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann was a distinguished statesman as well as historian. Though a German by birth, he attended the university at Copenhagen besides that of Halle, and in 1811 established himself at the former as a teacher of philology. In 1812 he became history professor at Kiel. As secretary of the permanent delegation of the prelates and nobles of Schleswig-Holstein he set himself in opposition to the Danish government, and finding this attitude hampered his career accepted a professorship of political science at Göttingen, but his active participation in Hanoverian politics eventually led to his banishment from that kingdom, and in 1842 he became professor of history and political science at Bonn. At the revolution of 1848 he was one of those appointed to draw up a constitution for Germany, and the result was mainly his work. After the failure of all attempts to bring about a unification of Germany at that time, Dahlmann abandoned politics altogether. He died in 1860. Besides the valuable history of Denmark, Dahlmann produced several important historical works relating to other countries and also edited Neocorus' *Chronicle of Dithmarsh*.

Dalín, O. von, Svea Rikes Historia, Stockholm, 1747-1762, 3 vols.; German translation, Geschichte des Reiches Schwedens, Rostock, 1756-1763, 2 vols

It was as a poet and a writer in *belles-lettres* that *Olof von Dalin* (1708-1763) attained distinction. As the founder of the *Svenska Argus*, modelled on Addison's *Spectator*, which constituted a wholly new departure and appeared in 1733, Dalin attained enormous popularity. A work on criticism, an epic on Swedish liberty, and numerous satires and serious poems are among his writings. The *Svea Rikes Historia* was undertaken at the request of the Swedish diet, and takes a high place in the historical literature of Sweden, it is not without pretensions to be regarded as in some degree a critical history.

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Christian Erslev, a Dane and professor of history at the University of Copenhagen, was born in 1852. His work is distinguished by the critical ability displayed. *Dronning Margrete* presents the Kalmar Union in a new light.

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The long life of *Anders Fryxell*, a native of Dalsland, extended from 1795 to 1881. During fifty-six years of this period his great work *Berättelser ur Svenska historien*, or *Stories from Swedish History*, continued to appear, and was completed with the forty-sixth volume. Only the first three are included in the English translation with its somewhat misleading title, *The History of Sweden*. The work has attained an enormous popularity, and has been praised both for its vivid presentation and for its accuracy in detail, though it is hardly worthy to rank with modern critical histories. The author's original scheme was for a popular work intended to awaken the interest of the masses of the Swedish people in the history of their own country. The idea of investigating the original sources only came to him afterwards. Fryxell had been ordained in 1820, took his degree of *Magister Philosophiæ* at Upsala in 1821, and received the title of professor in 1833. In 1834 he settled at Sunne, of which he became pastor. In 1847 he received a dispensation from his bishop, exempting him from ecclesiastical duties in order that he might devote himself wholly to historical labours. His writings include a Swedish grammar, *Svensk Språklära*, which became the ordinary text-book in Swedish schools, and a work on Swedish literature not highly valued.

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Erik Gustaf Geijer, born in Vermland in 1783, died at Stockholm in 1847, is counted the greatest of Sweden's historians. His versatile genius also won him distinction as a poet and musical composer, and some of his poems have become household words. The opinions advanced in the philosophical introduction to his edition of Thorild's works led to a prosecution (1820), which however ended in his exoneration. In 1838 he started a periodical, the *Literatur-bladet*, to which he contributed a series of essays on the poor laws, when the liberal views he expressed formed a striking contrast to the conservative opinions hitherto supported by him. It was at Upsala that Geijer was educated, and he became lecturer there in 1810. After an interval during which he held a post in the public record office at Stockholm, where he founded the "Gothic Society" and contributed essays and some of his principal poems to the society's organ, *Iduna*, he returned to Upsala as assistant professor of history (1815), and then became professor in ordinary (1817). Elected to the Swedish Academy in 1824, he published a volume of *Svea Rikes Hufvud*, a work on Swedish antiquities. But he abandoned it for the *Svenska Folkets Historia*, his best known work, which also remains unfinished. He had previously (1818-1825), in conjunction with Schröder, prepared a continuation of Fant's *Scriptores Suecicarum medii ævi*. All his historical work is based on extensive researches, and exhibits a critical spirit (then a new thing in Swedish history) as well as a mastery of literary style.

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Gottfried Heinrich Handelmann (1827-1891) was a native of Altona and from 1866 conservator of the Schleswig-Holstein Museum of Antiquities and professor of history at Kiel. He

had previously been one of the leaders of the anti-Danish party in Schleswig-Holstein. Besides the works cited, which enjoy a high reputation, he wrote three others on American history and several books on the archæology of Schleswig-Holstein

Haumant, E., *La guerre du Nord et la paix d'Oliva*, Paris, 1893. — **Headley, J. T.**, *Napoleon and his Marshals*, New York, 1846, 2 vols. — **Headley, P. C.**, *The Island of Fire*, or, *A Thousand Years of the Old Northman's Home: 874-1874*, Boston, 1875. — **Hegewisch, D. G.**, *Continuation of W. E. Christiani's Geschichte der Herzogthümer Schleswig und Holstein unter dem Oldenburgischen Hause*, Kiel, 1802, 2 vols. — **Hellfried, C. F. von**, *Politisk Overskuelse af Englands Overfald paa Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1808; English translation, *Outline of a Political Survey of the English Attack on Denmark 1807*, London, 1809. — **Henne-am-Rhyn, O.**, *Kulturgegeschichte der neuern Zeit*, Leipzig, 1870, 3 vols. — **Hervarar Saga**, in *Scripta Historica Islandorum de gestis veterum Borealiæ*, Copenhagen, 1828-1832. — **Hildebrand, H. O.**, *Svenska folket under hednatiden*, 2nd edition, 1872, German translation, *Das heidnische Zeitalter in Schweden*, Hamburg, 1873; *Sveriges medeltid*, Stockholm, 1879.

Hans Olof Hildebrand (1842-1890), a Swedish writer on the history of civilisation, was educated at Upsala and became antiquary of the kingdom in 1879. His numerous writings include works on archæology relating to various parts of Europe, and he was one of the founders of the Swedish geographical and archæological society.

Holberg, L., *Danmarks Riges-Historie*, Copenhagen, 1753-1754, 1856, 3 vols.; *Berömmelige Mænds og Heltes sammenlignede Historier*, Copenhagen, 1739, 1864-1865, 2 vols.; *Helteinder eller navnkundige Dampers sammenlignede Historier*, Copenhagen, 1745, 1861.

Ludvig Holberg, Baron Holberg, the creator of the Danish comic drama and indeed of Danish literature generally, is esteemed the greatest of the writers in that language. Born at Bergen (Norway) in 1684 and educated at Copenhagen, he endured many vicissitudes in his youth and much poverty, in spite of which he collected sufficient means to extend his travels to Holland, Germany, France, Belgium, and England. In 1720 he became professor of rhetoric and in 1730 professor of history and geology at Copenhagen. His satirical epic, *Peder Paars*, his earliest publication, is one of the great Danish classics, and the numerous comic plays he produced in the new Danish national theatre, of which he was director, were translated into several languages. His writings cover the whole field of the knowledge of his day. Holberg's history of Denmark is still regarded as a masterpiece, though of course written before the methods of critical investigation had been applied to the ancient period of Swedish history. Holberg was ennobled in 1747 and died in 1754.

Holm, P. E., *Danmark-Norges udenrigske Historie 1791-1807*, 1875, 2 vols.; *Danmark-Norges indre Historie 1660-1720*, 1885-1886, 2 vols. — **Horn, F. W.**, and **J. Anderson**, *History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North*, Chicago, 1884. — **Høst, J. K.**, *Struensee og hans Ministerium*, Copenhagen, 1824, 3 vols.; German translation, *Der Graf Struensee und sein Ministerium*, Copenhagen, 1826. — **Hvitfeldt, A.**, *Danmarks Riges Kronike*, Copenhagen, 1597-1604, 10 vols.; 1650-1652, 2 vols.

This chronicle was composed by **Arild Hvitfeldt**, a Danish writer (born in 1549 and died in 1609), who was imperial chancellor. It is highly esteemed and forms one of the principal sources of Danish history.

Jenssen-Tusch, *Die Verschwörung gegen die Königin Karoline Mathilde und die Grafen Struensee und Brandt*, Leipzig, 1864. — **Jørgensen, A. D.**, *Voldemar Sejr*, Copenhagen, 1879. — **Johannes Magnus**, *Historia de Gothorum Sveorumque Regibus*, 1554.

Keary, C. F., *The Vikings in Western Christendom*, New York, 1891, Norway and the Norwegians, London, 1892. — **Keilhau, B. M.**, and others, *Gaea norvegica* (German), Christiania, 1888-1890, 3 vols. — **Keyser, J. R.**, *Norges Historie* (to 1840), Christiania, 1866; continuation by Rygh, to 1887, 1870; *Den norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen*, Christiania, 1856-1858, 2 vols. — **Kjellgren**, *Danmarks Historia*, Stockholm, 1862. — **Kobbe, P. von**, *Schleswig-holsteinsche Geschichte 1694-1808*, Altona, 1834, *Geschichte und Landesbeschreibung des Herzogthums, Lauenburg, Altona*, 1836-1837, 3 vols. — **Kraft, J.**, *Topographisk-statistisk Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge*, Christiania, 1820-1835, 6 parts, in *Historisk-topographisk Haandbog over Kongeriget Norge*, Christiania, 1845-1848. — **Krag, N.**, *Christians III Historie*, Copenhagen, 1776-1779, 3 vols. — **Küster, J.**, see *Neocorus*.

Lacombe, F., *Histoire de Christine 1762*, English translation, London, 1776, 1890. — **Lagerbring, S.**, *Svea rikes historia*, Stockholm, 1769-1783; French, *Abrégé de l'histoire de Suède*, Paris, 1788.

Sven Bring, called *Lagerbring* after 1769, when he was ennobled, was a Swede and professor of history at the University of Lund. His *Svea rikes historia* marks a stage in the development of critical history, but is defective in literary form. Lagerbring was born in 1707 and died in 1787.

Laing, S., *Journal of a Residence in Norway*, London, 1836. — **Larsen, J. E.**, **J. J. A. Worsaae**, **C. F. Allen**, and others, *Antislesvig-helsteenske Fragmenter*, Copenhagen, 1848-1851, 16 books; German version, *Anti-schleswig-holsteinsche Fragmente*, Copenhagen, 1848-1851.

A series of memoirs published for the consistory of Copenhagen University in refutation of the claims of the Schleswig-Holsteiners — **Le Royer de Prade**, *Histoire de Gustave-Adolphe, dit le Grand*, 1686, English translation, London, 1689 — **Lloyd, L.**, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, London, 1870. — **Lund, T. F.**, *Historiske Skitser efter utrykte Kilder*, 1876, *Danmarks og Norges Historie i Slutningem af det 16. Aarhundrede*, 1879-1891, 14 vols., German translation, *Das tägliche Leben in Skandinavien während des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Copenhagen, 1892.

Troels Frederik Lund, born 1840, is the first of a school of historians belonging to the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It was as a government official of his native country, Denmark, that his attention was attracted to the secret archives of the kingdom, and he began the researches which resulted in writings that do not deal with political events, but aim at reconstructing pictures of the daily life and mental and moral position of average people in past times.

Lundblad, K., *Konung Carls XII historia*, Stockholm, 1825-1829, 2 vols.; German translation, Hamburg, 1835-1840, 2 vols.

Maccoll, L. M., *Story of Iceland*, London, 1887. — **Magnus, J.**, *Historia de Gothorum Sveorumque Regibus*, Rome, 1554 — **Mallet, P. H.**, *Introduction à l'histoire de Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1755-1756; English translation as *Northern Antiquities*, 1770, London, 1847, in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*, *Histoire de Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1758-1777, Geneva, 1788, 9 vols.

Paul Henri Mallet, a Swiss of Geneva, born 1730, was appointed professor of *belles-lettres* in the Academy of Copenhagen, 1732. After the publication of the *Introduction* he was appointed tutor to the prince of Denmark. In 1760 he returned to teach history in Geneva, and afterwards travelled in Italy and England. On the outbreak of the French Revolution he quitted Switzerland, but returned in 1801 and died there in 1807. Mallet's *Introduction*, or *Northern Antiquities*, is a work of great research, though superseded by modern discoveries. It contained the first French translation of the *Prose Edda* which was reproduced in Bishop Percy's English translation (*Northern Antiquities*) of 1770. The English edition of 1847 contains a revised translation of the *Edda*.

Marmier, X., *Histoire de l'Islande*, in *P. Gaimard's Voyage en Islande*, Paris, 1839-1843. *Histoire de la Littérature en Danemark et en Suède*, Paris, 1839. — **Maurer, K.**, *Die Entstehung des isländischen Staates und seiner Verfassung*, Munich, 1852, *Die Belehrung des norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthum*, Munich, 1855-1856, 2 vols., *Island von seiner ersten Entdeckung bis zum Untergange des Freistaates*, Munich, 1874, *Zur politischen Geschichte Islands*, Leipzig, 1880.

Konrad Maurer, a modern German authority on the history of Iceland, was born at Frankenthal, in the Rhenish Palatinate, in 1823, and from 1847 to 1893 was professor of northern law at Munich. In 1876 he was invited to Christiania to deliver lectures on ancient Norwegian law.

Maximilian, Emanuel, Prince of Würtemberg, *Reisen und Campagnen durch Teutschland, in Polen, Lithauen, Roth und Weiss Reussland, Frankfurt, Leipsic*, 1739 — **Mellin, G. H.**, *Stockholm and its Environs* (from the Swedish), Stockholm, 1841 — **Meredith, W. A.**, *Memorials of Charles (XIV) John, King of Sweden*, 1829. — **Mesmes, J. A.**, *Count d'Avauz, Négociations de M le comte d'Avauz, ambassadeur extraordinaire à la cour de Suède*, 1693, 1697, 1698, Utrecht, 1882-1883. — **Meursius (J. van Meurs)**, *Historia Danica*, Amsterdam, 1628, Florence, 1746.

Johannes Meursius, or *Jan van Meurs*, was a Dutchman, born near the Hague in 1579. He became professor of Greek at Leyden and historiographer to the states of Holland. His connection with the family of Barneveld having involved him in trouble with the Dutch government, he accepted a professorship of history at Soró, where he took up his residence in 1635. He became historiographer to the king of Denmark and died in 1639. His Danish history is written in Latin and is a compilation, offering useful materials.

Michell, T., *History of the Scotch Expedition to Norway*, 1612, London, 1886. — **Middleton, J. N.**, article on Sculpture in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* — **Mill, H. R.**, article on Geography in the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* — **Molbech, C.**, *Fortællinger af den danske Historie*, Copenhagen, 1837-1838, 2 vols. — **Molesworth, Lord**, an account of Denmark in the year 1692, London, 1694. — **Monteith, General W.**, *Narrative of the Conquest of Finland by the Russians*, 1808-1809, London, 1854. — **Montelius, O.** (with others), *Sveriges Historia 1875*, *Om Livet i Sverige under Hednatiden*, 2d edition 1878, German translation, *Die Kultur Schwedens in vorchristlicher Zeit*, Berlin, 1885, English translation, London, 1888, *Über die Einwanderungen unserer Vorfahren in dem Norden* (German translation by J. Nestorff), 1884.

Oskar Montelius, a Swedish antiquarian born in 1843 and since 1888 professor of the Swedish State Museum of History, was commissioned to arrange the collections of that institution. His numerous writings on ancient civilisation have been translated into various languages.

Mosheim, J. L. von, *Institutiones historiæ ecclesiasticæ*, Helmstedt, 1755, English translation, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, London, 1850, 4 vols., Boston 1892. — **Müller, P. E.**, *Sagabibliothek*, Copenhagen, 1816-1819, 8 vols.; German translation, Berlin, 1816, Frankfurt on

the Main, 1832 — **Munch**, P. A., *Det norske Folks Historie* (to 1337), Christiania, 1851-1863, 8 vols., German translation of vols. 1-4, Lubeck, 1853-1854, 2 vols.

Peder Andreas Munch, the chief historian of whom Norway has to boast, was distinguished as philologist and archæologist. He was born at Christiania in 1810 and educated at the university there, becoming professor of history in 1841. In conjunction with J. R. Keyser he edited the ancient Norwegian laws and also originated a system of Icelandic orthography. He died in Rome in 1863.

Münter, B., *Bekehrungsgeschichte des Grafen von Struensee*, Copenhagen, 1773. — **Münter**, F. C. K. H., *Kirchengeschichte von Danemark und Norwegen*, Leipsic, 1823-1833, 8 vols.

Neocorus (Johann Kuster), *Chronik von Ditmarschen in sächsischen Sprache* (edited by F. C. Dahlmann), Kiel, 1827, 2 vols. — **Nervo**, J. B. R. G., *Gustave III., roi de Suède, et Anckarström*, 1746-1793, Paris, 1816. — **Nicoll**, J., *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and Faroe Islands*, Edinburgh, 1844. — **Nielsen**, Y., *Norges Historie efter 1814*, Christiania, 1832-1892, 3 vols. — **Nilsson**, S., *Skandinaviska Nordens Urinvånare*, Christiania, 1838-1843, 1866-1872; English translation by Sir J. Lubbock, *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*, London, 1868.

Oncken, W., *Das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen*, Berlin, 1820-1832, 2 vols. **Oscar II., King of Sweden**, Carl XII., English translation, London, 1879. — **Otte**, E. C., *Scandinavian History*, London, 1874. — **Öttinger**, E. M., *Geschichte des dänischen Holes von Christian II bis Friedrich VII.*, Hamburg, 1857-1859, 8 vols.

Paludan-Müller, K. P. P., *De forste Konger af den oldenborgske Slægt*, 1874, *Er Kong Carl XII. falden ved Svigermord*. — **Peringskiöld**, J. *Peringer de*, *Monumenta Sueo-Gothica*, Stockholm, 1710-1719. — **Petersen**, N. M., *Danmarks Historie i Hedenold*, Copenhagen, 1834-1838, 1854. — **Petri**, O., *Svea cronika* (*chronica Regum Danorum*), in *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii ævi*, Upsala, 1818. — **Pontoppidan**, E., *Kurtzgefaste Reformations-Historie der dänischen Kirche*, Lubeck, 1734, *Annales ecclesiæ Danicæ*, or, *Kirchen-historie des Reichs Dänemark*, Copenhagen, 1741-1752, 4 vols.

Erik Pontoppidan, born 1698, died 1764, was bishop of Bergen and afterwards chancellor of Copenhagen University. His history of the reformation of the Danish church contains many curious details and furnishes entertaining reading.

Posselt, E. L., *Geschichte Gustafs III.*, Carlsruhe, 1792, *Strasburg*, 1793. — **Pufendorf**, S. von, *De rebus Suecicis* (1630-1654), Utrecht, 1686, English translation, *The Complete History of Sweden*, translated and continued to 1701, London, 1702, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueciæ rege gestis*, Nuremberg, 1696, 2 vols.

The fame of **Samuel Pufendorf**, born 1632, was acquired by his writings on natural and civil law, in which he attacked the German governments, and which created a great stir both on account of the novelty of the principles advanced and their political tendencies. Pufendorf's connection with Sweden began in 1658, when he was tutor in the family of the Swedish ambassador at Copenhagen, and was imprisoned with the rest of the ambassador's suite on the occasion of the invasion of Denmark by Charles (X) Gustavus. In 1670 Pufendorf gave up the chair of the law of nature and nations, which in 1661 had been created for him at Heidelberg, and transferred his activity to the university which the Swedish government had just established at Lund, and in 1677 he became royal historiographer of Sweden. In the succeeding years he wrote his works on Swedish history, but in 1688 he exchanged his office for that of historiographer to the elector of Brandenburg, and it was at Berlin that he died in 1694.

Rambaud, A., *Histoire de la Russie*, Paris, 1878. — **Repp**, T. G., *A Historical Treatise on Trial by Jury in Scandinavia*, Edinburgh, London, 1832. — **Rink**, H. J., *Om Grönlands Inland* (No. 9 *Fra Videnskabens Verden*, 1875), English translation as *Danish Greenland*, London, 1877. — **Robinson**, J., *Account of Sweden*, 1717. — **Rudbeck**, O., *Atlantica*, Upsala, 1679-1702, 3 vols.

Saraauw, C. F. K., *Die Feldzüge Karls XII.*, Leipsic, 1880. — **Sarrans**, *Histoire de Bernadotte*, Charles XIV Jean, Paris, 1845, 2 vols. — **Sars**, E., *Udsigt over den norske Historie*, Christiania, 1871-1891, 4 parts. — **Saxo Grammaticus**, *Historia Danica*, edited by K. Pedersen, Paris, 1514, P. E. Müller and Velschow, Copenhagen, 1839-1858, A. Holder's edition, Strasburg, 1886, English translation by O. Elton (Books 1-2), London, 1894.

Saxo Grammaticus or **Longus** is the oldest of Danish chroniclers. He lived in the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, and was apparently secretary to Archbishop Absalon, for whom he wrote, and whose statements are the authority for much of the portion dealing with the events of the writer's own day. This part, giving the narrative of the age of Valdemar the Great and the wars with the Wends, is the only part that is authentic, and forms the chief and very valuable source for the history of that period. The earlier sections, ascending to remote antiquity, are based almost wholly on poems and oral tradition, and incorporate many wonderful and picturesque legends, including that of Hamlet, or Amleth.

Saxon Chronicle, edited by B Thorpe (in Rolls Series), London, 1861, 2 vols. — **Schäfer**, D., Die Hansestädte und König Waldemar (IV), Jena, 1879; continuation of Dahlmann's Geschichte von Dänemark, Gotha, 1893. — **Schefer**, C., Bernadotte Roi, 1899. — **Schiern**, Bidrag til Oplysning af Katastrophen den 17 Januar, 1772, Copenhagen, 1871. — **Schlegel**, J. H., Geschichte der Könige von Dänemark aus dem oldenburgischen Stamm, Copenhagen, Leipsic, 1777, 2 vols. — **Schlosser**, F. C., Geschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Sturze des französischen Kaiserreichs, Frankfurt, 1836-40, 6 vols. — **Schlozer**, K. von, Verfall und Untergang der Hansa und des deutschen Ordens in den Ostseeländern, Berlin, 1853. — **Schmidt**, F., Schweden unter Karl XIV Johann, Heidelberg, 1843. — **Schöningh**, G., Norges Riges Historie (to 995), Sorø, 1771, 4 vols. — **Schouw**, J. F., Stimmene aus Dänemark über die Schleswigschen Verhältnisse (a collection of memoirs translated from the Danish weekly review, *Dansk Ugeskrift*), Copenhagen, 1843. — **Schweitzer**, Ph., Island; Land und Leute, Geschichte, Litteratur und Sprache, Leipsic, 1885. — **Scott**, C. H., The Danes and the Swedes, London, 1856. — **Sheridan**, C. F., History of the Late Revolution in Sweden, London, 1778. — **Sidgwick**, C., Story of Norway, in Historical Handbooks, London, 1885. — **Sime**, J., article on history of Sweden in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **Sinding**, P. C., History of Scandinavia, New York, 1858. — **Slinge**, N., Kong Christiern IV, Historie, Copenhagen, 1794, German translation, Christian IV, Hæver, 1864. — **Snorre Sturleson**, Heimskringla, or, Noregs-konunga sogur, Stockholm, 1697, Christiania, 1868, Copenhagen, 1893; English translation by S. Laing, Heimskringla, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, London, 1844, 1889.

The history of the great Icelandic writer *Snorre (Snorri or Snorro) Sturleson* (or *Sturluson*) is typical of his day. Born in 1179, he was brought up by Jon Loftsson, a powerful chief, and also a man of great learning, and soon won renown as a poet. Snorre's marriage with the daughter of a wealthy priest raised him to affluence, and he acquired political distinction, attaining to the office of *lögsgumayr* or lawman, i. e. president of the Icelandic legislative assembly. In 1218 he was summoned to Norway by King Hakon the Old, and was the means of averting a Norwegian invasion of Iceland. But he afterwards quarrelled with Hakon, then joined in a revolt against him, and it was at the king's instigation that in 1241 Snorre was murdered by his own sons-in-law at his house of Reykjaholt. The Heimskringla, so named from the first words of a defective manuscript, *Kringla heimsins (orbis terrarum)*, is a series of biographies of Norwegian kings down to Sverri (1177), and is written with a good deal of critical discrimination and great power of picturesque narrative. The extant manuscripts have been much abbreviated by transcribers, with the exception of the saga of St. Olaf. Laing's English version follows a Danish manuscript. The *Younger* or *Prose Edda* also bears Snorre's name as the *Snorra-Edda*. It contains the *Gylfaginning*, the most valued source of Scandinavian mythology, but probably the arrangement only is due to Snorre.

Sörensen, C. Th., Den anden Slesvigske Krig, 1863, 3 vols. — **Sörensen**, S., Norway (Nations of the World), New York, 1901. — **Spittler**, L. T. von, Geschichte der dänischen Revolution 1660, Berlin, 1796. — **Steenstrup**, J., Normannerne, Copenhagen, 1876-1882, 4 vols.

A work of the first rank. The author, *Johannes Steenstrup*, an energetic investigator of antiquity, was born in 1844 and in 1877 became professor of the science of northern antiquities at the University of Copenhagen.

Stevens, J. L., History of Gustavus Adolphus, London, 1885. — **Storm**, A. V., Pages of Early Danish History from the Runic Monuments of Sleswick and Jutland, London, 1901. — **Storm**, G., Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie, Christiania, 1878; Monumenta historica Norvegiæ, Christiania, 1880. — **Strinnholm**, A. M., Svenska folkets historia under kunungarna af Wassåätten [to 1544], Stockholm, 1819-1824, 3 vols.; Svenska folkets historia från äldsta till närvarande tider [to 1819], 1834-1854, 5 vols. — **Strodtmann**, A., Das geistige Leben in Danemark, Berlin, 1873. — **Strombeck**, F. C. von, Memorabilien aus dem Leben und der Regierung des Königs Karl XIV, Brunswick, 1842. — **Suhm**, P. F., Historie af Danmark fra de ældste Tider til Aar 1400, Copenhagen, 1782-1828, 14 vols., German translation, Leipsic, 1803-1804. — **Svenskt Diplomatarium**, Stockholm, 1819-1878, 9 vols.

Tacitus, C., Germania, Venice, 1470, London, 1882. — **Terlon**, H. de, Mémoires, Paris, 1681, 2 vols.

These memoirs contain an account of the expedition of Charles (X) Gustavus across the ice for the invasion of Denmark. The writer was himself present with the troops.

Theoderich the Monk, Historia de regibus vetustis norvegicis, in Storm's Monumenta historica Norvegiæ. — **Thorpe**, B., Northern Mythology, London, 1851, 3 vols. — **Thorsøe**, Den danske Stats politiske Historie 1800-1864, 1873-1889, 4 vols. — **Thrige**, Danmarks Historie i vort Aarhundrede, 1889, 2 vols. — **Torffæus**, Th., Historia rerum norvegicarum, Copenhagen, 1711; Historia rerum Orcadensium, 1715.

Thormodr Torfæus or *Torfason*, an Icelander by birth, became royal historiographer of Denmark under Christian V and Frederick IV. He was well versed in northern antiquities according to the knowledge of his day, and wrote a number of works in Latin.

Touchard-Lafosse, G., Histoire de Charles XIV, Paris, 1838. — **Treitschke**, H. von, Gustaf Adolf und Deutschlands Freiheit. — **Trench**, R. C., Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, London, 1872, 1886. — **Turgenson**, C., Land of the Vikings, London, 1885.

Usinger, R., *Deutsch-danische Geschichte 1189-1227*, Berlin, 1863.

Vaupell, Kampen for Sønderylland 1848-1850, Copenhagen, 1863-1867, 3 vols. — Vertot, R. Aubert de, *Histoire des Révolutions de Suède*, Paris, 1695, English translation, London, 1729. — Voltaire, F. M. Arouet de, *Histoire de Charles XII*, Paris, 1731, in *Œuvres*, 1877-1885, English translation, London, 1807, New York, 1901.

This work is valued more for its literary merit than for its historic accuracy.

Waltz, G., *Schleswig-Holsteins Geschichte*, Göttingen, 1851-1854, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein*, Kiel, 1863, *Kurze Schleswig-holsteinsche Landesgeschichte*, Kiel, 1864.

Georg Waltz (1813-1886), an eminent German historian, was a native of the duchy of Schleswig and took an active part in politics, his sympathies being in favour of the annexation of Schleswig to Germany. He was coadjutor of Pertz in editing the great *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, in 1842 was appointed professor of history at Kiel, and in 1847 at Göttingen. In 1848 he represented the revolted duchies at Berlin and then was delegate for Kiel at the Frankfurt assembly. In 1875 he became chief editor of the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. As an historian he is careful and sound, but does not possess an attractive style.

Watson, P. B., *The Swedish Revolution under Gustavus Vasa*, London, 1889 — Weidling, *Schwedische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Gotha, 1882 — Weitmeyer, H., *Denmark*, London, 1891. — Wheaton, H., *History of the Northmen*, 1831 — Whitelock, B., *A journal of the Swedish embassy in the years 1653 and 1654*, London, 1855. — Wittich, K., *Struensee*, Leipzig, 1879. — Wittman, P., *Kurzer Abriss des Schwedischen Geschichte*, Breslau, 1896 — Worsaae, J. J. A., *Danmarks Oldtid oplyst vnd Oldsager og Gravhoe*, Copenhagen, 1843, English translation, *Denmark's Old Time illustrated by Old Things*, London, 1849; *Minder om de Danske og Nordmaendene i England, Skotland og Irland*, Copenhagen, 1851, English translation, *An account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, London, 1852.

Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821-1885), the eminent Danish archæologist, was inspector of the monuments of antiquity throughout Denmark and subsequently director of the Museum of Antiquities. His account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland was the fruit of travels in those countries between 1846 and 1851.

Wraxall, F. C. L., *Visit to the Seat of War in the North*, London, 1854, *Life and Times of Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark and Norway*, London, 1864, 3 vols.





A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIA

DENMARK

- B.C. 850 Pytheas, supposedly a Greek, travels in the far North, and returns to write remarkable accounts of a land which he calls Thule. Little further is heard of the land or its people until the fierce "Cimbri" drift south to be repulsed by the Romans.
- 101 Defeat of the Cimbri at Verona.
- 100 Migration of **Odin** and his followers, the Svear. He founds the empire of the Svear, and from one of his sons descend the Ynglings, who long hold sway over Sweden and Norway. Another son, **Skiold**, founds the Danish monarchy; but it cannot be said to have even a semblance of unity until the time.
- A.D. 85 of **Dan Mykillati**, the sixth in descent from Skiold. His son, **Frode the Peaceful**, is the reigning monarch at the beginning of the Christian era.
- 623 **Ivar Vildadme** conquers Sweden and joins it to Denmark. His grandson, **Harold Hildetand**, inherits both kingdoms. **Sigurd Ring**, his nephew, kills him in battle, and the throne falls to **Ragnar Lodbrok**.
- 794 Death of Ragnar; **Sigurd (Sivard)** succeeds to a least part of Denmark.
- 803 Death of Sigurd and succession of **Harde Knud**, his son. Another son, **Eric I**, seems to have ruled over some part of Denmark. **Eric II** follows, his reign overlapping that of **Gorm the Old**.
- 883 who violently opposes the spread of Christianity. He subdues all the petty kings and 935 abdicates.
- 941 Gorm dies and his son **Harold (II) Bluetooth** succeeds. He is compelled by the emperor to accept Christianity.
- 991 **Sweyn Splitbeard** succeeds. The invasion of England marks his reign. Massacre of the Danes, and Sweyn's terrible retribution. He becomes king of England and dies soon after—supposedly by assassination.
- 1014 **Canute** (Canute the Great) is proclaimed by the Danes. Before his death he divides his states (consisting of Denmark, England, Norway, and part of Sweden) among his sons. The government of Denmark devolves
- 1035 upon **Harthacnut**. He makes a compact with Magnus of Norway, by which, upon the death of Harthacnut,
- 1044 **Magnus the Good** becomes joint king of Denmark and Norway. His claim is disputed by Svend Estridsen, a son of Ulf Jarl and Estrida, sister to Canute the Great. **Magnus** dies during the war and
- 1047 **Sven Estridsen** obtains the throne. He is the patron of Adam of Bremen.
- 1076 **Harold Hejn**, his son, succeeds. After a short reign he dies.

- 1080 and his brother, **Knud the Saint**, is called to the throne. He is killed in a rebellion.
- 1086 and his brother, **Olaf the Hungry**, is recalled from exile to rule over Denmark. Upon his death
- 1095 another brother, **Eric Elegod**, succeeds. He undertakes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and dies at Cyprus.
- 1108 **Niels**, his brother, is elected king by the people, setting aside a son of Eric. He is killed,
- 1134 and is succeeded by **Eric Emun**, who puts to death his brother and seven of his brother's sons. After a short but cruel reign he is murdered.
- 1137 The people's choice falls upon a nephew of the dead king, **Eric the Lamb**. His reign, feeble and inglorious, is followed by civil strife. Three pretenders to the throne appear,
- 1147 of whom two, **Knud V** and **Svend**, unite to oust the other. The Wends meantime ravage the borderlands, even penetrating into the interior. **Valdemar**, son of **Knud Lavard** (the Lord), marches against the two kings, and a fierce struggle ensues,
- 1157 from which **Valdemar (I) the Great** emerges triumphant, and a period of glory and prosperity begins in Denmark. He defends his frontiers against the Wends, and wins the affection of his people and the respect of other nations. After his death
- 1182 **Knud VI**, his son, succeeds. The emperor Frederick Barbarossa, infuriated by repeated failures to reduce Denmark to vassalage, incites the bishop **Valdemar**, natural son of **Canute the Great**, and **Sverri**, king of Norway, against **Canute**. He triumphs over all his enemies, mainly by aid of the military experience of his brother, who upon his death without issue
- 1202 succeeds him as **Valdemar (II) the Victorious**. He makes brilliant conquests in the north of Germany.
- 1210 He conquers a large part of Prussia and forces the inhabitants to accept Christianity.
- 1219 He conducts the celebrated expedition into Esthonia, which he utterly subdues. Denmark has now reached a height of power undreamed of since **Canute the Great**. But disaster waits in the person of **Henry of Schwerin**, who captures the king while he is reposing in the woods after the chase, and keeps him prisoner for three years, during which utter confusion reigns in Denmark and the newly subdued countries, when
- 1225 he is released, after signing an extortionate treaty, he finds a deplorable state of affairs, which he spends his remaining years in straightening out, until his death in
- 1241 He commits the fatal error of dividing his kingdom among his sons, so that the heir, **Eric Flovpenning**, succeeds to a curtailed dominion. A quarrel is the inevitable outcome. Eric is foully murdered by his brother,
- 1250 and the fratricide **Abel** comes to the throne, for a brief two years, when
- 1252 he loses his life in an expedition against the Frisians. His sons are set aside, and his brother, **Christopher I**, is called to the throne, to the great future detriment of Danish entreaty. His reign is occupied with fierce religious strife, and he is poisoned
- 1259 by a provost of the chapter, **Arnfest**. His son, **Eric Clipping**, being but ten years old, the situation is mastered by the prudence and self-possession of **Margaret**, the queen-mother. Strife at home and abroad bring neither glory nor advantage to Eric, and
- 1286 he falls a victim to a conspiracy. His son, **Eric Menved**, falls heir to the struggle between church and state; his brother **Christopher** heads a rebellion against him, and the nobility join the clergy in keeping up civil strife
- 1319 Eric dies childless, and the kingdom reverts to his brother, **Christopher II**, in spite of Eric's warnings to the people. He robs his subjects right and left, and
- 1326 they depose him and elect **Valdemar**, duke of Schleswig (South Jutland), to the kingship. He divides up the kingdom among his partisans.
- 1330 The exiled king seizes the opportunity to regain his kingdom. He is humiliated and defeated in all his undertakings, and dies,
- 1332 leaving Denmark to suffer all the sorrows of a kingless kingdom during eight unhappy years—divided up among a dozen petty princes, quarrelling each with the rest over his share in her dismemberment. **Valdemar**, the youngest son of **Christopher II**, watches the progress of events from his retreat in Germany, where he is sought out by a number of distinguished Danes, who beg him to come to the rescue. He is crowned as **Valdemar (III) Atterdag** (the Restorer)
- 1340 and during years of anxiety, labor, combat, and peril he toils for the reunion of Denmark. His greatest hindrance is the ill-will of his own people, who resent his war expenditures. Revolt ensues.
- 1350 The Black Death ravages the country.
- 1360 **Valdemar** concludes a peace with his foreign enemies, and also, at the diet of **Kallundborg**, comes to an understanding with his subjects, which endures only until
- 1368 when the malcontents unite with foreign foes and expel **Valdemar**, who is permitted to return only upon signing
- 1372 the treaty dictated by the Hanseatic League
- 1375 Sudden death of **Valdemar** and accession of his grandson **Olaf**, son of King **Hakon** of Norway and **Margaret** of Denmark. Upon the death of **Hakon**
- 1380 **Olaf** becomes king of Norway, fusing the two countries in a union which continues for centuries.

- 1387 He dies, leaving his mother **Margaret** to deal with **Albert of Mecklenburg**, whom she conquers
- 1397 **Margaret** unites Sweden with Denmark and Norway by the "Kalmar Union."
- 1412 Upon her death her grand-nephew, **Eric of Pomerania**, succeeds.
- 1439 Revolt of Sweden under **Eric's** incompetent rule. He is deposed and
- 1440 his nephew, **Christopher of Bavaria**, is elected.
- 1448 Death of **Christopher**. Denmark elects **Christian (I)** of Oldenburg and withdraws from the Union. **Christian** proves himself an improvident and imprudent monarch, and the country loses nothing by his death.
- 1481 and the accession of his son, **Hans**, who keeps up the struggle with Sweden.
- 1500 He proceeds against the **Ditmarshians**, who defeat him miserably. **Hans** dies
- 1513 after a long and remarkable reign **Christian II**, his son, succeeds, and accomplishes the end for which his father laboured in vain—the conquest of Sweden; which by his cruelty he loses again. Hated at home and despised abroad, he is deposed
- 1523 and his uncle, **Frederick I**, is elected in his stead. He is harassed by the deposed king, and finally captures and imprisons him.
- 1533 Death of **Frederick**. Interregnum.
- 1534 **Frederick's** son, **Christian III**, is elected, but meets with much opposition. Upon his recognised establishment
- 1536 he sets about the introduction of the Reformation. This enterprise accomplished, he dies in
- 1559 His son succeeds as **Frederick II**. He reduces the **Ditmarshians** to submission.
- 1563 Beginning of the Seven Years' War, which ends
- 1570 with the Peace of Stettin, a treaty extremely advantageous to Denmark. **Tycho Brahe**, **André Vedel**, and the celebrated financier **Peter Oxe** are among the stars that illumine this reign, only to be extinguished by ignorance and persecution in that which follows.
- 1588 Death of **Frederick**. The ambitious **Rigsraad** overrules the queen-mother **Sophie's** claim to the regency, and appoints four of its members guardians of the state during the minority of **Christian IV**. He constructs a splendid fleet, which does service under his personal direction
- 1611 in the war of Kalmar with Sweden. In this war a body of Scottish auxiliaries for the Swedes, under Colonel **Sinclair**, perishes at **Gudbrandsdal**
- 1613 Peace with Sweden concluded, and a period of peace and progress follows, till
- 1625 **Christian** is dragged into the Thirty Years' War, with disastrous results, deserted by his allies, beaten by his enemies, he is forced to sign
- 1629 the Treaty of **Lübeck**. His efforts to repair the exhausted finances and to relieve the serious public distress are met with indifference by a corrupt and unpatriotic nobility. Popular indignation finds expression in the diatribes of the **Dybvads**, father and son, condemned to imprisonment and confiscation for their audacity. The perversity of the aristocracy neutralises the generous efforts of the king. They refuse his entreaties for war supplies, and the outbreak of the Swedish war
- 1643 finds Denmark totally unprepared. After desperate efforts to save a cause foredoomed to failure by the amazing indifference of the nobles, the valiant **Christian** is constrained to sign
- 1645 the Peace of **Brömsebro**. He dies in the beginning of
- 1648 and several months ensue during which the throne is vacant, before the **Rigsraad** agree upon the succession of the late king's son as **Frederick III**. His attempts to raise the country out of the abyss of ruin and despair are no more successful than were those of his father, and the war into which she is forced
- 1657 finds Denmark with neither fleet nor army, nor yet money to provide them. Her most vindictive enemy is the traitor **Korfits Ulfeldt**, by whose machinations is concluded
- 1658 the ruinous Peace of **Roeskilde**, which, however, fails to satisfy the ravenous appetite of **Charles X** of Sweden. He prepares to obliterate the identity of Denmark, but having counted without the courage invoked by a desperate situation, the determination of the king, and the interference of Holland, he is subjected
- 1659 to a crushing defeat before Copenhagen, and another near **Nyborg** in the same year.
- 1660 England, Holland, and France oblige the combatants to sign the Treaty of Copenhagen. The long-pent-up popular bitterness finally forces the **Rigsraad** to important concessions. The king is proclaimed a hereditary monarch with absolute sovereignty. **Ulfeldt**, suspected in Sweden of double treachery, flees to Denmark, where he is accused of traitorous relations with Holland; he is tried and
- 1668 condemned to death, but escapes and dies in misery the following year
- 1687 A war with England threatens, but is settled by the Peace of **Breda**.
- 1670 Death of the king. His son, **Christian V**, mounts the throne without signing the capitulation. His vanity leads him to extend fresh privileges to an already too arrogant aristocracy, and later to create a "high nobility," which, drawn mainly from German sources, casts the old order into the shade.
- 1675 War with Sweden declared. The Treaty of **Rendsburg** signed by the duke of **Gottorp**, which he breaks at the first opportunity. **Wisnar** taken by the Danes; but fortune deserts them and they lose ground at every step,

- 1676 The blame of these evil fortunes falls upon Griffenfeldt, who is arrested and condemned to life imprisonment. This wise head removed, matters go from bad to worse, and
- 1679 the Danes are forced to conclude the disadvantageous Peace of Fontainebleau with France and that of Lund with Sweden, and to remit to the duke of Gottorp all possessions ceded by him in the Treaty of Rendsburg.
- 1699 Death of the weak and dissolute king. **Frederick IV** inherits with his realm his father's quarrel with the duke of Gottorp.
- 1709 Frederick gathers an army and sets out to reconquer the provinces of Skåne from Sweden.
- 1712 The Danes suffer a bloody defeat at Gadebusch.
- 1713 Signal successes for the Danes in Schleswig; and at sea they are not less fortunate. The admiral Tordenskjold graces this epoch. Upon the death of Charles XII
- 1718 the new Swedish government negotiates for peace, which is concluded
- 1720 at Frederiksborg with happy and honourable results for Denmark.
- 1721 Schleswig annexed to Denmark, becoming a source of anxiety and constant dispute for the latter.
- 1730 Death of Frederick. **Christian VI** inherits an extended territory and an exchequer refilled by his father's economies. By his exaggerated religious zeal and his severities toward the rural population he renders himself extremely unpopular. Peace with other nations is preserved at the sword's point during his reign. Commerce, art, science, and navigation flourish.
- 1744 Denmark is forced to take over Greenland, to prevent the extinction of the trade of that island.
- 1746 At his death Christian is both mourned for his virtues and execrated for his deficiencies. His son **Frederick V** is on the contrary universally beloved. He lifts the pall spread over the country by his father's gloomy piety. Amicable relations with Sweden are established. The sudden death of the Russian czar, Peter III, averts a war with that country. Industry and the arts and sciences continue to develop. The great blot on the bright picture is the condition of the finances, wretchedly administered; the nobility, too, are accorded dangerous privileges, and the misery of the rural classes obtains but momentary alleviation.
- 1766 Succession of **Christian VII** upon the death of his father.
- 1767 Schleswig and part of Holstein amicably ceded to the Danes by the Gottorp line in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst.
- 1770 Struensee, the king's favourite and prime minister, rises to an almost unprecedented authority. His innovations excite the animosity of a sober and thrifty race. He attempts to maintain his position by force, which leads to an armed resistance. He is taken by the people
- 1772 and condemned to a shameful death. Ove Guldberg assumes the direction of affairs.
- 1778 Bernstorff concludes negotiations for an armed neutrality between Denmark and Russia; Russia withdraws, and a storm threatens, but is averted
- 1780 by the treaty of July, signed by all the neutral powers and respected by the belligerents. Another treaty concluded by Bernstorff a few days previously with England is considered by Russia so detrimental to her own interests that Guldberg finds it necessary to dismiss that official. East Indian commerce increases, but so does the public debt, and the misery of the peasants augments from year to year.
- 1784 The king formally dismisses Guldberg, and the crown prince assumes the reins of government, since Christian remains incompetent until his death. The crown prince does much towards the amelioration of the condition of the rural classes; he also occupies himself with affairs in Schleswig-Holstein; he reinstates Andreas Bernstorff, minister of foreign affairs
- 1788 By her alliance with Russia Denmark is forced on her behalf into a war with Sweden, to which England and Prussia put a peremptory stop. During the French Revolution Bernstorff maintains for Denmark a prudent neutrality, obtaining for her an interval of signal prosperity
- 1797 Death of Bernstorff, a clash with England follows. Denmark joins the new "armed neutrality" and England declares war. The English under Parker and Nelson win in resulting naval encounter. Alexander succeeds at this time to the throne of Russia with an entirely different policy from that of his predecessor, and peace is concluded between the three countries. Quiet reigns until
- 1807 when Napoleon forces Denmark into a new war with England. The English under Wellington take Copenhagen. The Danish fleet is surrendered to the enemy. Sweden, with an eye to Norway, takes part in the struggle.
- 1808 Death of the figure-head king; the crown prince becomes **Frederick VI**.
- 1809 The Treaty of Jönköping signed by Denmark and Sweden. Shortly afterwards Charles John of Sweden reopens the campaign
- 1813 Battle of Sehested. The campaign ends in
- 1814 with the Peace of Kiel, by which Denmark loses Norway. Peace with England is concluded the same year.
- 1839 Death of Frederick VI. after a long and disastrous reign; succession of **Christian VIII**,

- who is scarcely established on the throne before an endless struggle begins over the constitution. The affairs of Schleswig-Holstein become more hopelessly entangled. Ill feeling increases, and a violent rupture is averted
- 1848 only by the death of the king. **Frederick VII** takes up the burden. He begins by drawing up the new constitution long refused by his father, but its terms are far from satisfactory to the people. Holstein revolts. Its improvised army is beaten with great slaughter at Bov. The king of Prussia sends an army to the aid of the insurrectionists, and the Danes are beaten before the city of Schleswig, victorious at Sundewitt, but suffer naval disasters
- 1849 Battle of Fredericia won by the Danes, followed by the armistice of Berlin.
- 1850 Reopening of hostilities. Battles of Helligbæk and Idstedt. Siege of Friedrichstadt. Treaty of London regulates the Danish succession.
- 1851 An Austrian army occupies Holstein with a view to keeping down insurrection.
- 1852 Manifest of the 28th of January. Charles Moltke becomes minister of Schleswig and Reventlow-Crimmil of Holstein. The state of Danish politics rouses German opposition. None of the Danish propositions proves favorable to the estates of Schleswig and Holstein. The diet of Frankfort interferes and
- 1861 refuses to sanction the letters-patent of 1859 or the budget of 1861-1862. The situation becomes more and more critical. The storm is on the point of breaking when a truce is called by the death
- 1863 of **Frederick VII**. By virtue of the Treaty of London, Prince Christian of Glucksburg succeeds as **Christian IX**. The duke of Augustenburg disputes his claim. A number of the German princes uphold **Frederick of Augustenburg**; all Germany feels the effects of the agitation. Pressed by Russia, England, and France, the Danish government decides to evacuate Holstein. The minister Hall gives in his resignation
- 1864 Denmark is deserted by the government of Sweden and Norway. Prussia and Austria occupy Holstein. They invade Jutland. At the conference of London convoked by England the Germans refuse to consider any proposed adjustment, and hostilities recommence. By the Treaty of Vienna the Danes are obliged to give up Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia and Austria, who immediately fall out with each other
- 1866 The Treaty of Prague obliges the emperor of Austria to cede to the king of Prussia all right over Schleswig-Holstein
- 1870 With the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War Denmark begins to hope for the restoration of Schleswig-Holstein, but these hopes come to naught. At home she is occupied with constitutional struggles, between the king and the *Landsting* on the one side, and the *Folkething* on the other, which are not brought to any satisfactory conclusion till
- 1901 when by the defeat of the conservatives the king is brought to consent to a change of policy and of system.
- 1906 Death of **Christian IX** and accession of **Frederick VIII**.
- 1907 **Frederick VIII** visits Iceland.

NORWAY

- It is with **Halfdan the Black** that the authentic history of Norway begins. But long before his time the terrible Vikings were known and dreaded by their southern neighbours. "*A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine,*" prayed the pious Frenchman, and in England a day of each week was set apart for prayer for aid against the dreaded Northmen. The Ynglings were their rulers, one of whom, **Olaf Trætela** (the "wood-chopper"), was driven from Sweden by **Ivar Vidfadme**.
- 630 **Olaf Trætela** founds **Vermeland**. Is succeeded
- 640 by his son **Halfdan Hutbein**. His son **Eystein**, a pirate, is killed
- 840 in one of his expeditions and his infant son, **Halfdan the Black**, succeeds. After a turbulent career he is drowned,
- 860 and his son, **Harold (I) Harfagr** (the "fair-haired") succeeds. He unites the petty tribes into one kingdom by conquering their chiefs and making them his vassals
- 885 The army of Vikings under **Rolf Ganger** invades France, Charles the Simple cedes **Rolf Ganger** the province afterwards known as Normandy, gives him his daughter in marriage, and has him baptised under the name of Robert. His descendants are the powerful earls of Normandy.
- 930 Upon the death of **Harold**, **Eric Blodæxe**, his son, slays several of his brothers. The people banish him
- 935 and call to the throne his brother **Hakon (I) the Good**, son of **Harold I**. He has been educated in England. He is killed in battle
- 961 by **Eric's** sons, of whom the eldest, **Harold (II) Graafeld**, succeeds to the throne. He is killed, and **Harold of Denmark** becomes king over Norway, he appoints
- 970 **Hakon**, son of **Jarl Sigurd of Trondhjem**, actual ruler, in conjunction with **Harold Gränske**. The latter is murdered by **Sigríða**, but a posthumous son is born to his wife. **Hakon** is murdered by a slave.
- 984 **Greenland** discovered by **Eric the Red**.

- 995 **Olaf I**, son of Tryggve, a southern king, grandson of Harold the Fair-haired, establishes himself on the throne. He is killed.
- 1000 in battle with **Eric**, the exiled son of Hakon Jarl, who occupies the throne in conjunction with his brother **Svend**. After their death.
- 1015 **Olaf (II) the Saint**, posthumous son of Harold Granske, succeeds. The discontented make advances to Canute of Denmark and war results. Olaf is obliged to flee. He returns to the fray and is killed in battle.
- 1028 **Canute** subdues Norway. He places his son
- 1030 **Svend** on the throne. His yoke is so heavy for the Norwegians that they drive him out and establish
- 1035 **Magnus the Good**, son of Olaf II, on the throne.
- 1042 On death of Harthacnut, Magnus claims the throne of Denmark. Svend Estridsen disputes his claim and joins with Harold Hardrada to oust Magnus from all his dominions. Meantime the king dies, leaving Denmark to Svend and Norway to
- 1047 **Harold Hardrada**. He is killed in battle with the English. He is succeeded by his son
- 1067 **Olaf Kyrre** (the "quiet"), who after a series of battles settles the feud with King Svend of Denmark by marrying his daughter. The remainder of his reign is peaceful and prosperous
- 1093 Death of Olaf and succession of his son **Magnus Barfod** (the "barefoot"), a vigorous and ambitious ruler. He conquers the isle of Man, but is killed in battle in Ireland. His three sons, **Sigurd Jorsalafari**, **Eystein**, and **Olaf** are proclaimed joint rulers; Olaf dies
- 1103 shortly after.
- 1122 Eystein dies suddenly, and Sigurd is sole king. The year before his death a young man comes to Norway from Iceland, declaring himself a son of Magnus Barfod. Sigurd accepts him as his brother, and after his death
- 1130 the kingdom is divided between his son, **Magnus the Blind**, and the son of Magnus Barfod, **Harold Gulchrist** or **Gille**. There is scant harmony between them, they finally open hostilities, resulting
- 1134 in the battle of Fyrislef. Magnus is victor, and shows great magnanimity towards his enemy, which Harold requites by capturing him and putting out his eyes. Magnus ends his days in the cloister. Harold enjoys his kingship for about six years, when
- 1136 another son of Magnus Barfod appears, murders Harold, and aspires to the kingship; but the indignant Norwegians will have none of him and proclaim Harold's illegitimate son **Sigurd Mund**. His claim is disputed by the followers of Inge, the infant heir.
- 1155 Sigurd is slain in his house. Another son of Harold, **Eystein**, snatches the reins of government, but is murdered by his remaining brother's followers
- 1157 and **Inge** is acknowledged. A large part of the people, dissatisfied with this result, go to war in the interests of Sigurd's son Hakon. Hakon is victorious and Inge
- 1161 is killed. **Hakon Herdabred** takes possession of the whole country. Erling Skakke, a powerful chief, collects a following and proclaims his son Magnus king. With the help of the Danish king he succeeds in defeating Hakon
- 1162 Hakon being killed, **Magnus** is proclaimed king. He is the first king to be crowned in Norway.
- 1177 Sverri, a natural son of King Sigurd Mund, lays claim to the crown, and collects a following. Long-continued hostilities result, ending
- 1184 in the battle of Fimreite, in which Magnus is killed. **Sverri Sigurdsson** establishes himself on the throne. He has constantly recurring rebellions to repress, and after a tumultuous reign he expires,
- 1202 leaving his son **Hakon IV** on the throne. His reign is brief; in
- 1204 he dies, supposedly of poison, without issue, and his nephew **Guthrum Sigurdsson** is elected king. He dies suddenly, evidences pointing to poison. The people elect **Inge Bardsson**, a son of King Sverri's sister.
- 1217 Upon Inge's death a young son of Hakon IV is proclaimed as **Hakon V**, afterwards called **The Old**.
- 1261 Greenland is annexed to Norway.
- 1262 Iceland acknowledges itself a dependency of Norway.
- 1263 Death of Hakon. His son **Magnus Lagabætr** (the "law mender") is crowned at the age of six.
- 1280 He dies, and his son **Eric Præstehader** (the "priest hater") succeeds. He begins a war with Denmark which at his death
- 1299 is not ended and which with the crown is inherited by his brother **Hakon (V) Magnusson**.
- 1309 Peace of Copenhagen, which ends the war with Denmark.
- 1319 Death of Hakon and succession of his grandson, **Magnus Ericsson Smek** (the "fondling"). Magnus is proclaimed king of Sweden and the two kingdoms are for the first time united under one rule.
- 1350 The Norwegians become discontented under the union, and upon their demand for a separate king Magnus gives over the government of Norway to his son **Hakon**. Hakon sets up a claim to Sweden also, but is defeated, and

- 1380 dies, leaving Norway to his son **Olaf the Young**, already crowned king of Denmark. Under him the two kingdoms are united, Olaf's mother Margaret acting as regent
- 1387 Olaf dies at the early age of seventeen. **Margaret** becomes queen of Denmark, Norway, and afterwards also of Sweden.
- 1397 The queen causes her nephew, **Eric of Pomerania**, to be crowned king of the three countries, and
- 1412 dies, leaving the government to his feeble administration. First Denmark, then Sweden, finally Norway, rebel and depose the king, who retires to Pomerania
- 1442 The three countries accept **Christopher of Bavaria**. He attempts restriction of privileges of the Hanse towns, but
- 1448 death interrupts his plans. The Swedes elect Charles Knutsson for their king, while Denmark and Norway are united under **Christian I**.
- 1481 Death of Christian, and his son **Hans** becomes king over the two countries
- 1497 Hans invades Sweden and has himself proclaimed king at Stockholm. The Swedes expel him.
- 1506 Hans sends his son Christian as his viceroy to Norway.
- 1513 Death of Hans; beginning of the cruel reign of **Christian (II) the Tyrant**. His great aim is the throne of Sweden, which
- 1520 he finally attains; he celebrates his coronation by the notorious Carnage of Stockholm. The Swedes rebel and Christian flees to Holland.
- 1524 **Frederick I**, his uncle, is proclaimed king.
- 1531 Christian lands with a force in Norway, is taken prisoner by Frederick and shut up in a dungeon, where he dies in 1559.
- 1533 Death of Frederick. Quarrels over the succession follow, resulting
- 1534 in the election of the late king's son as **Christian III**.
- 1536 The Danes recognise Christian III. The Reformation is established. The king resides during his entire reign in Denmark, where he dies,
- 1559 being succeeded by **Frederick II**, his eldest son.
- 1563 Beginning of the Northern Seven Years' War. Norway suffers greatly under the rule of the dissolute king, who, residing in Denmark, leaves Norway a prey to unscrupulous Danish officials. Her condition improves when, upon his death,
- 1588 his son **Christian IV** succeeds to the two kingdoms. He studies the interests of the Norwegians
- 1611 War with Sweden
- 1613 Peace concluded at Knærød
- 1625 Christian takes part in the Thirty Years' War, from which, after several defeats, he is by the Peace of Lübeck
- 1629 obliged to withdraw.
- 1643 Outbreak of another Swedish war.
- 1644 Battle of Kolberger Heide.
- 1645 Peace of Brömsebro.
- 1648 Death of Christian. **Frederick III** follows. The struggle with Sweden continues, and is only ended
- 1660 by the peace signed at Copenhagen.
- 1670 Death of the king. His son **Christian V** succeeds. He reopens hostilities with Sweden, with but indifferent success. Louis XIV of France interferes and the peace proposed by him is concluded
- 1679 at Lund.
- 1689 Death of Christian. **Frederick IV** inherits the two thrones. He allies himself
- 1709 with Russia and Poland against Sweden. Frederick is victorious.
- 1718 The Swedish king is killed and
- 1720 peace is concluded at Frederiksborg castle by the king's sister.
- 1730 Death of the king, and his son **Christian VI** embarks on an extravagant and ruinous career, Norway is reduced to a pitiable condition, hordes among her population dying of starvation
- 1746 **Frederick V** becomes king upon the death of his father; he dies in his forty-third year
- 1766 from dissipation and over-indulgence, and his seventeen-year-old son **Christian VII** succeeds. He is even more dissolute than his father, and eventually becomes insane. The government is conducted by one after another of the more or less unscrupulous advisers of the wretched monarch, until
- 1784 the crown prince Frederick becomes regent.
- 1807 War with England breaks out as a result of the Napoleonic schemes.
- 1808 Death of the insane king, the crown prince becomes **Frederick VI**, with an empty treasury, a lamentable fleet, a starvation-racked dominion, and a war with England on his hands. Sweden chooses this moment to attack her unhappy neighbours. She gains but indifferent advantage till her new crown prince, Charles John (Bernadotte), opens a systematic campaign, ending
- 1814 by the cession of Norway to Sweden by the Peace of Kiel, after a four-hundred-years' union with Denmark. The king yields peaceably, but Prince **Christian Frederick**,

his nephew and heir presumptive, incites the Norwegians to resistance and they elect him king. The allied powers join Sweden against Norway. The Norwegian king is forced to abdicate. He retires to Denmark, whose throne (1839) he later assumes. Norway and Sweden are formally united under **Charles XIII**.

SWEDEN

- Upon the death of **Odin** his son **Njörd** succeeds as lord over all the provincial kings. His son **Frey-Yngve** founds the dynasty of the Ynglings, who continue to rule over Sweden until six hundred years after Christ, as follows:
- A.C. 100** **Fjolner**, son of Yngve, succeeds. He visits his friend, King Frode of Denmark, and during a nocturnal wandering after the festivities he falls into a tank of mead and is drowned. His son **Svegdur** succeeds; he likewise falls a victim to drunken indiscretion.
- A.D. 1** **Vanland**, his son, succeeds. He disappears, and his son **Visbur** becomes ruler over the Swedes. He is murdered by his two elder sons, who are driven away by the Swedes, and the succession falls to his third son,
- 100** **Domald**. Famine marks his reign, and the Swedes offer him to the gods as a sacrifice, and appoint his son **Domar** as their ruler. Upon his death,
- 200** **Dyggve**, his son, succeeds. **Dag** follows, famed for his wisdom. **Agne**, his son, a great warrior, subdues the Finns. He carries off the daughter of their king, whom he marries, and who upon their wedding night hangs him to a tree.
- 300** **Alrek** and **Eric** become joint rulers, but kill each other; and **Alrek's** two sons, **Yngve** and **Alf**, follow. They likewise kill each other, and **Alf's** son, **Hugleik**, is elected king. **Hake**, a sea-king, conquers him and rules over his dominions for three years, but
- 400** is killed by **Jorunder** and **Eric**, sons of Yngve, who are followed by **Jorunder's** son, **Aun the Old**. His son **Egnil** succeeds; he is gored to death while hunting, and
- 500** **Ottar**, his son, succeeds, his son **Adils** follows, but is killed by accident, and **Eystein**, his son, becomes king. He is murdered by **Salve**, a sea-king, who rules for a while, but is finally killed by the Swedes, who call **Yngvar**, son of Eystein, to the throne.
- 600** **Braut-Onund** follows. **Ingald**, his son, succeeds upon his death. He is called **Illrada** (the "the ill-ruler").
- 620** He is burned to death, and his son, **Olaf Trætelfa** (the "wood-chopper"), the last of the line, is driven into exile.
- 623** by **Ivar Vidfadme**, king of Denmark, who annexes Sweden to his realm. Upon his death he is succeeded by **Harold Hildetand**, his grandson.
- 740** Battle of Bravella, when Harold is killed, and the two kingdoms go to **Sigurd Ring**, who commits suicide, and **Ragnar Lodbrok** becomes king of the Swedes and Goths. Upon the death of Ragnar
- 794** the throne of Sweden falls to his son **Björn (I) Ironside**, the founder of a new dynasty.
- 800** Death of Björn and succession of **Eric Björnson**.
- 815** **Edmund** succeeds, followed by
- 820** **Eric Edmundson** and
- 885** **Björn Ericson**.
- 935** **Eric (I) the Victorious**, son of Björn, succeeds.
- 988** Battle of Fyrisval. Death of Eric and succession of his infant son,
- 993** **Olaf the Lap King**. He abdicates in favour of his son, who upon his death
- 1024** becomes sole ruler under the title of **Arund Jacob**. He dies,
- 1050** and his brother **Edmund Slemme** succeeds, upon his death in
- 1060** **Stenkil**, his son-in-law, is elected by the provinces in unison. He wars with Harold Hardrada of Norway. Dying, he is succeeded in
- 1066** by his son **Inge I**, during whose minority Hakon is recognised as regent during thirteen years. He is succeeded by
- 1112** **Inge II** and **Philip**. The latter's reign is short. Inge is poisoned in
- 1125** He is the last of the Stenkils on the male side. A period of confusion and civil strife follows, during which the provinces elect their own kings.
- 1130** **Swerker I**, who has married the widow of Inge II, is generally accepted as king. He is murdered,
- 1155** and **Eric the Saint**, brother-in-law of Inge II, is elected. He firmly establishes Christianity in Sweden.
- 1157** He directs a crusade against the Finns. He dies in battle
- 1160** against Prince Magnus of Denmark, and is succeeded by **Charles**, son of Swerker. Knud, son of Eric the Saint, soon lays claim to the kingdom. He goes to war with Charles. The latter is killed in battle near Visingsö.
- 1167** and **Knud** is recognised by all the Swedes. He dies, and his sons are set aside in favour of
- 1195** **Swerker II**, son-in-law of Jarl Birger Brosa. Knud's sons dispute his claim on the field of battle, and he is killed.
- 1210** near Gestabren. **Eric**, son of Knud, is crowned. He dies suddenly, leaving an infant son, whom the nobles set aside to elect

- 1216 **John I**, son of **Swerker II**. John dying suddenly in
- 1222 **Eric Læspe** (the "hisper"), son of the former King **Eric**, is elected to the succession. With the death of **Eric** died also the royal line of Saint **Eric**. The powerful lords therefore elected a son of **Birger Jarl**,
- 1250 **Valdemar**, to found a new dynasty. **Valdemar** is dethroned
- 1279 by his brother **Magnus Ladu-laas**. He leaves three sons, the eldest of whom, **Birger**, succeeds him
- 1290 His brothers, dukes **Eric** and **Valdemar**, wage war against him; but in
- 1318 they die in prison. Their exasperated friends execute the young son of King **Birger**, and in
- 1319 elect Duke **Eric's** three-year-old son, **Magnus Smek**, to the double throne of Norway and Sweden. Broken-hearted,
- 1321 King **Birger** dies. **Albert** of Mecklenburg, the king's brother-in-law, stirs up civil strife, and, deposing
- 1363 the king, gives the crown to his own son, **Albert of Mecklenburg**. The Swedes, dissatisfied, call **Margaret** of Norway and Denmark to their aid. She defeats **Albert**
- 1389 near **Falköping**. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark are united under **Margaret**.
- 1396 **Margaret** secures the election of **Eric** of Pomerania as her successor
- 1397 She obtains the passage of the act called the **Kalmar Union**
- 1412 Death of **Margaret**. **Eric of Pomerania** sole ruler over the North.
- 1439 **Eric** formally dethroned on account of misrule, and the council elects
- 1440 **Christopher of Bavaria** (**Eric's** nephew) sovereign.
- 1448 Death of **Christopher**. The estates elect **Charles Knutsson** to succeed him. The Danes elect **Christian** of Oldenburg for their king. Thus, after sixty years of union, Sweden and Denmark become separate kingdoms
- 1450 Norway separates from Sweden, electing **Christian** for its king. King **Charles** elects his friend and relative, **Sten Sture the Elder**, to succeed upon his death, which occurs
- 1470 King **Hans** of Denmark marches against Stockholm, which he takes; he compels the Swedes to recognize him as king. The Swedes stir up a rebellion and drive the Danes out of the country, but on his return
- 1503 **Sten Sture** dies suddenly. **Svante Sture**, one of the late king's generals, is elected administrator, under protest from **Hans** of Denmark, and a prolonged struggle follows
- 1512 He dies in the midst of it, and his son, **Sten Sture the Younger**, succeeds him. **Hans** dies the following year, but **Sten Sture** finds another foe in the person of **Gustavus Trolle**, bishop of **Upsala**.
- 1516 The bishop connives with **Christian II** of Denmark to bring an army into Sweden. Thrice repulsed by **Sten Sture**, upon the administrator's death in battle
- 1520 the Swedish government is dissolved, and **Christian II** succeeds in being crowned king of Sweden. His barbarities infuriate the people, who expel him and elect
- 1523 **Gustavus Vasa** for their king.
- 1525 Insurrection of the **Dalecarlians**.
- 1544 Act of Hereditary Settlement passed.
- 1560 Death of **Gustavus**. He is succeeded by his eldest son, **Eric XIV**.
- 1567 **Eric** becomes insane. He is confined and
- 1577 is poisoned. His brother **John** is proclaimed king under title of **John III**.
- 1592 Death of **John**, succession of his son, **Sigismund**, king of Poland. He attempts to govern Sweden from Poland, but the Swedes are discontented and support **Charles**, brother of the late king. Civil war results, **Sigismund's** army is defeated, and Duke **Charles** is declared king
- 1600 as **Charles IX**. Wars with Russia and Denmark continue
- 1611 **Charles** dies suddenly. He is followed by his son, **Gustavus (II) Adolphus**. Danish, Russian, and Polish wars rack the country
- 1632 Battle of **Lutzen** and death of the king. **Axel Oxenstierna** assumes the governing power during the minority of **Christina**, daughter of the dead king, and carries on the Danish wars
- 1644 **Christina** attains her majority.
- 1648 Treaty of **Westphalia**.
- 1654 **Christina's** extravagance renders her unpopular. She abdicates in favour of **Charles (X) Gustavus**, her first cousin. He conducts the Polish and the Russian wars
- 1657 Denmark declares war.
- 1658 Peace of **Roeskilde**, which **Charles** breaks to invade Denmark. He is preparing to invade Norway,
- 1660 when he dies of a fever. **Charles XI**, his son, being but four years of age, the queen-mother **Hedvig Eleonora** is appointed regent. Party strife is rampant, foreign complications break out, the financial situation becomes desperate.
- 1672 The king is declared of age. Holland declares war.
- 1675 **Charles** takes command of the army. The Danes make inroads into Sweden.
- 1676 Battle of **Lund**
- 1696-7 Failure of crops and consequent wide-spread famine.

- 1697 Death of Charles. Great conflagration at Stockholm. Accession of **Charles XII**.
- 1699 Frederick IV king of Denmark, Augustus of Saxony king of Poland, and Peter the Great of Russia conspire to ruin the young king of Sweden.
- 1700 Charles sets out on his first campaign. He defeats the Danes, who sue for peace. He marches against the Russians, defeating them in the battle of Narva.
- 1701 Beginning of the Polish War. Swedes successful before Riga.
- 1702 Charles enters Warsaw. Cracow surrenders.
- 1703 Swedes victorious at Pultusk. Charles remains inactive in Poland for two years, after which
- 1705 he concludes peace with her.
- 1708 He decides to march upon Russia, and joins Mazeppa, prince of the Ukraine, against the czar.
- 1709 Battle of Pultowa, in which the Swedes are put to rout and Charles narrowly escapes with his life. The whole army is destroyed and its generals are made prisoners. Charles plots with the Turks to revenge himself on Russia, while the Danes ravage Sweden. Stenbock obtains a victory over them. Riga, Reval, Viborg, and Kexholm are taken by Russia. Charles in Turkey is negotiating to bring about war between that country and Russia, in which
- 1711 he is finally successful. The sultan sends two hundred thousand men under the grand vizir to invade Russia. Peter sets out with eighty thousand for the Turkish frontiers. After some skirmishing a peace is concluded by the machinations of Catherine between Russia and Turkey, in which no mention is made of Charles XII. The Turks turn against him, burn him out of his quarters, and take him prisoner. Stenbock at home is captured by the Danes.
- 1714 Charles returns to Sweden and prepares for war with Norway and Denmark.
- 1718 While watching the erection of his fortifications before Frederikshald he is shot through the head, with his death Sweden loses her prestige. Two pretenders to the throne appear, the dead king's nephew and his sister Ulrica Eleonore, married to Prince Frederick of Hesse.
- 1719 The estates, meeting in Riksdag, elect **Ulrica Eleonore** queen of Sweden. A new constitution is adopted. All the enemies of Sweden flock to her undoing, but she is saved by an alliance with the English, who help to drive back the Russians beyond the Baltic.
- 1720 Ulrica abdicates in favour of her husband, and **Frederick** is crowned in the presence of the Riksdag. Peace concluded with Denmark and Russia.
- 1727 Sweden enters the Hanoverian Alliance. Arvid Horn assumes the reins of government, and commerce and manufacture enjoy a rapid development.
- 1734 Quarrels and intrigues between the Hats and Caps result in war with Russia, which ends
- 1742 with the disgraceful capitulation of Helsingfors. Adolphus Frederick, prince bishop of Lübeck, and Frederick, crown prince of Denmark, dispute the Swedish succession. The result is the triumph of **Adolphus Frederick**, who upon the death of the king
- 1751 is elected to the throne.
- 1753 The Gregorian calendar is adopted. The king and the council fail to agree.
- 1756 Conspiracy of counts Brahe and Horn, who are beheaded. The Seven Years' War begins.
- 1762 Peace concluded with Prussia. Hat and Cap quarrels keep politics in a continual tumult.
- 1771 Death of the king; accession of **Gustavus III**. He endeavours to settle the strife between the two political parties, but in vain, and he consents to a plan which
- 1772 results in a revolution whose consequences are arrest of the dangerous members of the contending factions and unity and harmony in the government.
- 1780 Sweden, Russia, and Denmark form an armed neutrality for the protection of navigation.
- 1783 Sweden concludes a treaty with the United States. The king's popularity begins to wane.
- 1786 He calls together the estates in Riksdag, and their dissatisfaction and opposition are openly manifested.
- 1788 Gustavus opens a campaign against Russia, in which he is unsupported by the estates. A second revolution results.
- 1789 Having re-established his authority by violent measures, Gustavus recommences the war.
- 1790 Battle of Viborg and peace with Russia.
- 1792 Assassination of the king at a masked ball. Prince Charles, brother of the dead king, is by his testament appointed guardian of the young **Gustavus (IV) Adolphus**.
- 1800 The young king is crowned. He revives the armed neutrality of 1780. England proceeds against Denmark and compels her withdrawal from the alliance; Russia also yields to her demands, and Sweden is obliged to follow suit.
- 1805 Gustavus joins the enemies of Napoleon.
- 1808 Sweden is attacked by Russia and Denmark.
- 1809 The king dethroned and banished. Prince Charles, uncle of the dethroned king, is persuaded to assume the government, under title of **Charles XIII**. Peace plans are projected, by which Sweden loses Finland to Russia.
- 1810 Marshal Bernadotte elected crown prince under name of "Charles John." Napoleon, failing to precipitate hostilities between Sweden and England, invades

THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIA

Swedish Pomerania. The crown prince forms a new coalition against Napoleon, who in response invades Russia.

Battle of Leipzig. Charles John proceeds against Denmark.

Peace agreed upon between Denmark and Sweden (Treaty of Kiel), by which Norway is ceded to Sweden, while Denmark receives Swedish Pomerania. Norway, rebelling against this arrangement, elects as her king Prince Christian Frederick. After a sharp struggle the Norwegians yield, and elect Charles XIII of Sweden king of Norway.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY UNDER ONE KING

1815 The "Rikssact" passed.

1818 Death of the king; accession of **Charles (XIV) John**. Discontent against the government is encouraged by Count von Schwerin, and

1823 an opposition party is organised.

1834 Serious outbreak of cholera.

1835 Sentence of Magnus Jacob Cruserstolpe creates riots in Stockholm. Dissatisfaction with the king's policy increases.

1840 The Riksdag hunt at dethronement; but the discontent subsides, and

1844 he is removed by death, and succeeded by his son **Oscar I**. He sets out with a remarkably liberal policy, but grows gradually more and more conservative.

1857 The king's health breaks down, and the government is vested in his son Charles.

1859 Death of Oscar. **Charles XV** is king.

1860 Failure of crops and consequent famine, resulting in the emigration of hundreds of thousands to America.

1867 Formation of the Landtmanna party.

1879 Death of the king. His brother succeeds as **Oscar II**.

1882 Commercial treaty with France renewed.

1888 The Riksdag devotes the surplus funds to the payment of the deficit in the budget and to transportation improvement; and

1895 the political parties join issue and occupy themselves with franchise reform.

1900 The Riksdag takes up the question of the national defences

SEPARATION OF THE KINGDOMS

1905 Norway withdraws from the Union and chooses a grandson of the king of Denmark as her sovereign. He takes the title of **Haakon VII**.

1907 Proportional representation and practically universal suffrage introduced into Sweden. Death of Oscar II, and accession of **Gustaf V**.

GREENLAND

986 Eric the Red, exiled from Iceland, discovers and settles Greenland. Other colonists follow, and a considerable foreign trade is established. The government is independent and republican until

1261 when Hakon, king of Norway, induces the Greenlanders to render him allegiance. Foreign dominion, the plague, and barbarian invasion combine to effect their undoing, and

1535 the Eskimos are the sole inhabitants.

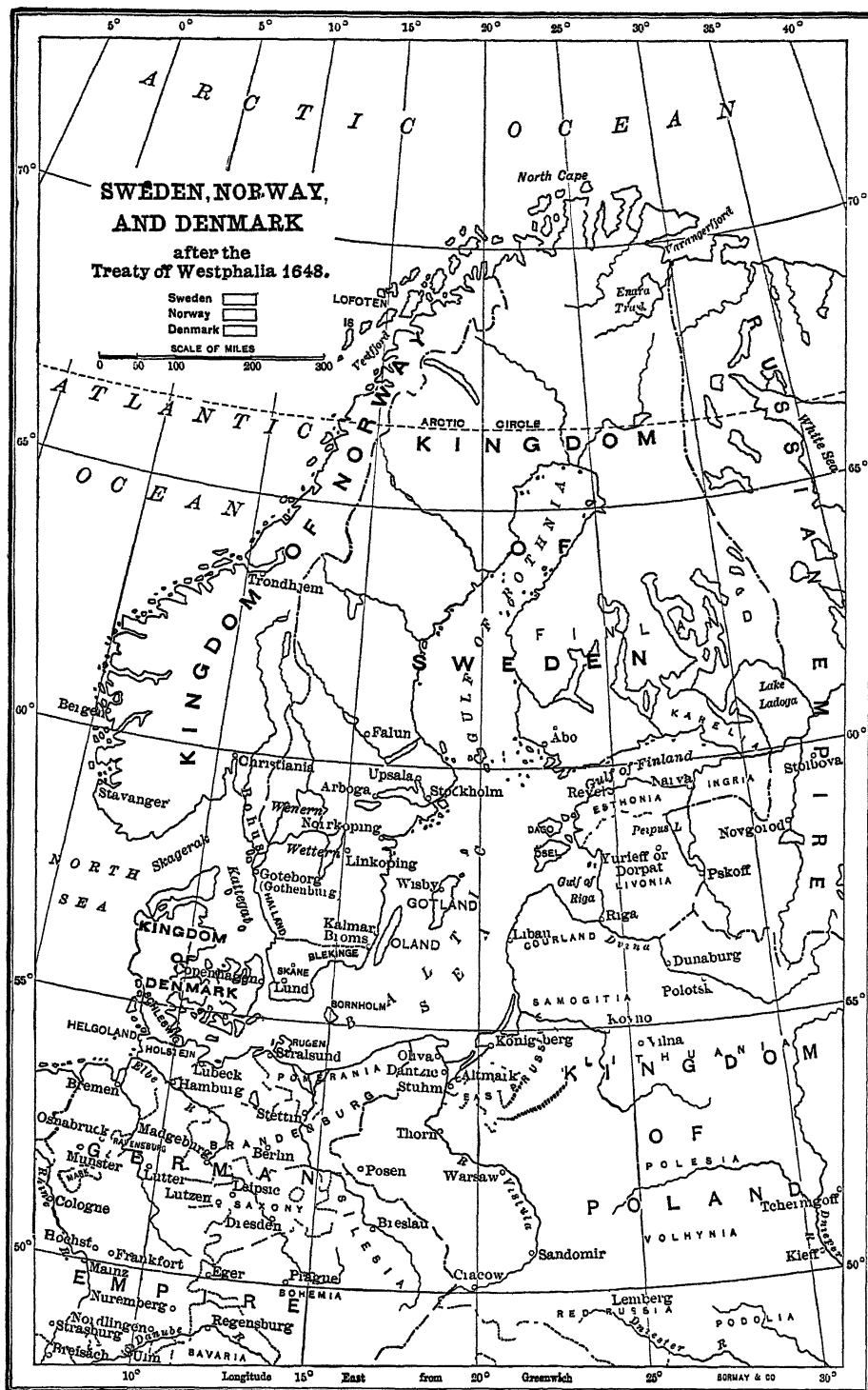
1721 Hans Egede lands and devotes himself to the Christianisation and civilisation of the people.

1733 Small-pox nearly depopulates the island

1744 Denmark takes over the trade of Greenland, hitherto a private monopoly.

1894 A new trading and missionary station is established at Angmagsalik: but trade has rather diminished than increased of late years, and the colony is a source of expenditure for Denmark. Population is also on the decrease. Exploration has been active and persistent in this region, and there remains unmapped but a very small portion of the coast.





PART XX

THE HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

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CHAPTER I

SWITZERLAND TO THE FOUNDING OF THE CONFEDERATION

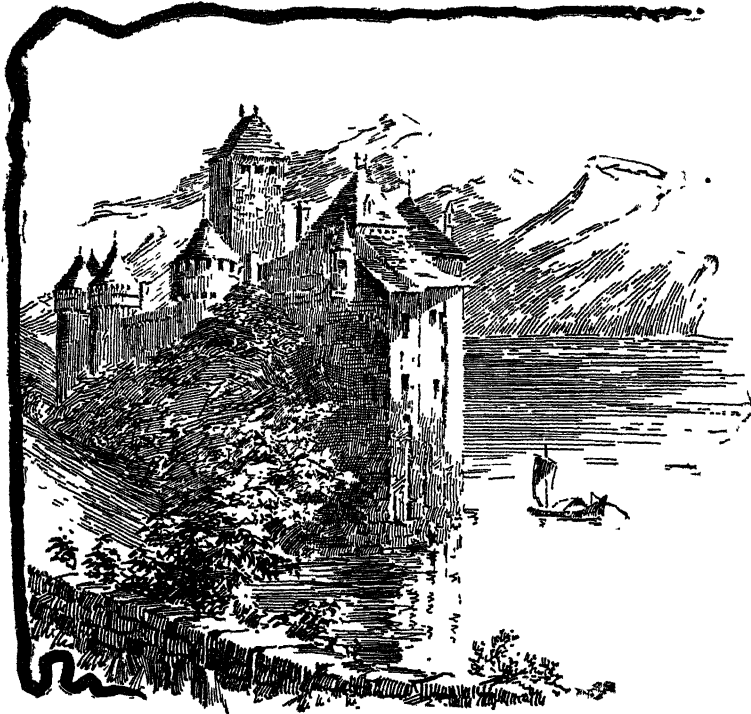
[Earliest times to 1289 A D]

THE ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY

THE land of which the history lies before us has been said to fight the battles of its inhabitants, and by the very structure of the ground to screen them from subjection, as well as to preclude them from conquest. Its main features still remain the same as Strabo^b has described them. "Through the whole extent of the Alpine chains," says that exact geographer, "there are hilly platforms capable of cultivation; there are also highly cultivated valleys: yet the greater part of the hill country, especially in its highest recesses, is unfruitful, on account of the snow and of the severity of the climate."

No other division of our quarter of the globe presents a panorama so astonishing; no other exhibits so surprising a diversity of landscapes, ever interesting, and ever new in their features. Nowhere else do such extremes meet as in Switzerland — where eternal Alpine snows are fringed by green and luxuriant pastures, where enormous icebergs rise above valleys breathing aromatic scents, and blest with an Italian spring; and where the temperatures of each zone alternately reign within two or three leagues. East and west, from the lofty central point of the St. Gotthard, the Alps extend, in the form of a mighty crescent, embracing the north of Italy, and on every side environed by tremendous clefts and caverns, which ensnare the incautious traveller with a veil of greyish snow. Here is the dread birthplace of the glacier and the avalanche; but hence, too, streams well forth in the genial warmth of nature to supply romantic lakes, and spread fertility over the face of the soil. Four principal rivers flow through Switzerland: the Rhine, the

Rhone, the Ticino or Tessin, and the Inn. All of them originate in the high line of the Alps, and indicate by their course the main declivities of the country. The northern slope is watered by the Reuss and the Aare, which meet in the Rhine; the southern by the Ticino, the north-eastern by the Inn, and the south-western by the Rhone.^c Switzerland was inhabited in the dawn of human existence in Europe. Men of the ice-age and the rude cave-dwellers have left traces of themselves; but it is from a much later period that we first get evidence of a people that had begun to progress toward civilisation. This



CASTLE OF CHILLON

was the race that inhabited the *Pfahlbauten*, or lake-dwellings. The discovery and investigation of these structures gave a new outlook upon the early history of man.^a

THE LAKE-DWELLERS

During the winter of 1853-1854, a remarkable depression was observed in the level of the Lake of Zurich; the retreat of the waters laid bare a wide surface, of which the inhabitants of the shores took advantage to construct dykes far in advance of the ancient water line, and thus acquired extensive tracts which had been hitherto submerged. Near the hamlet of Obermeilen, the labourers occupied in the work of embankment discovered, under a bed of mud of half a decimetre in depth, some piles, bits of charcoal, stones blackened by fire, bones, and various utensils which indicated the existence of an ancient village. Having been informed of this interesting discovery,

Ferdinand Keller,^d of Zurich, hastened to investigate the relics just discovered, and soon after announced to the scientific world the result of his researches. This formed the starting-point of incessant explorations. The larger cities of Switzerland and the homes of many learned individuals offer, to the inspection of the curious, archæological museums comprising thousands of ancient relics. From the aquatic village of Concise alone, which is situated in the lake of Neuchâtel, about twenty-five thousand objects have been obtained.

It is easy to conceive the principal reason which determined the ancient tribes of Helvetia to erect their constructions on the shallows of lakes. Before the Roman epoch, the valleys of the Alps were covered with immense forests, through which roamed the bear, the wolf, the boar, the urus, and other formidable animals; while man, since war must from time to time have raged between the scattered tribes, was still more to be dreaded than wild beasts. The first care of each group of families, therefore, was to secure its safety against an unforeseen attack, by establishing itself in some place defended by natural obstacles. Those who inhabited countries strewn with lakes, like Switzerland and Savoy, abandoned the dry land, and built their huts in the midst of the waters, at some distance from the shore. Here they found the surest means of guarding against sudden attack, with the advantage of being able to transport themselves at pleasure in their canoes to every point of the coast, their rude structures serving at the same time as stations for fishing. Perhaps, also, in choosing the surface of the lakes as a sojourn, they obeyed an irresistible attraction which allures every infant colony towards the water. At all the epochs of history, and in all parts of the world, the requirements of defence and the facilities of fishing, joined with the natural charm of beauty in the sheets of water, have determined many tribes of men to build their habitations, whether of boughs or of reeds, above the surface of the waves.

It would be easy, even if all the structures of this kind existing in different parts of the world furnished no medium of comparison, to rebuild in thought, by help of the numerous relics found at the bottom of lakes, the lacustrian cottages of ancient Helvetia. A mere glance of the eye through the transparent water enables us to perceive piles in parallel rows, or planted, it may be, without order. The charred beams which are seen between the posts recall the platform once solidly constructed at a height of some feet above the waves. The interlaced boughs, the fragments of clay hardened by fire, evidently belonged to circular walls,¹ and the conic roofs are represented by some layers or beds of reeds, straw, and bark. The stones of the fire-places have fallen just below the place which they formerly occupied. The vessels of clay, the heaps of leaves and of moss which served as beds of repose, the arms, the trophies of the chase, the large stag horns and skulls of wild bulls, which adorned the walls, all these different objects, mingled together in the mud, are nothing else but ancient furniture of the inhabitants. By the side of the piles we can still distinguish remains of the hollowed trunks of trees which served for canoes, and a range of posts indicates the pristine existence of a bridge which was laid from the threshold of the lacustrian dwelling to the neighbouring shore. We are enabled to determine from the number of piles what were the dimensions of the largest aquatic cities, composed gener-

[¹ It appears from the discovery of a hut at Schussenried, Württemberg, that the lake-dwellings, in some instances at least, were rectangular in shape, measuring about ten by seven meters. This, however, does not preclude the supposition that some of them were of circular form, as is indicated by pieces of their walls.]

ally of two or three hundred cabins.¹ Athwart an interval of thirty or forty centuries, we can conceive how picturesque an effect must have been produced by this agglomeration of small huts closely compacted together in the midst of the waters. The shore was uninhabited; a few domestic animals alone fed in the grassy clearings; great trees spread their masses of verdure over all the slopes; and a deep stillness brooded in the forest. Upon the waters, on the contrary, all was movement and clamour; the smoke curled above the roofs; the populace bustled upon the platforms; the canoes passed and repassed from one group of dwellings to another, and from the village to the shore; in the distance floated the boats which served for fishing or for war. The water seemed then the real domain of man.

From the first of their discoveries, the Swiss archæologists decided that the lacustrian habitations did not all date from one and the same epoch. The state of the objects found at the bottom of the lakes has led them to divide the first cycle of our history into three ages: that of Stone, that of Bronze, and that of Iron.²

The Stone Age

It is in German Switzerland chiefly that the traces of settlements belonging to the age of Stone have been recognised. Western Switzerland likewise possessed important lacustrian cities, among others that of Concise, near the southern extremity of Lake Neuchâtel; but the lakes of Zurich and of Constance appear to have been the most active centres of population. It was there that the pile-work of Obermeilen was erected, the discovery of which, as we have said, was the starting point of all that has been since effected. Thanks to the relics obtained at that point, and on the shores of the lakes of Constance, Pfäffikon, Sempach, Wauwyl, and Moosseedorf, we can at this day sketch in broad lines the manner of life of the lacustrian populations, and give some general but uncertain indications with regard to their history.

Early Improvements of the Lake-Dwellers

One of the most surprising considerations suggested by the view of the remains of these primitive constructions is the vast amount of labor accomplished by men who had at their disposal no other implements than flint stones and the brands of their fires. There was an abundance of trees, tall and straight, growing in the forest; but, to fell and trim them, it was necessary to employ alternately the sharpened stone and the flame. Afterwards, by the same means, the end of the log was to be reduced to a point, that it might penetrate easily into the soil to a depth of several feet. The hewing of the trunks of trees, which were to serve for floors and esplanades, and which were cleft with wedges of stone, in order to form a sort of plank, demanded still more labour than the preparation of piles. What time and pains must have been expended when it was requisite to level a trunk of oak, from ten to fifteen metres long, and to shape it into a canoe! Some villages, of which we still see the remains, were reared on more than forty thousand piles. It was the work, no doubt, of several successive generations, but for each of these generations an incessant labour is not the less implied.

[¹ A lacustrian settlement near Morges has been found to extend over 60,000 square meters, and one at Robenhäusen, in the lake of Pfäffikon, contained more than 100,000 piles, covering 18,000 square meters. About 250 sites of lake-dwellers' villages have been discovered.]

[² This division had been made by archæologists before the discovery of the lake-dwellings, but its correctness received striking confirmation from the study of these remains.]

The lacustrians had no instruments at their command but those of stone and of bone. The fabrication and the repairing of these instruments must have required inexhaustible patience, for the stone must be cut with stone, and it is with difficulty that we can conceive how these unwearied artisans succeeded in giving a finish to points and blades of silex. They attacked the hardest substances, and worked even in rock crystal. "The hatchet," says M. Troyon,^e "played the greatest part in the primitive industry." This instrument is found by hundreds on the sites of the ancient villages. Not only was it the weapon of hunting and of war; it served also for various domestic uses, and probably never quitted the hand or belt of the owner. The blade of the Swiss hatchet, most frequently hewn from a block of serpentine, is much smaller than that of the hatchets used in Scandinavia during the age of Stone, and is of an average measure of from four to six centimetres only. The mode in which the handle was attached to these sharpened stones varied considerably: some were adjusted, by means of ligatures or mortises, at the end of curved sticks, and others were made fast to handles of deer's horn. It was as the national weapon that it most exercised the imagination of the workman and artist. Each warrior modified it according to his personal taste, and perhaps ornamented it with feathers and fringes, like the Indian. Other arms, of less importance than the hatchet, were arrows of flint or of bone, fixed at the ends of long reeds; they resembled those discovered in France, in England, and on the banks of the Mississippi; but in general they are not so long as those of Scandinavia. It is very probable that the sling was in use.

Among the instruments of labour manufactured by the lacustrian people of the age of Stone, may be cited blades of silex, edged or toothed, which served as knives or saws; hammers, anvils; awls of bone or of deer's horn, paring-knives, and needles, which were destined, no doubt, for cutting or sewing leather or skins. The fragments of pottery which occur are formed of a coarse clay, the paste of which is intermingled with small grains of quartz. These vessels betray the infancy of the art, and very seldom present traces of ornamentation. Some of quite a fine paste have a smooth surface, and are coloured black by means of graphite. At Wangen, on the borders of the Lake of Constance, and at Robenhausen, on the lake of Pfaffikon, mats of hemp and of flax, and even real cloth, have been discovered, as well as small baskets in all respects like those of ancient Egyptian tombs. The lacustrians manufactured likewise cords and cables from textile fabrics and the bark of various trees. Vain, like all savages, they bestowed great pains on their corporeal beauty, and sought to enhance it by numerous artifices: they tucked up their hair with pins of bone; decorated their fingers with rings, and their wrists with heavy bracelets; and loaded their shoulders with collars formed of balls of deer's horn mingled with beads of stone; on their breasts they wore the teeth of bears, doubtless to endue them with the force of the wild beasts, and preserve them from mischances. The pierced nuts now scattered in the mud were, no doubt, toys with which, as rattles, the mothers amused their little nurselings.

Occupations of the Lake-Dwellers

Other discoveries have been made, which show that agriculture was somewhat advanced among the lacustrian tribes of this first period. Doubtless hunting and fishing supplied the greater part of their food, as is indicated by the very situation of their houses, in the midst of the waters, and by the bones,

partly devoured, of the urus, the bison, the deer, the elk, the roe, the chamois, and birds of the woods, which are found in the beds of turf or mud of their ancient habitations. Wild fruits also furnished a portion of their aliment, as there have been found, amongst the remnants of their fare, pine and beech nuts, walnuts, and seeds of the raspberry; but at the same time they reared herds of beeves, sheep, goats, and swine, and were accustomed to employ the dog as a substitute in the care of their domestic animals. They manufactured a kind of cheese in vessels pierced with holes; cultivated the apple, pear, and plum tree, and stored away their fruit for the winter. They sowed barley and different sorts of grain of excellent quality. Among the ruins of a lacustrian village, on the Lake of Constance, M. Lohle discovered an ancient storehouse, containing about a hundred measures of barley and wheat, both shelled and in the ear. He found likewise a portion of real bread, which had been preserved by its carbonisation, and consisted of crushed grains, to which the bran still adhered.

The possession of the cereals, those humble plants which constitute the most important acquisition of the human race, would, of itself, suffice to prove that the nameless tribes of the age of Stone might lay claim to a long period of past progress. The careful exploration of lacustrian villages has shown that their inhabitants also practiced on a large scale what we call "division of labor." Certain localities, in fact, such as the Moosseedorf, Obermeilen, and Concise, present so great a provision of implements, some finished and others simply rough-hewn, that we cannot help recognising those settlements as real places of manufacture. They were the industrial cities of that era, and each of them exercised a peculiar specialty, which employed a considerable system of exchanges between the different centres of production. There must have existed an unimportant commerce with distant countries, for there have been found on the lacustrian sites a great number of substances foreign to Switzerland. The rocks of the neighbouring mountains, the horns of deer and bones of wild animals might have served, it is true, for the fabrication of almost all the implements; but the projectile arms, made of silex, could have come only from Gaul or Germany. By exchange from one hand to another, the lacustrians received coral from the tribes of the Mediterranean, purchased yellow amber from the dwellers on the Baltic, and imported the valuable nephrite from the countries of the east.

If their agricultural knowledge, their industry, and their extended commerce were of a nature to raise in the scale of races these primitive tribes, whom we should have been tempted at first to consider but little developed, their religion — that is to say, the highest expression of their genius — bore also good testimony in their favour. Like the Celts, the lacustrians seem to have adored the divinity in open nature, on the summits of the hills, in the mysterious shade of the woods, on the bosom of the waves, or more especially, at the foot of the erratic blocks, which they doubtless regarded as stones fallen from heaven.

Articles made of metal were not absolutely unknown to the lacustrians at the close of the first age, as is shown by some relics found at Obermeilen and Concise; but the perfection as well as the rarity of the objects discovered, evince that they came from abroad, either in the way of exchange or through the chances of war. It would be absurd to suppose that those primitive tribes had proceeded fully prepared to the fabrication of bronze, without having previously availed themselves of copper and tin. The phenomenon of an alloy of the two metals can be explained only by the arrival of a new people, bringing with them a new civilisation. In Hindostan, in

Central Asia, in America, the age of Copper succeeded slowly and gradually to the age of Stone; the age of Bronze, in turn, replaced by degrees the age of Copper; but in Helvetia, as well as in all western Europe, this latter period is not represented — the bronze abruptly follows the Stone.¹ The cause of this is that two races had come into collision. The end of the first age must have been marked by terrible events. In almost all the lacustrian villages, the verge of the two epochs is sharply indicated by the burning of dwellings and the massacre of the people. The intruders, probably of the Celtic stock, wielded axes of metal; and by the virtue of the superiority of their arms, must have had their own way with the poor natives.

The Bronze Age

It would seem that the lacustrian population of eastern Switzerland suffered most from the conquest. The greater part of the pile-work settlements of that region were completely abandoned, and since that epoch their remains have been buried beneath the waters. The aquatic villages of western Switzerland also show distinct traces of conflagration. Some, such as the celebrated Steinberg (mountain of stones), situated in the Lake of Bienne, were reconstructed on the same site; others, after their destruction, were rebuilt at a greater distance from the shore, so as to be beyond the reach of incendiary projectiles; in fine, numerous groups of habitations were reared on the shallows, till then unoccupied, of the lakes of Geneva, Neuchâtel, Bienne, and Morat. At the commencement of the age of Bronze, the lacustrian population of the country seems to have removed in a mass to escape the vicinity of the enemy, who had seized upon the whole of eastern Helvetia.

Withdrawn into the territory which forms the present French Switzerland, the lacustrians were fortunate enough to repress all invasions and at the same time to appropriate all the industrial secrets which their conquerors had brought with them. Thanks to this contact with a more civilised race, a new era of prosperity seems to have opened for them, and the census of the lacustrian population largely increased.² The villages of the age of Bronze much surpass in number those of the preceding period; and in the fens of the Thiele, between the lakes of Bienne and Neuchâtel, the piles are found in such quantity as to have given rise to an actual trade in wood. The wear and waste, more or less complete, of the piles suffice in general to indicate whether the villages whose sites have been recognised pertained to the age of Bronze or that of Stone. Almost all the piles of the more ancient epoch have been wasted away by the waters, to the very surface of the ground, while those of the second period still project to the extent of one or even two metres. In general, the lacustrian constructions underwent no change of form, doubtless because the customs of the people had remained the same. As to the choice of sites, there is apparent, in the second age as well as the first, a rare sagacity. The points of the shore opposite the places colonised by these old lacustrian tribes have, for the most part, not ceased to be occupied even to our own day

[¹ More recently, copper implements, mixed with those of stone, have been found in sufficient numbers to induce some archaeologists to set up a Copper or Transition period between the ages of Stone and Bronze. Another investigator, namely V. Gross, considers these finds as denoting merely the latest portion of the Stone Age. These discoveries have done much to destroy the theory of an invasion at the end of the Stone Age and the sudden introduction of a new civilisation with the coming in of bronze.]

[² By measuring the dimensions of fifty-one aquatic settlements of the age of Stone, discovered in 1860, M. Troyon* computes that the total population of the lakes amounted to 81,875 persons. By an analogous calculation, 68 villages of western Switzerland, constructed during the age of Bronze, would have contained a population of 42,500 inhabitants.]

by cities or important villages. The city of Zurich covers a lacustrian settlement of the age of Stone; during the age of Bronze a village on piles might have been on the site of the present city of Geneva.

Once in the possession of metal, industry attained a great superiority over that of the preceding period, but a resemblance subsists in the form and nature of its product. The axe continued to be the faithful comrade of the warrior, and the artist employed all his skill in decorating it. To this weapon new instruments of death were added — the sword of bronze and the mace of stone — but arrows had become very rare, which proves that, instead of engaging in combat at a distance, like their fathers, the natives were accustomed to march straight up to the enemy, and fight face to face. Among the industrial remains of that age we also find knives, reaping-hooks, stones for grinding and sharpening, needles, pins, weaver's shuttles, fish-hooks, quoits, toys, ear-drops, ornaments in rock, crystal, pieces of amber, necklaces of glass and of jet. The pottery resembles that of the age of Stone, and is composed of an analogous paste, generally mixed with small silicious pebbles. Yet the art of the potter had made incontestable progress: the variety of forms is greater and the ornaments more numerous. All the settlements of any importance had their manufactory of earthenware, as is proved by the specimens which have been disfigured in baking, and rejected as unmarketable. [Upon the site of a lake-village at Corcelles, on the lake of Neuchâtel, have been found pieces of clay vessels which have at the bottom small cavities, evidently caused by the artist's pressing his finger tips into the clay. So perfectly have these been preserved that Prof. F. A. Forel has been able to determine even the arrangement of the tiny ridges on the skin marking the distribution of the nerve terminals in the ancient lake-dweller. He found them practically the same as in individuals of our own day.]

There were special manufactories for instruments of bronze; for a fine mould for hatchets has been discovered at Morges, and real foundries at Echallens, in the canton of Vaud, and at Dovaine, near Thonon. Moreover, a bar of tin which was taken from among the piles of Estavayer proves that bronze was not imported from abroad in a state of alloyage. The people of Helvetia knew how to procure raw metals, and those valleys of the Alps, which even during the age of Stone had been the centre of commerce, on the one side with the Baltic and on the other with the Mediterranean, now exchanged their products with the islands of the Cassiterides.¹ Agriculture developed itself simultaneously with commerce, and it was probably to the progress made in the production of alimentary commodities that the population owed its marked increase. The breeding of domestic animals equally augmented in importance, and the horse, scarcely represented in the age of Stone, now appeared in numbers. The advances of the lacustrian colonies appear not to have modified their religion.

The Iron Age

The duration of the lacustrian settlements of the age of Bronze was very long, to judge from the thickness of the beds of remains, and from the great difference of the waste which appears in the piles planted at different epochs on the same site; but the destruction of these settlements was as violent as that of the aquatic habitations of the preceding age, for what remains of them under the surface of the waters incontestably bears traces of pillage and con-

[¹ The Tin Islands Sometimes identified with the Scilly Islands.]

flagration. A new people, armed with blades of iron, invaded the vast undulated plain which stretches between the base of the Alps and that of the Jura; and after a war of more or less duration, finished by possessing themselves of the wooden fortresses in which the lacustrians had taken refuge. The catastrophe was nearly final. The lacustrian villages of Steinberg and Graseren, in the lake of Bienne, and of La Tène, in the lake of Neuchâtel, were the only important localities in which the primitive population could seek a refuge. The people disappeared, and history has not even recorded their ruin. The lacustrian villages, which had been during the course of so many centuries the residence of a powerful race, were replaced by miserable huts, where the families of fishermen, suspended above the waves, sought a meagre existence. Some remains of rude pottery dating from the Roman epoch, show that these aquatic abodes were still inhabited at the commencement of our era.

The invaders are known — they could be no others than the Helvetians of Gaul or southern Germany.

PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE LAKE-DWELLERS

What were these aborigines, whom archæology has, as it were, resuscitated, by an examination of the remains found in the mud of the lakes? Were they of Finnish, Sicilian, Iberian, or Pelasgic origin? Should we seek their native country on the table-land of Iran, or on the soil of western Europe itself? One thing only seems certain: that they were men of small size, more remarkable for their agility than their strength. Their narrow bracelets could encircle only delicate arms; their swords, with short handles, could not have been grasped by the large hands of the Gauls, and necessitated a certain skill in fencing — in viewing them one might say that they had been wielded by agile warriors, like the Basque soldiers. Nothing, however, as yet authorises the learned to give a definite answer. Here we have tribes, who reveal to us their intimate life, their domestic habits, and who make a mystery of their name. Their productions have been collected in our museums, we have been able even to draw up their statistics in an approximative manner; but they pass before us in history like apparitions, and we know not how to connect them with any of the races which precede or which follow them.^g

The most recent investigations as to the age of the lake-dwellings have fixed their chronology somewhat more definitely. Gustaf Oscar Montelius,^h the most eminent authority on the dates of these early ages, announced, in 1899, certain conclusions, as to their chronology, based upon a comparison of finds in the lake-dwellings with similar objects of known date, found in Italy and at Troy, and believed by him to be contemporaneous. He adopted an arrangement into four ages which had become quite generally accepted by scientists. The term "Transition period" is used to denote the time when among the objects of stone appear a few of copper. Upon the conclusions of Dr. Montelius may be based a chronology, which, expressed in general terms, is as follows: (1) Stone Age before 3000 B.C.; (2) Transition period 3000 to 2000 B.C.; (3) Bronze Age 2000 to 1000 B.C.; (4) Iron Age 1000 to 100 B.C.

The chief matters for controversy that still remain are concerned with the nature of the change from one characteristic period to another, and with the identity of the peoples inhabiting the lake-villages in the different periods. In contradiction to Troyon's^e views, the original investigator, Dr. Ferdinand Keller,^d upheld a theory which was endorsed by Sir John Lubbockⁱ (now

Lord Avebury), who thus sums it up: "The primitive population did not differ, either in disposition, mode of life, or industry, from that which was acquainted with the use of bronze; and all the phenomena of the lake-villages, from their commencement to their conclusion, indicate clearly a gradual and peaceable development. The number of instances in which lake-villages have been destroyed by fire has been, he [Doctor Keller] considers, exaggerated. It must, I think, be confessed that the arguments used by Troyon do not justify us in believing with him that the introduction of bronze was accompanied by an entire change of population." It should be noted, however, that Troyon's theory does not call for "an entire change of population," but merely the driving of the original population of the Stone Age into the western part of Switzerland by the invaders.

Troyon's theories, on the other hand, have received strong support. Studer,^j who came to Troyon's conclusion that, with the introduction of bronze, a new race came in, based it upon the fact that in the Bronze Age two types of skulls were found, dolichocephalic and brachycephalic, whereas in the pure Stone Age appears only one type, the brachycephalic. Rudolf Virchow,^k the great German anthropologist, on practically the same basis, put forth the opinion that during the Bronze Age a new people did indeed join the original lake-dwellers, but by degrees, not as one great immigration subverting the previous order of things. This view Munro^l thinks is "greatly strengthened by collateral circumstances. No violent disturbance of the previous conditions of life is anywhere to be detected." Munro,^l moreover, upholds Troyon's conception of the entrance upon the scene of the people of the Iron Age. "With the introduction of iron into general use in Switzerland," he says, "we have a new people, who conquered and subjugated the lake-dwellers, and gave the death-blow to their systems of lake-villages. The owners of these La Tène [Iron Age] weapons in Switzerland were the Helvetians, of Roman fame, who, according to Cæsar, were a branch of the great Celtic family. Who these Celts were, is a question which still puzzles historians, philologists, and archæologists."

We now come to the question still in dispute among archæologists and ethnologists, as to who were the original lake-men of the Stone Age. Doctor Keller^d believed that these were Celts—a view which Munro^l opposes. "They were part of the first neolithic inhabitants," says Munro, "who entered the country by the regions surrounding the Black Sea and the shore of the Mediterranean, and spread westward, along the Danube and its tributaries, till they reached the great central lakes. Here they founded that remarkable system of lake-villages whose ruins and relics are now disinterred, as it were, from another or forgotten world."

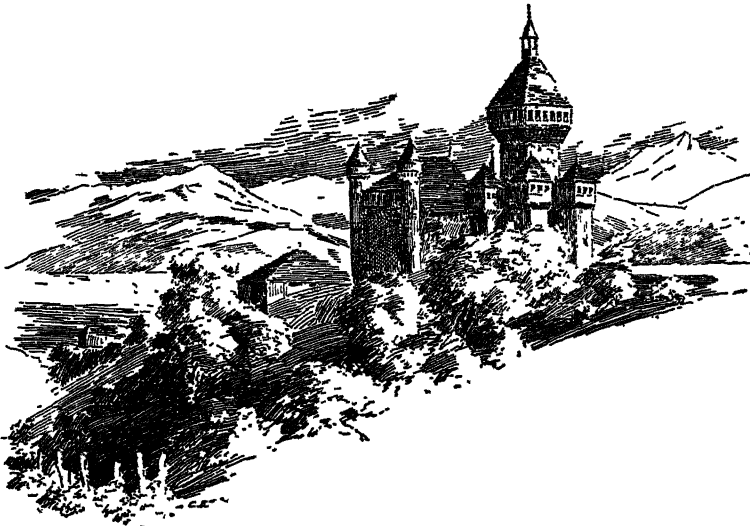
Professor Virchow^k well sums up the whole matter, and emphasises a point brought out by Troyon.^e He says of these ancient peoples of Switzerland: "Nothing in the physical characteristics of this race warrants the assumption of an inferiority of their bodily structure. On the contrary, the splendid skulls of Auvernier may be exhibited with honor among the skulls of the highly civilised nations of to-day. By their capacity, their form, and the details of their construction, they rank equal with the best skulls of the Aryan race. The solution of the problem whether a single people ran through this entire course of development, from the Stone Age to the characteristic Iron Age, will yet require much work; but the fact that in the same spot, or at any rate within one and the same district, such great changes in civilisation were accomplished, will forever assure the lake-dwellings a conspicuous place in the esteem of men."^a

[107 B.C.]

CONFLICTS WITH ROME; THE HELVETIANS

The condition of the tracts between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Jura, remains involved in almost entire obscurity till the appearance of the Helvetians, a race of Gallic Celts, whom some unknown accident had guided from the borders of the Rhine and the Main to those of the lake of Geneva. The toilsome cultivation of these regions, while it left but little time for martial enterprise, conducted with the pure mountain breezes to form a stout and hardy people, which divided itself into four districts, then, as in later ages, connected with each other by the feeble bonds of a federal union.

It is probable that the Gallo-Celtic inhabitants of these regions, bordering



CHÂTEAU VUFFLENS, ON THE LAKE OF GENEVA

(Ninth century)

so closely upon Italy, took part in the great inroads of the Gauls on that country. But their first ascertained military enterprise was conducted in alliance with the Cimbri and Teutones, who roamed from unknown regions in the east and the north, extended their conquests and ravages along the banks of the Rhine, and even struck the already powerful Roman commonwealth with terror. Whether few or many Helvetian tribes accompanied that expedition, is a point which cannot now be determined. What is evident, however, is that each of these tribes had full liberty of waging wars and allying itself with foreigners. Thus, the Tigurini, for example, marched with the Cimbri nearly to the mouths of the Rhone. But when a Roman army, under the consul Lucius Cassius, threatened their rear, they suddenly wheeled round, apprehensive of being cut off from their homes; and led by their young general Diviko, completely defeated the Romans [at Aginnum, now Agen, on the Garonne, 107 B.C.]. The consul and his lieutenant Piso were left dead on the field. The conquerors only permitted the retreat of the survivors after they had given hostages and marched under the yoke.¹

[¹ A clan of the Helvetians, the Toygeni, was annihilated, 102 B.C., by the Roman armies under Marius in the defeat of the Cimbri at Aquae Sextiae; and a Helvetian clan, the Tigurini, alone escaped the slaughter of the barbarian invaders by Marius and Catullus at Vercelli, 101 B.C.]

Long after Diviko's excursion with the northern marauders, recollections of the fat pastures and rich domains of Gaul, of which a glimpse had been caught in the course of that excursion, furnished all who had, and many who had not, shared the adventure, with a theme for the most highly coloured description. There the vine and olive ripened under a warmer heaven, and the winter's snows were all but unknown. The effect of these reminiscences was enhanced by the accounts brought by travellers from the left bank of the Rhine, which produced their natural workings on a rude and simple people — a people highly irritable, daring, and self-confident — with whom prudent deliberation passed for cowardice, and in whom successful excursions had encouraged the propensity to predatory warfare. Their pastoral habits adapted them for any wandering enterprise; those distinctions of rank which are described as having existed among them marked out a military order. A leader of this class stood forth among the Helvetians in the person of Orgetorix, a man of rank and ambition. In peace he could not gratify his appetite for absolute power, and therefore built his hopes upon warfare. Having secretly gained a number of adherents, he came forward in a public assembly, and artfully persuaded the people to quit their rocky fastnesses, which barely furnished food for themselves and their cattle, and to march with him into the fair and fruitful territories of Gaul, where little resistance was to be feared from the effeminate inhabitants. It was resolved that they should break up and emigrate after the lapse of three years, with their wives and families, cattle and possessions. The interval was to be used in making the needful preparations. Before the year of the expedition had arrived, however, the despotic designs of Orgetorix were discovered; and he was reduced to lay violent hands on himself, in order to escape death at the stake.¹

The resolution of the Helvetians must have been based on deep conviction, since it suffered no alteration from so ominous an outset. That retreat might henceforth cease to be thought of, they burned their habitations and even their corn, reserving only three months' provisions. Moreover, they succeeded in persuading several neighbouring tribes to burn their towns and villages in like manner, and accompany them. Three hundred and sixty-eight thousand souls, of whom ninety-two thousand were able-bodied warriors, are computed to have marched out on this Gallic expedition. The Roman province of Gaul was, at the point of time before us, under the government of Julius Cæsar — already no less eminent as a military leader than he became, a few years afterwards, as a statesman. Without granting the passage desired by the Helvetians through his province, he found means to put them off, to gain time and collect reinforcements. He followed, with his army, their march through the lands of the Sequani and Ædui (inhabitants of the territory afterwards the Franche-Comté and duchy of Burgundy), alleging as his reasons the danger caused to the province under his charge by the descent of so warlike and enterprising a people, and the petitions for aid addressed to him by the Ædui, who were annoyed by the Helvetian inroad. In fact, however, any and every pretext for intervening in the affairs of Gaul was welcome to him. He made no demonstration of hostility till the main invading body had already crossed the Araris (Saône), when, falling on the Tigurini, who alone had remained on the left bank, he cut most of them to pieces, and dispersed the rest.

Notwithstanding this unlooked-for catastrophe, the Helvetians did not yet renounce the main scope of their enterprise, and made overtures to treat

[¹ Whether Orgetorix died by murder or suicide is uncertain.]

[15 B.C.]

with Cæsar. Old Diviko, who did not forget in recent defeat his former superiority, was commissioned for this purpose. No treaty could be brought to a conclusion; and Cæsar followed the march of the invaders a fortnight longer. At length, after a desperate and long-sustained conflict (58 B.C.) in the neighbourhood of Bibracte (Autun), the superiority of the Roman arms and discipline decided the day against the stubborn courage of the Helvetians. Their strength and spirit now completely broken, they submitted. The terms imposed by Cæsar on the vanquished invaders were: to return into their desolated country, and rebuild their wilfully ruined habitations. For their immediate provision, he supplied grain through the Allobroges (inhabitants of the territory extending from Geneva to Grenoble, and from Vienne on the Rhone to the Alps in Savoy); and promised for the future that they should live under their own laws, under the specious denomination of allies of the Roman people. In order, however, to watch and overawe these new allies, a fortress was built at Noviodunum (Nyon), near the lake of Geneva. Several other garrisons were stationed throughout the country. The Rhætians [inhabiting the Grisons] only, screened by their lakes and icebergs, might for a moment yet esteem themselves invincible, and form leagues with the natural allies of their tribe, who were scattered along the course of the Inn, throughout the vales of the present Tyrol, and in the plains later included in the circle of Swabia. They pursued a wild and reckless mode of life: plundered travellers, or broke suddenly forth in numerous hordes through their mountain passes, and fell by surprise on the neighbouring towns of Italy.

Even during Cæsar's Gallic proconsulate, there are traces of the Roman arms being turned against the Rhætians; and so soon as Augustus had firmly secured his dominion over the empire, he endeavoured to confine within more narrow bounds, on the southward, a people whose incursions had by this time become formidable even to the plains of upper Italy. Soon afterwards he sent against the Rhætians his two step-sons—Drusus from Italy, Tiberius through Gaul and by the Lake of Constance. Only after an obstinate struggle, renewed with repeated efforts, were these vigorous asserters of their country's independence compelled to bow beneath the universal empire of Rome (15 B.C.). A number of their youth were afterwards embodied in the legions, and the subject land was occupied by permanent encampments.

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

We have seen that the Helvetians were at first flattered by the Romans with the title of allies—a title of precarious value at any time, and which in the present case seems only to have been given till the land should be secured in subjection. This is rendered still more evident by the circumstance that an equestrian colony, even in Cæsar's time, had been founded at Noviodunum (Colonia Julia Equestris). Under Augustus, Munatius Plancus founded the Colonia Augusta Rauracorum; and the settlement at Vindonissa (Windisch) cannot be of much later date. The franchises conceded to these settlements, the grants of land and subsidies which (in order to encourage such establishments, and build them up as outworks of the Roman dominion) were conferred upon the Roman soldiers and colonists who chose them for a permanent residence, prove nothing with regard to the general welfare of the country and the condition of its primitive inhabitants. They, indeed, retained in part their simple forms of polity, which soon, however, became merged in the central administration; and even so early as the reign of Augustus, heavy poll and land taxes, hitherto unknown, were introduced in these regions.

When the weaker come in collision with the stronger, one precipitate step may easily plunge them into ruin. This was experienced by the Helvetians, on the occasion of the murder of the emperor Galba (69 A.D.) — an event of which the tidings either did not immediately reach them, or found them disinclined to acknowledge Vitellius, the candidate for the purple against Otho. This prevalent indisposition or ignorance was not at all corrected by the conduct of the twenty-first legion (surnamed *rapax*) at Vindonissa, which, with a rapacity suiting its surname, seized the pay set apart by the Helvetians for the garrison of the castle. The latter retaliated by intercepting letters between the German and Pannonian armies, and by arresting a centurion with a company of soldiers. Their general, Cæcina, who was marching from the Rhine with his unbridled bands to meet Otho in Italy, sacked and destroyed the bathing-place (now Baden) on the Limmat, which had grown during long peace to the importance of a municipal town. He called out reinforcements from Rætia, to fall upon the rear of the native insurgents. These, without practice in arms, discipline, or tactics, were, in fact, without any of the conditions of success, and found themselves attacked by mountaineers like themselves — Rætians. Assailed in flank by the legions under Cæcina, in rear by the cohorts coming up from Rætia, as well as by the disciplined youth of Rætia itself, they suffered a severe defeat. Borne down by the Thracian cohort, pursued and tracked to every retreat by the light German and Rætian troops, many thousands were left dead upon the field, or made prisoners and afterwards sold for slaves.

When the news of the lost battle reached Aventicum,¹ amazement and distress prevailed. The ambassadors, who were instantly sent to appease the wrath of the conqueror, were received and addressed with harshness by Cæcina. He demanded, first of all, the execution of the principal man in the nation, Julius Alpinus. He referred the people for mercy to the emperor, who alone had power to mitigate their well-deserved chastisement.^c A story, to which Byron gave poetic setting in *Childe Harold*, to the effect that Julia Alpinula, a daughter of Alpinus, pleaded in vain at the feet of Cæcina for her father's life, has been shown to rest upon the falsification of an inscription.^c The Helvetic envoys made their appearance before Vitellius, anxious yet scarce hoping, to avert the last extremities. Audience at length being given, the infuriated soldiers brandished weapons of death before their eyes, and demanded loudly the total extirpation of a race which had laid presumptuous hands on Roman warriors. Vitellius himself knitted his heavy brows, and muttered menaces. The spokesman of the Helvetians, Claudius Cossus, stood pale as death before him, made no attempt to excuse the facts, but only depicted in the liveliest hues the misery of his country, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and begged so irresistibly that all hearts were affected, and the soldiers themselves took part in supplicating mercy for Helvetia. Thus that country was preserved by one man; but instead of being, as hitherto, entitled the ally of Rome, it was degraded into union with the province of Gaul.

It, however, remains doubtful whether, even at this period, when the whole land was nominally subject to the Romans, a certain measure of freedom, in its wooded and rocky recesses at least, might not still have continued to exist compatibly with a nominal allegiance, perhaps even with the payment of a tribute. The remains of Roman settlements, extending from the Albis to the Bernese Oberland, lead to the inference that a connected line of

[¹ Now Avenches. This place, the chief city of the Helvetians, flourished greatly under the Romans. It is here that the principal remains of the Roman civilization in Switzerland are to be found.]

[69-409 A.D.]

garrisons was kept up for security towards the interior of the country. Roman coins, etc., have been found in the interior, and even in the higher parts of the mountains. Roman habiliments, manners, and usages became diffused throughout the country, along with their attendant effeminacy, luxury, and moral corruption. The Latin language gradually encroached upon and in some measure superseded that of the country. Even in things of common use and in agriculture, many Latin names, which have not been adopted into the formed and matured dialects of Germany, are to be met with at the present day in Switzerland. All genuine nationality was extinguished, and the very name of Helvetia disappeared. The inhabitants became mere subjects.

The government of Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, and the two Antonines, in almost its whole duration, may be reckoned among such blessings as providence but sparingly vouchsafes to mankind. Human industry penetrated the fastnesses of the mountains. The Alpine cows became an article of commerce; for though the breed was small and poor in flesh, it was capable of enduring labour, and afforded abundance of milk: the Alpine cheeses gained at that early period the renown which they retain to this day. Experiments were undertaken in agriculture; and the Falernian hills were rivalled by the vineyards of Rhætia. The Helvetians paid peculiar veneration to the god of wine; and preserved his gifts, not as yet in wine cellars, but in wine casks. They worshipped also the sun, by the name of Belin, the invincible god; and his sister Isis, the moon; the sylphs, their guardian angels; and the shadowy powers, the *dii manes*. But the period must soon terminate in which individual qualities softened the workings of pure despotism and military dominion. The inseparable consequences of boundless prodigality and consequent rapacity, on the part of the rulers, had made government a mere unpunished system of plunder. Admission to the rights of Roman citizenship, which under Caracalla became easier than ever, had the effect of introducing Roman citizens into all situations hitherto filled by natives. Thus the latter came at length to be governed by functionaries, who acted upon interests wholly distinct from theirs — a grievance which rose to its highest pitch in the reign of Diocletian, who conferred upon the higher class of officers powers of proceeding summarily, without calling assessors.

Christianity, during this period, spread by degrees throughout Helvetia. The original announcement of the new faith has been ascribed by the legends to a certain Beatus, so early as the first century; in the third century, to Lucius, a Rhætian; at the close of the fourth, to the members of the so-called Theban legion. In like manner, the signatures of bishops or presbyters of churches in the Valais, at Geneva, Coire, Aventicum, and elsewhere, are handed down to us, bearing date from the fourth century. These, however, are of extremely doubtful genuineness. What is better made out, is that a church existed at the close of that century in the Valais. During the fifth, others were established in the rest of the above-mentioned places.

THE GERMANIC INVASIONS; FRANKISH RULERS

Meanwhile the Roman power sank lower and lower. Not the misused people only, but many men of rank and power, encouraged foreign, in order to get rid of domestic enemies. Under the perpetual minority of the imbecile Arcadius and Honorius, the empire, already more than once dissevered, became permanently parted into eastern and western. Precisely at this

epoch of exhaustion, more numerous swarms of semi-barbarous nomad nations set themselves in motion than at any former period; the roughest and remotest of which drove the others forwards on the now defenceless frontiers of the empire.¹ While from the east the Goths fell upon Italy, while the Vandals and the Suevi attacked Spain, the Burgundians marched on the upper Rhine, from the Oder and the Vistula. (409 A.D.) Imperial Rome, too feeble to repel them, granted them, according to former examples, the possession of the larger part of the lands which they had devastated; thus purchasing their alliance against enemies yet more formidable.

The Burgundians fixed their residence (443 A.D.) on both sides of the Jura, on the lake of Geneva, in the Valais, on the banks of the Rhone and the Saône. They had adopted Christianity on their reception as Roman allies — a title which, by this time, had completely changed its import; and, instead of future subjugation, augured future mastery. They combined with large and vigorous outward proportions a character less rude than that of some northern nations. In the quality of peaceable guests and new allies of the empire, they spared the still remaining towns and other Roman monuments, and permitted the former owners to retain their established laws and customs; appropriating, however, to themselves, a third of the slaves, two thirds of the cultivated lands, and one half of the forests, gardens, and farm buildings. Much obscurity, during this period, rests on the history of those regions which are now German Switzerland. It is not exactly known how far the first Burgundian Empire extended itself over the plain of the Aare. Eastward of that stream, and over a great part of Germany, the land was overrun by the Alamanni. These new-comers, embittered towards whatever bore the name of Roman, destroyed the still remaining fragments of fortresses and cities, which, in common with all German tribes, they utterly detested. They did not treat the inhabitants with cruelty, but reduced them to a state of complete servitude. All Roman landed property they seized without exception, and only allowed the tenants to remain there in the situation of bondmen, and on the condition of paying them dues. This barbarian torrent overwhelmed the public monuments and symbols of Christianity. Whatever yet remained of the old culture disappeared, or, at all events, concealed itself.

Towards the close of the fifth century, another German race, or rather confederacy of tribes, obtained ascendancy. These were the Franks, a sturdy stem of heathen, whose power was established in Gaul by their leader Chlodwig (Clovis, Louis). This chief engaged in hostilities against the Alamanni. The hostile nations met in deadly conflict (496 A.D.). The fall of their prince decided the Alamanni to surrender, and transfer their allegiance to the victorious king of the Franks; and Clovis marched along with them into their territories. Here, however, hostility towards the Franks and their new gods induced many to refuse him obedience. It was not until nine years after his victory that the body of the tribe was brought to submission. Clovis resolved to extirpate a population so unmanageable. While he raged thus furiously against the Alamanni, his brother-in-law Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, wrote to remind him that mercy and moderation better became a monarch than vengeance. As Clovis turned a deaf ear to this wise and benevolent counsel, many of the conquered Alamanni finally threw themselves into the arms of their intercessor. Thus Rætia became added to the dominions of the Ostrogoths; and at length, in the year 500 A.D.,

[¹ The Alamanni, about 260 A.D., over-ran Switzerland, and laid Aventicum in ashes.]

[534-628 A.D.]

south-western or Roman Switzerland belonged to the Burgundians, northern or German Switzerland was shared between the Franks, the Alamanni, and the wilderness — Rhetia was possessed by the Ostrogoths. These partitions, however, were destined to have no long duration. The first Burgundian Empire owed its final dissolution 534 A.D., in a great degree to the family feuds and vices of its princes. The empire of the Ostrogoths verged to its fall about the same period. Five successive kings incurred successive losses in war and land. Dietbert, king of the Franks, took advantage of their weakness (536 A.D.) to recover the possession of Rhetia. Thenceforward the Franks held exclusive rule over the whole extent of Rhetia and Helvetia.

From this period is derivable, in a general way, without aiming at impossible exactness, the distinction of the French and German languages in Switzerland. So far as the dominions of the Alamanni, and since their subjection those of the German Franks, extended, the present Swiss dialect of German took its rise from the original roots of that language. In the lands about the lakes of Geneva and Neuchâtel, where the power of the Burgundians was established, the Gallo-Roman popular dialect kept its ground, from which were formed the several Romance dialects; from these, again, the Provençal; and at last the modern French. More obscure in their origin, however obvious in their existence, are some characteristic varieties in the divisions of the race itself; for notwithstanding all the mixtures which have hitherto taken place, and all local exceptions, a marked dissimilarity exists between them. The more rounded contours of the western inhabitants are distinguishable at once from the strong features of the eastern. The latter may conjecturally be traced to the Alamanni, while the former are more probably inherited from a Frankish stem.

The Frank kings of the family of Merovæus were the third exclusive rulers of Helvetia. As no fixed laws of succession existed, the country belonged, under their government, now to one head of the whole Frank dominions, now to several princes, amongst whom those dominions were divided, and who were no less divided by disputes among themselves. In the year 613 A.D., Clotaire II succeeded in uniting the whole empire of the Franks, after long internal wars and scenes of violence had taken place. Prosperity was gradually restored to the wasted lands of Gaul and of Helvetia. On the demise of Clotaire in 628 A.D., his son Dagobert ascended the throne. What the father had begun, the son successfully continued; and administered his realm with vigour, wisdom, and justice. In these times Helvetia, which in earlier days had counted twelve towns, four hundred villages, and above 350,000 inhabitants, lay in great part waste and desolate, covered over with morasses and forests. Here and there a cluster of rude tenements might be met with, around a farm, a fortress, or a monastery. The revival of a country is difficult after long disasters; especially when its natural site and qualities are unfavourable to the rapid growth and bloom of civilisation. The recovery of Helvetia, therefore, could only advance slowly. It commenced, however, under Clotaire and Dagobert. Villages and towns arose in many places; and their rise was often favoured by religious foundations. Those of St. Gall, Disentis, Zurich, Lucerne, and Romain Motier may be traced to the times of which we have been treating. The bishops — who, like their clergy, very generally lived in wedlock — were elected by the latter and by the people, and afterwards confirmed by the king.

Soon after the time of King Dagobert, the Merovingian dynasty began to verge towards ruin. They gave over the government altogether into the hands of their prime functionary, the mayor of the palace (*major domus*);

who was also commander-in-chief of the army. In the year 751 A.D., two centuries and a half since the erection of the Merovingian dynasty by Clovis, Childeric III was deposed from the throne by the assembly of the people at Soissons, thrust aside into a convent, and succeeded on the throne by the mayor of his palace, Pepin the Little, who founded the new Carolingian dynasty.

The Carolingian dynasty, founded by Pepin, received its name from his son Charles; who not only excelled his father in greatness, but exalted himself high above the mass of his contemporaries. Pepin, with consent of his nobles, had, in 768 A.D., divided his kingdom between his sons, Charlemagne and Carloman; and the early death of the latter did not leave the former free from the suspicion of having hastened it by poison. Charlemagne, shortly after his accession, put an end to the Lombard kingdom in upper Italy. He was crowned at Rome as emperor, by the pope, in the year 800.

Helvetia had her share of the provisions made by Charlemagne, with a wisdom far beyond his age, for the popular instruction. Among the schools which he established or reformed was that of Zurich,¹ where the grateful recollection of his bounty was preserved by an annual celebration. He also introduced vine-cultivation into Helvetia; and peopled several districts by transporting thither the conquered Saxons. He occasionally made some stay at Zurich, and enriched the cathedral church with his donations. We read, moreover, that men from the Thurgau served in his campaigns, whose strength and spirit attracted general notice.

Many common-lands were divided, and converted into arable. In the Valais, and even in the neighbourhood of Zurich, vines were cultivated. The inhabitants, formerly scattered, now collected themselves into farms and villages, in which commonly stood a baronial tower or mansion. Every village had a special jurisdiction, under its *vogt*, or bailiff. The whole district assisted in the trial of important cases. The general assembly, which was held in the open air, was joined by every one who possessed seven feet of land before and behind him. The elders took the first place; the count stated the case; and every man gave judgment on it, as God had given him understanding. After the case had been thus debated, the judges, properly so called, stepped into the circle — that is to say, into the middle of a ring formed by the rest of the meeting — and that which they declared was received for doom. The monastery of St. Gall, already wealthy and powerful, distinguished itself for science and for discipline. It was not, indeed, an age of native learning; nor had St. Gall much to boast of in the shape of intellectual productions of its inmates or tenantry. Here, however, the books of the fathers and ancient historians were read and copied; and many a Latin work, now extensively diffused, might have been lost to the modern world but for the toils of these obscure monks, inhabiting a corner of the Thurgau.^c

GERMAN AND BURGUNDIAN HELVETIA

In the division of Charlemagne's empire, the Helvetia of the Alamanni — German Helvetia — fell to the share of Ludwig the German, and afterwards continued attached to that part of the German empire called the duchy of Swabia. Burgundian Helvetia was dependent sometimes on the kingdom of Italy, and sometimes on France until after the death of Louis le Bègue in 879, when the monarchy fell into confusion. The kingdom raised by Boson

[¹ The Institute of Canons and the Karolnrum claimed to have been founded by him.]

[888-987 A.D.]

[Arles, or Cisjurane Burgundy] was parcelled into three. Rudolf count of western Helvetia, son of Conrad count of Paris, and related to the Carolingian dynasty, assembled at St. Maurice, in the Valais, several lords and bishops, who crowned him (888) as King Rudolf I of Upper Burgundy. He was acknowledged in western Helvetia, and in the country west of the Jura, as far as the river Saône. Rudolf, after sustaining a war against the emperor Arnulf, who came into Helvetia with an army of Germans, was induced to repair to Regensburg (Ratisbon), where a general diet was held, in which the affairs of France and Burgundy were regulated. Upper or Little Burgundy was acknowledged as an independent kingdom (890). Rudolf, after reigning twenty-four years, was succeeded by his son Rudolf II.

Meantime German Helvetia, ever since the abolition of the ducal dignity by Pepin, was governed by *missi cameræ* [imperial commissioners], who resided in Swabia. Two brothers, Erchanger and Berthold, who were entrusted with this office, became jealous of Solomon, bishop of Constance and abbot of St. Gall, and lord of several other convents and domains. He had been a favourite of Arnulf and of Louis IV, the last emperor of the Carolingian race, who granted him lands from the imperial domains. The two brothers took Solomon prisoner, but the bishop's reputation stood so high that the country rose in his favour; he was released, and the two commissioners, being arraigned for sacrilege before a court of Swabian nobles, were condemned to death and executed. Burkhardt count of Thurgau was the principal instigator of this severe sentence. Soon after, Burkhardt himself was made, by the emperor Conrad, with the consent of the nobles of the province (917), duke of Alamannia, called also duke of Swabia, which government included German Helvetia.

Burkhardt quarrelled with Rudolf II of Burgundy about the frontier district of Aargau; but peace was re-established between them, and Rudolf married Burkhardt's daughter.¹ The river Reuss seems to have marked the limits between the two states. Rudolf was then called into Italy by a party of lords of that country. Hugo count of Provence, who had expelled Boson's grandson from his little kingdom of Arles, started as rival to Rudolf for the crown of Italy. Rudolf called to his assistance Burkhardt, his father-in-law; the old warrior came, but, being over-confident in his contempt for his Italian enemies, he was killed near Milan. Rudolf then returned to his own dominions, which the emperor Henry I enlarged by part of German Helvetia, detached from the dukedom of Alamannia; and for this Rudolf did homage to the empire.^m As a result of the Italian campaign Rudolf gave up his pretensions to Italy, and received in exchange from Hugo, Provence (930). By the addition of this country (the old Arles or Cisjurane Burgundy) to Rudolf's possessions (Upper or Transjurane Burgundy) the earlier kingdom of Burgundy was reunited, and the Burgundian power raised to a height that it had not reached before. Switzerland, as an important part of this realm, partook of its greatness.^a Hugo of Provence died soon afterwards, and the Burgundians of both parties were finally expelled from Italy. It appears that the Italians had conceived great aversion to the whole nation, on account of their excessive eating and drinking, and because the Burgundian voices sounded too rude for Italian ears.

After the death of Rudolf II, in 937, Otto I, emperor of Germany, came into Burgundy and took away Conrad, Rudolf's son, who was still a minor, in

[¹ This was Bertha, afterwards famous as "good Queen Bertha." As a marriage portion, she brought to Burgundy her lands in Upper Aargau, thus enlarging the kingdom by a considerable part of Switzerland.]

order to have him brought up under his own eyes.^m During the absence of Conrad, Bertha, the good queen Bertha, governed the kingdom. Who has not heard of the humble gracious queen who, mounted on her palfrey, a spindle in her hand, went from castle to castle, from monastery to monastery, from farm-yard to farm-yard, doing everywhere deeds of piety and charity? One day the queen of Payerne—for that was her name in the traditions of Burgundy—met in the fields near Orbe a young peasant woman who was spinning while she watched her flock. Bertha, well pleased, gave a valuable present to the girl. On the morrow the ladies of her train all appeared before her, each with a distaff in her hand. But the queen smiled at sight of them. "Ladies," she said, "the young peasant, like Jacob, came first, and she has carried away my blessing." The rule of Queen Bertha and her husband Rudolf II was distinguished by the laying of foundations for numerous pious and useful institutions, and the building of churches, monasteries, bridges, roads, castles, and hostelries.^p Conrad, having become of age, was restored by Otto to his dominions; and the emperor married Conrad's sister, Adelaide queen of Italy. In Conrad's reign another irruption took place of the Hungri or Madjars, called by some Turci, who had some years before overrun Italy and Rhetia; they afterwards penetrated into Western Helvetia. Conrad defeated the Madjars, as well as some bands of Saracens who had found their way to the valleys of Jura, by opposing the barbarians to each other and deluding each party with the expectation of his assistance against the other. While the wandering hostile hordes were fast engaged in combat, Conrad fell upon both and destroyed them. After this he reigned long and in peace.^m

SWITZERLAND TORN BY DISSENSIONS IN THE EMPIRE

Helvetia hoped in vain to enjoy repose beneath the wide-extended wing of the German Empire. The obstinate, protracted, and destructive strife which raged between the emperor and the pope, engendered the most violent disorders even in its mountain recesses. On the demise of Henry III, in 1056, the imperial crown descended on the head of his son Henry IV. Under his reign, the discord between emperors and popes broke out into open warfare, which raged through nearly half a century, and at a later period blazed out anew. Hildebrand ascended the papal throne, as Gregory VII (1073). Having contrived to obtain the emperor's assent to his nomination, though the election had already taken place without his concurrence, Gregory at once set to work in the accomplishment of his schemes against the secular power.

Helvetia, at this period, offered no agreeable aspect. Its first and most powerful prince, Duke Rudolf of Swabia, along with Berthold of Zähringen, duke of Carinthia, and many other princes, had revolted from the emperor. The country was divided betwixt the parties: Rudolf was ascendant in Swabia; the emperor, in Burgundian Helvetia. Through the excommunication launched against Henry, Gregory freed from their oaths of allegiance all the imperial vassals and subjects. Henry's friends became discouraged; and events took such a turn that the princes at length threatened to give effect to the papal sentence if Henry did not clear himself from it within the term of a year. In this situation the emperor had no resource left but to creep with his wife and children into Italy, in the depth of winter, amidst unheard-of difficulties and dangers, without money, without escort, through the mountain passes occupied by Rudolf and the rest of his enemies. On his arrival he was hailed with loud acclamations by his Lombard vassals; and

[1090-1152 A.D.]

nothing but want of spirit could have induced him to implore remission of the sentence, at the price of the hardest conditions and the deepest humiliations. With rage and revenge in his heart, he returned to Germany. Here he found Duke Rudolf of Swabia enthroned as anti-Cæsar. But he found, too, a strong party of adherents in the free towns, in the clergy, who were mostly averse to Gregory's innovations, and amongst all who felt indignation over the dishonour done to the German name, and sympathy for their deeply humbled emperor. Now began a war of extermination, by which even a large portion of Helvetia was depopulated. The fortune of war declared itself in favour of Henry. In a decisive battle at Merseburg, in 1080, Rudolf was mortally wounded; and his hand, which had been cut off in the combat, being shown him, he is said to have repentantly exclaimed, "That is the hand which I pledged in swearing fealty to the emperor!" His fall was regarded as a judgment of God, and Henry's adherents gained the ascendancy.

After the fall of Rudolf of Swabia, the anti-Cæsar, at Merseburg, his vacant dukedom was bestowed by the victorious Henry IV on his son-in-law Frederick of Hohenstaufen. Rudolf's son, Count Berthold of Rheinfelden, contested in a long war the possession of his father's domain with its new owner. Berthold died in the year 1090, by which event the rights of the count of Rheinfelden were transmitted to his brother-in-law, Berthold II of Zähringen. The nobles in Ulm recognised the new duke immediately, and tendered him the oath of allegiance. Frederick of Hohenstaufen prepared for a renewal of the war with fresh vigour; but Berthold well knew that the land was tired out by protracted vexations, and he himself preferred a moderate fortune to the doubtful issue of warfare. He therefore appeared in the presence of the emperor at the diet of Mainz, in 1097, and there surrendered the ducal office and dignity into Frederick's hands, terminating by this submission the four-and-twenty years' hostility maintained by his house against Henry IV. As a recompense for this renunciation, Henry shared the sometime duchy of Swabia or Alamannia between the two candidates; so that Swabia, properly so called, was allotted to Frederick, while Helvetia was conferred upon Berthold, almost in its present extent.¹ This arrangement finally separated Swabia from Helvetia, and extinguished the very name of Alamannia. Thus the land was tranquillised, and thus the beneficent power of the princes of Zähringen was established in Helvetia. They found the land in a far from happy condition. Long and furious warfare had engendered insecurity, immorality, distress, and disorder. On the other hand, foundations, pious and useful for the times, increased in number, and promoted culture, physical and moral. The towns, too, acquired more and more importance: on the whole, the accession of the dynasty of Zähringen seemed to announce an era of more general well-being.

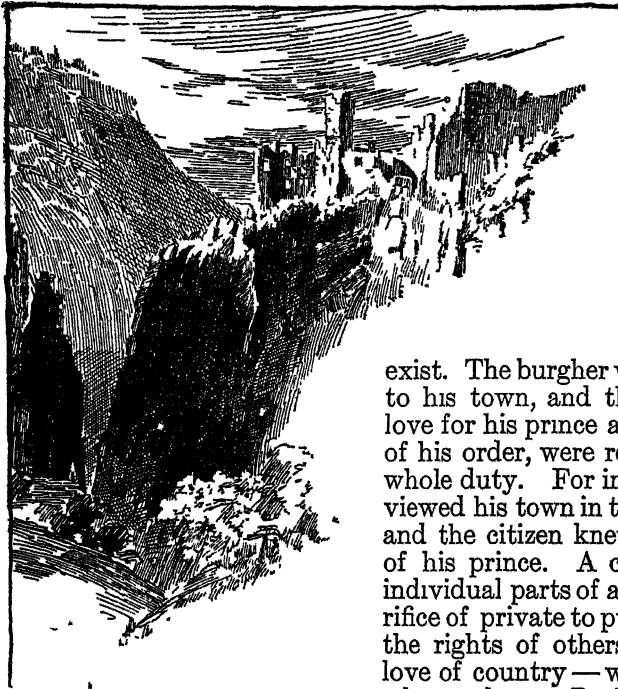
In the year 1152, Berthold IV stood at the head of the house of Zähringen. He had numerous dependants, but even more numerous enemies who envied his preponderant power. In order to keep these within bounds, and to strengthen himself against the nobles of Burgundy, Berthold walled in many existing hamlets, or built new towns, and gave them extraordinary privileges. In these the love of freedom, of tranquillity, or of profit, collected together a multitude of persons, who naturally adhered with steady fidelity to the duke, by whom their new position had been given and was secured to them. On the other hand, the duke intruded no one as a citizen, nor prevented any from

[¹ Berthold received the office of imperial warden over the town, chapter, and district of Zurich, with the title of duke. The Zähringens later became imperial rectors of Burgundy, Conrad III of that house, in 1127, being granted this dignity by the emperor Henry V.]

[1191 A.D.]

changing their places of residence at pleasure; so that free and bondsmen vied with each other in pressing into the towns. The latter became free when their masters did not claim them within the term of one year, and prove their vassalage by the oath of seven witnesses. The burghers imposed taxes on themselves. They were obliged to march no farther in the wars of the duke than so that they might still sleep at home the same night. Every burgher must possess a house, as pledge of his allegiance. In good or evil fortune they stood each for all, and all for each. Thus simple were the laws and customs observed by the rising class of burghers.

These laws and regulations, indeed, were calculated, not for the general



SWISS CASTLE

good of a state, but for a single town, and for those who belonged to it. This apparent selfishness may be pardoned, if we recollect the necessities and circumstances of the period. At the time when towns were founded, nothing like patriotism, far less zeal for the general rights of humanity, could

exist. The burgher who was heartily attached to his town, and the knight who cherished love for his prince and cultivated the virtues of his order, were regarded as fulfilling their whole duty. For in those times the burgher viewed his town in the light of his fatherland, and the citizen knew no state but the court of his prince. A closer bond between the individual parts of a commonwealth, the sacrifice of private to public interests, respect for the rights of others—in a word, a general love of country—was the product of a more advanced age. Besides, the nobles and clergy strove with their whole strength to keep down

the growing power of the citizens. This imposed on them the most vigilant regard to their own interests and the most complete union among themselves, so that the well-being of others could not be taken into account.

Berthold V followed the example of his father in laying the foundations of towns; for the dukes of Zähringen governed on a plan grounded upon, or rather prescribed by, the circumstances of the times. They found their power menaced by the nobility, and were therefore obliged to seek its humiliation. All the nobles of Burgundy revolted from the government of Berthold V, so that he was forced to live in a state of open warfare with his subjects. The duke twice defeated the insurgents.^c

THE FOUNDING OF BERN (1191)

The spirit of the time of city-building is revived for us in the story of the founding of Bern—the city that grew to be the most important of them all

[1191 A.D.]

—as it was set down from the contemporary chronicles in the *Annales* of Michael Stettler,ⁿ published at Bern in 1626. It reads as follows:^a

Berthold V, the most excellent of his race, accompanied the emperor Frederick to Syria and, as he liked not the war — called the Holy — he betook himself back from Tyre to Europe, overcame the Burgundians, and dwelt much in Little Burgundy, especially in Burgdorf, which in several old letters he calls his capital. He served the empire honourably as rector of Burgundy, ruled with might, loved justice, and so disciplined the lords of the lands subject to him that they feared him, and that subjects of the realm had to humble themselves and bow down before his power, as before one who held, next to the imperial dignity, the highest rank in German lands. The glorious duke Berthold's brave reign, his high honours and great power, at last became irksome and displeasing to certain of the lords; so much the more, because they felt that their hearts could not fashion the means whereby to repress and destroy this princely race that had risen to such a height. On the other hand, there were among the nobility of Burgundy and the Oechtland those who were well disposed towards the honourable duke; so that, out of his own impulse and at the urging of his close friends, he held steadily the purpose to build a city able to defend itself, for the checking of his haughty and defiant enemies and for the protection of his true-hearted subjects. There could not be found in these lands a more comfortable spot, according to the reports of his people, of his masters of the hunt, who upon his command had viewed all suitable places, than at a narrow place, where he had already a good castle called Nydeck. This was a peninsula nearly surrounded by the Aare. Because of its being by nature well fortified and having at hand the much needed wood for building, it was hoped that a most desirable site had been chanced upon. [This was imperial soil, a fact that from the first brought Bern into direct relation to the German Empire]

When now the noble duke, full of great deeds, had determined to accomplish his purpose, he appointed an excellent nobleman, of the family of Bubenbergh master-builder and executor of the work. Amid all this happy and praise-worthy work of building, Duke Berthold was minded to witness a merry hunting in the oak forest wherein the city was to be built. When it befell that the first wild beast that came forth to the hunters was a bear, which they, according to their wishes, slew and brought to their dear lord, he took it for a good omen, and resolved to call the new city, after the bear (*bär*), Bern — hoping that, as the bear is among all European four-footed beasts the strongest, the most courageous, and the most staunch, likewise the city of Bern might triumph over others that might, within or around her forests and boundaries, act wantonly toward her, and that she might bring the unseemly lot to fear and obedience. This name of Bern, moreover, fits very well the first three letters of Berthold, so that it may be supposed Bern received its name not only from the bear, but also from Berthold its founder. Much of the wood needed for building was cut upon the site itself. Not only many of the country-folk went willingly into the city, but Duke Berthold, that he might defend it from hostile onslaught by means of courageous, strong-fisted men, himself settled within it, and with him two powerful, renowned families, namely, the Müntzers of Zurich and the Muntzers of Fribourg in the Breisgau. Thereupon the lords and the nobility opposed to him became the more embittered against his power and princely happiness; yea, so that they spared not innocent youth, but secretly had poisoned his two young sons, the only hope for the preservation of his illustrious race. They were buried at Solothurn, in the choir of the church of St. Urs. Afterwards when this choir in the course

of rebuilding was moved, their bones, together with those of their mother, were found there wrapped in decaying black velvet bearing certain insignia.

In the year 1218, Berthold of Zähringen, greatly renowned, exchanged the temporal for the eternal life. Before his death he gave the city of Bern, which was very dear to him, to the emperor Henry VI and into the protection of the Roman Empire. From him the city received its first liberties. The burghers of Bern bewept with hot tears this their illustrious and benevolent ruler, as a true father of his established children, an introducer of liberties, worthy of praise and fame, a planter of peace and unity, and a right, honest and true lord. Frederick the Roman king, the son of Henry VI, remembering the kindness of his imperial father toward this new city, granted it many royal liberties and rights (1218).ⁿ

THE FREE CITIES AND THE EMPIRE

Upon the extinction of the race of Zähringen, which had united a large portion of Switzerland under one rule, the rectorate of Burgundy reverted to the German Emperor and became extinct. Thus, many towns and dynasties were rendered immediately dependent on the empire. The towns thereby obtained the much coveted degree of independence known as imperial freedom (*Reichsfreiheit*). Chief among those to profit by this advance toward freedom, gaining the proud title of free imperial cities (*freie Reichsstädte*), were Zurich, Bern, and Solothurn. Other portions of Switzerland already held similar privileges. The imperial cities now began to loom large in power and wealth. Freedom in individual localities made strides that proved significant in the future progress of Swiss nationality. On the other hand, a number of lay possessions (among which were those of the counts of Savoy, Geneva, Gruyeres, Neuchâtel, Lenzburg, Habsburg, Rapperschwyl, and Toggenburg) and spiritual properties (as, for instance, those of the bishops of Geneva, Sion, Lausanne, Bâle, Constance, Coire; of the abbots of St. Gall, Einsiedeln, and Muri) had acquired considerable independence and power. The large estates of the extinct house of Zähringen fell to the already powerful counts of Kyburg, and their possessions came later into the hands of their relatives the Habsburgs.^a

In 1273, Rudolf of Habsburg was, by universal consent, elected emperor, and the archbishop of Cologne proclaimed on the occasion that Rudolf was "wise, just, and beloved of God and man." After leading a wild and irregular life in his youth, Rudolf had later fully retrieved his character. He was, in general, a favourite with the towns, who, amidst the troubles of the interregnum, had felt thankful for the countenance and protection of so powerful a chief. Zurich had chosen him to command its militia, on being threatened by his neighbour Ulrich, baron of Regensburg. Rudolf defeated the baron, and obliged him to seek forgiveness of the citizens. He was not, however, on such friendly terms with the people of Bâle. The misunderstanding originated in some disputes he had with the bishop of that city; and an affray which occurred soon after widened the rupture. During the carnival of 1273, a number of knights and other young noblemen, the friends and dependents of Rudolf, repaired to Bâle to enjoy the festivities of that merry season. Some of them behaved rudely to the burghers' ladies, the husbands and fathers of whom rose against the insolent intruders, and killed several of them. The count of Habsburg, on receiving the dismal news, collected troops and marched against the city. While he was besieging the place, the news arrived of his election to the imperial throne. On hearing this, the citizens

[1288-1290 A.D.]

of Bâle came out of their walls, with every mark of respect for the new emperor, and invited him to enter their city with his troops. The past was easily forgotten: Rudolf assured the citizens of Bâle of his friendship, and they swore allegiance to him.

It was a time of wonder and rejoicing in Helvetia; the magistrates of the towns, the nobles, great and small, all repaired to Brugg, in Aargau, to congratulate the emperor. Their countryman, the valiant Rudolf, had been raised to the first throne of Europe. Rudolf, on his part, notwithstanding his elevation, the multifarious cares it brought on him, and the distance to which it removed him from his country, retained to the end of his life an affectionate regard for his brethren, the people of his native valleys. He granted Zurich a solemn pledge that that city should never be alienated from the empire. This was an important privilege in those times, when the emperors often gave away to the nobles, for pecuniary or other considerations, lands and towns belonging to the empire, as if they had been their private domain, by which means the inhabitants lost their immunities and privileges. He secured to Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Soleure the right of having their judges and avoyers taken from among themselves, and of being governed by their own municipal laws; and he bestowed on another town (Lucerne) similar franchises. These he also extended to Bienne, Aarau, Winterthur, Laupen, Diesenhoffen, and other secondary places; he moreover protected Lausanne and Fribourg against the encroachments of the counts of Savoy, asserting in that part of the country the imperial authority, under which he restored to their liberties all those who had been free before. He raised the bishop of Lausanne and the abbot of Einsiedeln to the rank of princes of the empire. He was liberal, but just and impartial, as well towards the towns as towards the nobles. On their part, the towns and the country at large showed their sense of gratitude to him by abundant supplies of men and money, in the exigencies in which he was often placed.

The city of Bern formed, unfortunately for both parties, the only exception to this good understanding. That city had acquired great importance in western Helvetia; it stood constantly in arms against the neighbouring nobles. Its fidelity to the empire having excited numerous enemies, it was compelled, during the interregnum, to place itself under the protection of Philip count of Savoy, and to make alliances with Soleure, Fribourg, and other towns.

Disputes, which were then of frequent occurrence among neighbours, brought the count of Kyburg [cousin to Rudolf] to besiege Bern, but his attempt was vain. Rudolf himself, in 1288, threatened the city, under pretence of protecting the Jews, whom the Bernese had driven away; but he retired without accomplishing anything. The same year, the Bernese defeated the baron of Weissenburg, took his castle of Wimmis, and destroyed that of Jagdberg, taking the knight of Blankenburg prisoner, who was afterwards received as a citizen of Bern. The following year Albert, son of Rudolf, known by the name of Albert of Austria, endeavoured to take Bern by surprise; but being discovered, he was himself attacked by the citizens; and after a severe engagement, in which many of the burghers fell, though their banner was saved by a desperate effort of valour, Albert, struck with regard for the bravery of the Bernese, made peace with them.^m



CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

[1291-1402 A.D.]

It is specially needful to bear in mind, first, that, till the last years of the thirteenth century, not even the germ of modern Switzerland had appeared on the map of Europe; secondly, that the Confederation did not formally become an independent power till the seventeenth century; lastly, that, though the Swiss name had been in common use for ages, it did not become the formal style of the Confederation till the nineteenth century. It is no less needful to root out the notion that the Swiss of the original cantons in any way represent the *Helvetii* of Cæsar. The points to be borne in mind are . that the Swiss Confederation is simply one of many German leagues, which was more lasting and became more closely united than other German leagues, that it gradually split off from the German kingdom; that in the course of this process the league and its members obtained a large body of Italian and Burgundian allies and subjects; lastly, that these allies and subjects have in modern times been joined into one federal body with the original German confederates.—FREEMAN.

NATURE AND MAN IN THE WALDSTÄTTE

At the foot and towards the centre of the Alps, which form a sort of natural wall between Germany and Italy, there lies on the northern side a deep-sunk lake, cut up into several basins, upon which open out three valleys, separated from one another by this sheet of water or by lofty and steep mountains. Watered by torrential rivers or by insignificant streamlets, divided at increasing heights into ever-narrowing valleys, shut in by steep inclines — above which mount, even to the region of snow, meadows, forests, and rocks — these valleys afford but little space for the cultivation of the soil, and are even in this respect unequally favoured.

The herds are here the principal source of wealth: one finds more shepherds than mechanics and labourers. Cattle-raising, dairying, the chase, and fishery furnish the natural resources of these harsh and picturesque regions. They cannot be inhabited except by robust peoples, content with little, having simple and rude habits, for everyone must be sufficient to himself, and in need count on nothing but his own strength. Incessantly in combat with nature, to which they must look for everything they hope for and everything they fear, the inhabitants of these secluded places contract in this struggle a sort of jealous love for all the possessions which they

[853 A.D.]

are obliged unceasingly to defend. That which they have snatched from floods, avalanches, storms, and abysses, in boldly risking their lives, they do not intend to see menaced or lessened by the encroachments of a neighbour or by the demands of a master. If necessary, they will make war on men as well as on the elements. In this combat against nature they feel, on the one hand, that everything depends on their own efforts and their perseverance — which renders them self-confident — and that, on the other hand, everything depends on a supreme divine will — which renders them patient and religious. As life in the open air of the Alps and in the fields fortifies their bodies, so the uniformity of their habits gives to their character a sort of moral serenity which preserves, and hands down from generation to generation, sentiments and tastes whose long duration is their strength. The simplicity and the small amount of variety of their way of living favour the spirit of equality among them, while the small number of new ideas put into circulation in their midst preserves them, longer than other people, from the love of innovations.

Reduced from of old, for all means of communication with the world, to the mountain paths or the difficult navigation of a stormy lake, this sort of seclusion has naturally drawn them close together among themselves. From this spirit of association and of mutual aid, which they possess in a high degree, accompanied as it is by isolation of the individual — a natural result of the pastoral life — there develops in each one of them a courageous independence. It is thus, by the configuration of the land as well as by the habits of the people, that these little valleys seem to have been providentially destined to become, in the centre of Europe, the cradle and one of the fortresses of liberty.^d

ORIGINS OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

In various city communities, but above all, among the apparently insignificant peasant associations on the Lake of Lucerne (Lake of the Four Forest Cantons), the Habsburg rule had from the beginning met with peculiar difficulties, which set barriers to its perfect sway. There, in the secluded Alpine valleys, a vigorous tree had risen, which was spreading its branches ever farther, to afford a refuge for popular freedom against the demands of princely power.

Frequently it has been emphasised in historical delineations that nature favoured the development of unique political organisations in the centre of the Switzerland of to-day. For centuries, every district touching upon the Lake of Lucerne was a separate little world, in which the conditions of public and private right shaped themselves in peculiar fashion. All three lands — the valley of Uri, bounded by mighty mountains of rock; the fields of Schwyz, spreading out at the foot of the Mythen; and the irregularly branching tracts of Unterwalden — were, on the other hand, drawn together into closer relations by the lake with its numerous indentations. Moreover, by means of its western connecting arm they were directed, for communication with the outside world, towards neighbouring Lucerne and the level plains lying further down. Thus the valleys of the original Switzerland, walled round by the High and Middle Alps, were formed into a federative nucleus, to which, gradually, new members in the open country joined themselves. It is impossible to determine with exactness the time in which the districts of central Switzerland, remote as they were from the great routes of travel of the earlier Middle Ages, were first peopled by their Alamannian inhabitants.

Uri

Uri first emerges into the light of history. Ludwig the German, July 21, 853, gave to the Fraumünster abbey at Zurich, in addition to other royal estates, the little land of Uri, *pagellus Uroniæ*. We find, in the thirteenth century, other owners of land in the valley. It is, moreover, beyond doubt that considerable land — especially in the Schächenthal, which branches off toward the east — was the personal property of freemen, and that these free farmers, together with the dependents of the abbey (*Gotteshausleute*), of Fraumünster, who were enjoying a mild rule, essentially determined the later fortunes of Uri.

Uri was a part of the Zurichgau, which, since the second half of the ninth century, had been separated from the Thurgau. The people of Fraumünster, because of the immunity that the chapter enjoyed by grant of the emperor, were subject to the imperial bailiwick of Zurich. The jurisdiction of the imperial bailiff probably extended not only to those belonging to the abbey, but also to all inhabitants of the valley, however they might differ in station; so that, at the time of the Zähringens, the inhabitants of the district appeared in their relation to the bailiff and the empire as a unit, having a common set of laws. Still more significant, however, was the circumstance that the population of Uri, from the mouth of the Reuss to the height of Schöllenen, constituted — according to the customs of the old Alamannian settlers — an association of the mark (*Markgenossenschaft*), which from time to time met in common assembly to settle questions concerning the use of the forest and pasture composing the *Almend*, or common land. Thus there gradually came to be a "community of the people of Uri," and the sense of unity was kept alive among the members of the markgenossenschaft. It was, moreover, difficult to prevent them from taking under consideration, in addition to the transactions strictly concerning the common holdings, matters of a general nature. These peasants found in their economic freedom the germ of a movement toward a freer political activity.

The dukes of Zähringen, in accordance with their known dynastic intentions, were in a good way to convert their official relations [as representatives of the empire] with the abbey of Zurich and its dependencies into full territorial jurisdiction, when with the death of Berthold V, in 1218, everything received a different aspect and direction. King Frederick II dissolved the imperial bailiwick of Zurich, and among other things, expressly reclaimed for the empire the stewardship of the chapter of Fraumünster — an event which had a decisive significance for the possessions of the chapter. In Uri, the abbey retained only its landed property and revenues, whereas the sovereignty and judicial rights probably at once went over to the counts of Habsburg, who, since the extinction of the Lenzburgers, had entered upon the government of the landgrafschaft in the southern part of the Zurichgau. The Gotteshausleute of Uri thereby virtually lost their immunity, and the whole valley was threatened with the danger — made the more imminent by the weakening of the imperial authority — of becoming a hereditary possession of this race of rulers of the Aargau, then already vigorously extending its power on all sides. Just then King Henry, the son of Frederick II, prompted by some cause which cannot now be determined with certainty — probably the influence of former subjects of the abbey, the freemen, and the remaining landowners — declared in a document, made out at Hagenau, May 26th, 1231, that he took "his faithful, all the men of the valley of Uri (*homines in Valle Uroniæ*)" out of the possession of Count

[1114-1144 A.D.]

Rudolf I of Habsburg, and brought them directly and inalienably under the rule of the empire. By virtue of this letter, Uri was from this time on an immediate dependency of the empire. Ordinarily, the lord of the empire dealt directly with a "minister" or *Ammann* (high bailiff), who was chosen from among the people of the country. By the side of the old *markgenossenschaft* arose a form of political association (*Gemeinschaft*) which, as was in the nature of things and common to the individualizing endeavors of all dependencies of the empire at that time, rapidly took a direction towards independence. The community, under its ammann, levied common taxes for the needs of the country, and since the year 1243 bore its own seal, which carried as emblem a steer's head with a nose-ring. In the year 1291 we meet with the title *Landammann* for that of ammann.

When Rudolf was made king, he recognised without hesitation, in indubitable and hearty terms, the immediate dependence of the people of Uri on the empire. In a charter dated January 8th, 1274, he assured his "loyal, excellent people" that under no circumstances would he pledge them or in any way alienate them, since he regarded them as special wards of the empire. What had been done in 1231 received new force with this new instrument, and in the sequel the imperial freedom of the people of Uri was never seriously disputed.

Schwyz

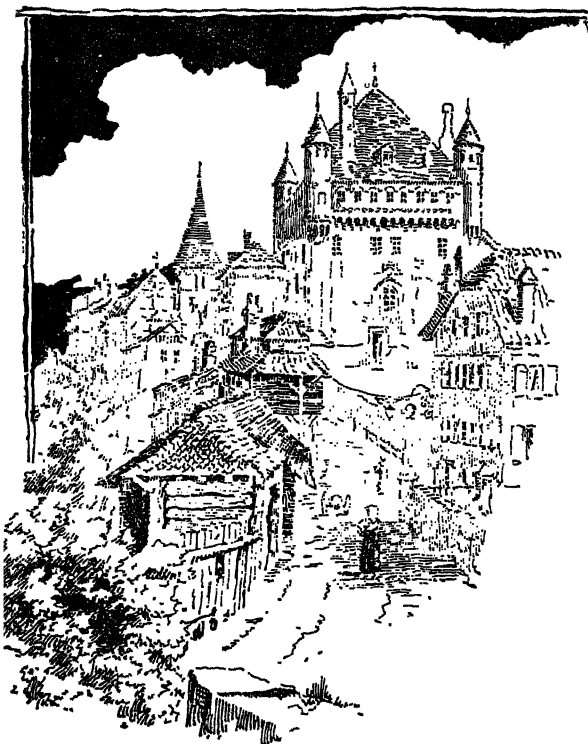
In Schwyz circumstances shaped themselves in quite a different manner, up to the time of King Rudolf of Habsburg. The old nucleus of the land of Schwyz included originally only the neighbourhood of the hamlet of Schwyz with the Muota Valley. Here, too, non-resident chapters and lay principalities held landed property with unfree tenants. Various estates belonged to the monasteries of Kappel, Muri, Schänis, Engelberg, and Einsiedeln. Two larger farms were the property of the counts of Lenzburg, and came finally, apparently by inheritance, into the hands of the Habsburgs. By far the most important part of the land, however, was held by free peasants, who were subject to no kind of territorial jurisdiction. These formed the deciding element of the population. The free peasants, as well as the dependents of the spiritual and lay rulers, were in Schwyz also bound together as a *markgenossenschaft*, by their common interest as owners of land in the almend; and this unity of their economic interests prepared the future equable union of the various classes of the people.

The land was subject to the judicial authority of the counts of the Zurichgau — i.e., to the end of the twelfth century, to the Lenzburgers — and to them, as bailiffs, the Schwyzers had to pay a considerable tax. Thus, the same persons here, on the one hand, held territorial rights, while, on the other, they represented by their office the authority of the empire. In the twelfth century, the counts of Lenzburg twice appeared in their capacity as land-owners before the imperial court, to bring suit on behalf of their associates of the common mark against the abbot of Einsiedeln. For from early times, at least from the days of King Henry II, dated the obstinate quarrel of the Schwyzers with the monks, concerning the use of forest-covered boundary lands by the sources of the Alp and the Sihl, to which both neighbours by means of continual clearing had gradually advanced. King Henry V (1114) and King Conrad III (1144) decided in favour of the monastery; and the Lenzburgers, with their associates, had to pay a fine and damages. But the Schwyzers seem to have cared little for such awards, and without regarding

[1217-1240 A.D.]

natural boundaries, apparently continued always to keep an eye to the free extension of their almeud toward the north and northeast.

When the power of the Lenzburgers had come to an end, their territorial rights in the landgrafschaft fell to the house of Habsburg. Rudolf I, in 1217, in his position as count, or as he designated himself, "by true inheritance rightful bailiff and protector of the people of Schwyz," pronounced a judgment in the newly re-opened quarrel between Schwyz and Einsiedeln. The decision was somewhat more favourable for the Schwyzers than the previous awards.



CASTLE OF LAUSANNE (1840)

(Founded in the thirteenth century)

Accordingly, there must have been at that time a good understanding between the free peasants and the Habsburgs. When, after the death of Count Rudolf, fifteen years later, his two sons divided the paternal possessions, the younger, Rudolf II — the founder of the Laufenburg line — came into the rights of the landgrafschaft of the valley at the southern foot of the Mythen. From this time on, the relationship of the Schwyzers to the holders of the sovereign power became troubled, so that the country people hit upon the thought of following the example of their neighbours in Uri, and completely withdrawing themselves from the rule of Habsburg. The uncertain attitude which Count Rudolf assumed toward his imperial master when, in 1239, the latter was excommunicated, gave them the desired occasion for a bold step. They sent messengers and letters across the Alps

to the emperor, who was besieging Faenza — perhaps also sent him a company of men — and declared that they of their own free will desired to be under the government of the realm itself, and to come under the sheltering wings of the empire as free men, who otherwise owed no allegiance.

Frederick granted the wish of "the united men of the valley of Schwyz" ("*Universis hominibus vallis in Swites*"), by means of a letter issued in December, 1240. This, the oldest charter of freedom of the Waldstätte, extant in the original, is still preserved, like a priceless gem, in the public archives of Schwyz. The emperor took them under his special protection, and gave them the assurance that at no time should they be alienated or withdrawn from the authority of the empire. We must not, however, rate the significance of this document too highly. For, at bottom, the emperor did not employ a binding form, and was careful not to express explicitly the exemption of the

[1242-1273 A.D.]

valley of Schwyz from the landgrafschaft. He found, moreover, the less cause to give definite form to the new arrangement of immediate jurisdiction by the empire by means of a bailiff, as Count Rudolf, in the succeeding years, beginning with 1242, again openly took the emperor's part. Thus the charter remained at first ineffective for the Schwyzers. When, relying upon the charter, they rose in revolt, they failed to obtain aid from the emperor. They were obliged again to swear allegiance to Count Rudolf, and to bind themselves thereafter to remain quietly under his rule, and to hold neither to the emperor Frederick nor to any other ruler in opposition to Rudolf.

Soon thereafter began the general world-moving struggle between empire and papacy. Its traces may be followed even to the shores of the Lake of Lucerne. When Count Rudolf II of Habsburg, after the formal pronouncement of the papal anathema and the deposal of Frederick II at the council of Lyons (1245), went over into the papal camp, the Schwyzers took up arms against the ruler they had but just acknowledged. They formed alliances with the people of Unterwalden and the citizens of Lucerne; the first league of confederates of which we have knowledge falls into these years.¹

Strife must have raged violently for a time in the valleys; and if tradition — particularly for its story of the good archer Tell — had fixed upon these events, it would not have been so easy to gainsay it. Count Rudolf, in the midst of the contest, received an order from Pope Innocent IV, in which the provost of Ölenberg, in Sundgau, was directed to set a term for the rebellious people of Schwyz and Sarnen in which to renounce Frederick, to unite with the church and dutifully to acknowledge the rule of the count. If this did not have any effect, he was to declare them and the people of Lucerne — probably acting in common with them — under sentence of excommunication, and subject them to the penalty of the interdict. Concerning the course of the struggle all information is wanting. The change of personnel, however, which occurred in the years 1249 and 1250, by the deaths of Count Rudolf II and the emperor Frederick, prevented in any case the continuation of the revolution in Schwyz and the communities allied with her. The Ghibelline league on the borders of the Lake of Lucerne fell apart; the sons of Rudolf again attained to a free exercise of their power, probably in Schwyz as well as in Unterwalden. The attempt at insurrection had totally failed, and there could be the less hope, at this time, of a realisation of the endeavours of Schwyz to secure freedom as the rights of the Habsburgs, in this period of decline in the power of the empire, were continually taking firmer root.

These were the years of the rise of Count Rudolf III — the nephew of Rudolf II and the representative of the elder line of the house of Habsburg — when, favoured by fortunate happenings of all sorts, he knew with a characteristic wariness how to enlarge his lands as well as his powers of jurisdiction. When, in 1273, the personal estates of his cousin Eberhard von Habsburg-Laufenburg, located in the Waldstätte, came into his possession by purchase, the rights of jurisdiction as landgraf, which the house of Habsburg claimed in Schwyz, probably went over to him. With the elevation of Rudolf to the German imperial throne things took an unexpected turn for the Schwyzers. To be sure, they could not dare to believe that the new king would confirm their charter of freedom, as it was directed against Habsburg, and at least questionable as to its essential rightfulness and formal binding power. They were affected, on the other hand, by the declaration that he would not recognise the grants of Frederick II, dating from a time when he was under

[¹ The document itself is lacking. The proofs of the existence of the league have been put together by Segesser.]

[1275 A.D.]

sentence of excommunication. At the same time, their situation did not prove itself so unfavourable as might have been feared from the well-known dynastic policy of Rudolf. For, however effectively the Habsburgers observed the interests of their house in all directions, it cannot be said that they worked systematically toward restricting the rights of the free peasant communities. In regard to the execution of justice, Rudolf granted the Schwyzers notable concessions. He gave them the assurance that they would have to appear before no judges except himself, his sons, or the judge of the valley; and, in a letter dated February 19th, 1291, he granted them the privilege that no serf should be permitted to act as judge over them.

It was under this generally mild rule that the inborn impulse toward independent action again came to the front in Schwyz, and that the local government — if that term may be used of this early period — had an opportunity to develop into more definite form. Of the old quarrel with the monastery of Einsiedeln we, indeed, hear nothing in this period. On the other hand, a new feud arose with the convent founded in 1262 at Steinen. It is during this very quarrel with the nuns of Steinen, in 1275, that the Schwyzers first appear as a community (*universitas*). Six years later, they had their own seal, which by its inscription gave expression to their political unity.

We find at first two judges (*Ammanner*), then four, whom Rudolf appointed out of the leading families, and in the selection of whom, it appears he took into consideration the four component elements of the country — the community of the free people, the two independent principalities, and Steinen which recently had become an element. At the end of Rudolf's reign these officials were replaced by a single landammann, as representative of the royal Habsburg rule. Thus the king himself, probably in the interests of an easier administration, prepared the complete unity of the country. He could not foresee that, in this strengthening of the communal foundation in the valley of Schwyz, he was creating for the people a new and strong support.

Unterwalden

The development of public affairs in Unterwalden had been less uniform than in Uri and in Schwyz. This first named district — which, indeed, did not receive its name as a whole till the fourteenth century — exceedingly fertile in its lower portions, was divided by nature into two parts, the basins of the Sarner and the Engelberger Aa: Obwalden and Nidwalden. The property rights here, which since the times of the Carolingians had been much sought after, received value because of the adaptation of the land to cattle-raising and Alpine dairying, as well as to agriculture. They were held in the thirteenth century by the Habsburgs, by the lower nobility, by the religious houses of Engelberg, Murbach, Lucerne, Muri, Munster in Aargau, and by numerous farmers, personally free, and living scattered in the valleys. The many widely extended landholding houses here made the uniting of the free portions of the population much more difficult than was the case in the other two Waldstätte. The administration of the landgrafschaft, as in Schwyz, was in the hands of the house of Habsburg — that is, after the death of Rudolf I, the younger line of Habsburg-Laufenburg — until, in 1273, upon the occasion of the purchase already noted, it went to Rudolf the king. To the Habsburgs, too, had fallen the wardenship of the religious houses. Only the Benedictine monastery of Engelberg preserved during the following centuries an independent position.

[1291 A.D.]

Already in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Ghibelline movement had extended to the valleys about the Lake of Lucerne, the free people of Unterwalden seem to have constituted themselves a community, which, either from the beginning or later seems to have united in itself also those of the people in the neighbourhood of Sarnen who cherished similar ambitions. So far as we are able to determine, however, this community still lacked the royal privileges which its neighbours had already won for themselves.

THE EVERLASTING LEAGUE (1291 A.D.)

Such were the circumstances existing in the three lands toward the close of the reign of Rudolf. In Unterwalden, but weak germs of a growth toward freedom had been developed. Uri enjoyed the secure position of a territory exempted from the power of the counts, and directly dependent on the empire. The Schwyzers, indeed, lacked the formal acknowledgment of their imperial freedom, which had been promised half a century earlier, or the hope of which, at least, had been given them. But, as a matter of fact, they stood in direct communication with the head of the German Empire; their community had a uniform organisation, and had won weighty privileges with reference to the administration of justice. With prudent employment of external events, they now aimed to establish the permanence of these gains and, if possible, to increase them. From the Schwyzers, who at all time evinced a keen eye for the political changes in the German Empire, doubtless came the impulse for an enduring union of the communities about the Lake of Lucerne.

Hardly had news of the death of King Rudolf spread in the Waldstätte, when the country people (*Landleute*), in view of the uncertain conditions which now arose, made common cause. Only seventeen days after the death of the king, that is, on August 1st, 1291, "the men of the valley of Uri, the association of the valley of Schwyz, and the community of the men of the forest of the lower valley" (*i.e.* Unterwalden), in view of the difficult times and for the purpose of a better defence of their interests, made an everlasting league (*ewigen Bund*). The three lands promised in good faith to stand by one another, with help, counsel, and favour, with body and possessions, to their full power, inside and outside of the valleys, against all hostile attacks and insults. To this they swore, renewing, as they expressed themselves, the *Antiqua Confederatio* confirmed by oath. They added the reservation that everyone, according to his rank, should serve and obey his lord, in a proper manner. They affirmed, however, by common council and unanimous consent, that they would accept no judge in their valleys who had bought his office, or who was not an inhabitant or a native of the valleys. But if there should arise a dispute among the confederates the more sensible among them should come together and settle the quarrel according to their judgment; and if one side should then be unwilling to acquiesce in the decision, the remaining confederates should give aid to the other party to the dispute.

The three communities, moreover, included in the covenant provisions for the punishment of various crimes and common regulations as to the preservation of order in the country. "These regulations for the common welfare and safety," they concluded, "shall with God's help endure forever, and in evidence of this determination, there has been prepared, at the wish of those herein afore-mentioned, a document strengthened with the seals of the communities and valleys herein named" The venerable covenant — the oldest document of the Swiss Confederation — is still preserved in Schwyz.^e

The Earliest League

Quite recently, Prof. H. Bresslau has brought to light fresh facts bearing upon the earliest league of the forest districts, which had been placed by most historians in the period 1245-1250.^a His essay shows most conclusively, by a careful examination of surviving documents, that the *Antiqua Confœderatio* mentioned in the League of

1291 cannot possibly refer to the events of 1245 *et seq.*, for the simple reason that at that time Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden took different sides in the great strife between pope and emperor — Schwyz and Obwalden supporting the emperor, while Uri and Nidwalden stood by the pope. It is further shown that the *Antiqua Confœderatio* was not formed against the Habsburgs, but was simply an ordinary agreement to preserve peace and quiet in that particular district, having probably been made during the interregnum in the empire (1254-1273); and that it is possible in the existing text of the League of 1291 to distinguish the main features of the old league, as well as the additions made in 1291.^f



SWISS COSTUME

(Fifteenth century)

THE WALDSTÄTTE UNDER ALBERT
OF AUSTRIA

The first permanent alliance became the basis of the Confederation. This was not a revolutionary step, for it was not directed against the emperor and the empire. Like other contemporaneous leagues this one had no other object than to secure to the confederates, by means of their own united efforts, the

protection which the imperial power could not give them. In this instance the members of the league were not, as was the case in Italy and Germany, wealthy cities, but simple rustics, who recognised clearly their political interests, and had the courage to defend them. The league was made "forever," and it has maintained itself without a break. While the leagues of the cities were dissolved in the course of time, the Swiss Confederation strengthened itself against danger, and acquired an irresistible power, before which went down the house of Habsburg and all its proud nobility vanishing as the stars vanish at sunrise.

Convinced that their strongest support was to be found in a union with their fellows, the Waldstätte joined the League of Zurich against Habsburg. The house of Habsburg had acquired through Rudolf the arch-duchy of

[1292-1298 A.D.]

Austria, which from that time on became the main support of Habsburg's power. The head of the house of Austria-Habsburg was at that time Albert, the son of Rudolf. When Adolf of Nassau was elected anti-king, all the enemies of Habsburg embraced his cause, and war broke out. But the men of Zurich, who had marched against the Austrian town of Winterthur, were completely defeated (April, 1292); their city was besieged by Albert, and forced to surrender.^g Old chronicles relate that the defeat was caused by a ruse of the Austrian leader, who approached the men of Zurich under the banner of their allies, as though bringing aid, and then suddenly fell upon them; and that Albert was finally induced to make peace by seeing in the market place of the city, as he approached, large bands of warriors in armour. The warriors were women and girls accoutred as men.^a The league against Habsburg was thus for the time being dissolved, and Lucerne and the Waldstätte were also compelled to give up the struggle. But liberty was not vanquished. The rural community of Schwyz protested against the injustice which exempted the convents from taxation. King Adolf confirmed to Uri and Schwyz their imperial liberties. In the west, the Austrian cause received a check by the victory of the Bernese at Dornbühl, in 1298. When, however, King Albert had defeated his rival, and remained sole ruler, he did not recognise the franchises of the Waldstätte and of Bern; but set himself to reestablish the Austrian power in eastern and central Switzerland by means of the Habsburg-Austrian management. The Habsburgs were once more menacing the independence of the Waldstätte when Albert was assassinated, in 1308, at Brugg, by a discontented noble—his nephew, John of Austria.^g

In the last half-century, the writing of Swiss history has undergone a revolution with reference to the treatment of events having to do with the origin of the Confederation. We have now reached the period to which the older historians assigned the familiar story of William Tell, "the friend of freedom," the oath on the Rutli, and the expulsion of the Austrian bailiffs. The following is the narrative of the great Swiss historian, Johann von Müller, which won for these events general acceptance as authentic history.^a

The Tradition of the Bailiffs

The death of Adolf in battle (1298) caused fear to spread throughout the mountains among all those who had held to King Adolf's party. Representatives of the Waldstätte sadly and thoughtfully returned home from Strasburg, where the king had replied to their request to have their liberties confirmed, by saying that "he intended soon to propose to them a change in their condition." Albert desired to unite all the dominions of his house. The limitations of the royal prerogative in Germany and the country communities in Austria and Styria incited him to dislike the liberties of the people as obstructions to his power.

Thus he came to send to the Waldstätte the lords Von Ochsenstein and Von Lichtenberg, with a message to the effect that they would do well for themselves and their descendants if they would put themselves under the perpetual shelter of the royal house; that the king would like to have them as his dear children; and that, having heard what brave men they were he would like to lead them to victory, and make them wealthy with booty and knighthood and feudal estates. To this the nobles and free men and all the people of the Waldstätte replied that they loved the condition of their fore-

fathers, and wished to remain therein. They prayed the king to confirm it, as his father had done. Thereupon they sent Werner, Freiherr von Attinghausen — who, like his forefathers, was Landammann of the men of Uri — to the royal court to ask for confirmation of their liberties and for a bailiff with power over life and death. But the king, who was carrying on war against the electors, was ill to speak to. The affairs of the imperial bailiwick he turned over to the officials, whom he had on his private estates at Rotenburg and Lucerne. In order that their obedience to Austrian officials might not become a fixed duty, the people now sent again to the king to ask for an imperial bailiff. King Albert gave them Herrmann Gessler von Brunek and Beringer von Landenberg (Beringer had shown overbearing manners even at court). He gave the Waldstätte bailiffs whom they must of necessity hate; especially when these, because of poverty or greed, and emboldened by the king's evident displeasure, followed the usual oppressive ways of such magistrates. These imperial bailiffs, because they had no castle of their own, or because they were ordered by the king to do so, decided to live in the Waldstätte: Landenberg, in Unterwalden near Sarnen, while Gessler built a *Zwinghof* (manor of coercion) near Altorf in Uri.

In accordance with its conservative customs, there are among such a people many families of ancient repute that remain long in the management of communal affairs. In Schwyz, Werner Stauffacher was much respected, as his father, Rudolf, had been an honoured leader of the people, and as he himself was a farmer rich in land and well-intentioned. In such men the country people put their trust; they know them; they have known their fathers and their untarnished ancient loyalty. The people live in many hamlets, of which the houses for the most part, as among the old Germans, stand alone on meadows, on lovely hills, and by springs. They have certain implanted principles handed down from the old days; if strangers object to them, they become suspicious, and hold the more strongly to the teaching of their fathers. They hate everything that is new, for, in the monotonous life of the shepherds, every day is like the same day of preceding and succeeding years. They are sparing of speech, but remember a thing always. In their lonely huts they have much leisure for quiet thought. They exchange ideas when, on holidays, the people come down from the mountains to meet together in church. The observers of the rustic will find to this day, in Schwyz, a people proud of freedom; in the land of Unterwalden, a pious old-fashioned folk; and also in Uri, a very true-hearted people, full of the sentiment of confederacy.

When the imperial bailiffs punished every delinquent with exceeding long imprisonment, in dark towers and at a distance from the country, and when the duties upon imports into the neighbouring hereditary lands of Austria were raised, and export often was entirely forbidden, the country people sent to the king. When the youngster of Wolfenschiessen, in Unterwalden, so departed from the convictions of his nearest relatives that he became the king's castellan (*Burgvogt*) at Rozberg, honest men feared yet greater treason to the country from the indiscretion of ambitious youth. All the people of the Confederation — who in orderly times were of a just and quiet mind, who were accustomed, without fear or much vexation or trouble, to live their days by their cattle in contented cheerfulness, and habituated from of old to find favour and esteem with the emperors — grew sad of heart. Despite excessive punishments, there had so far existed an appearance of justice, to explain the taxes, it was believed that necessity alone was forcing the king to extortionate measures. Faith was still rife that he cherished the people of the

[1298 A D]

Confederation, and thought highly of them. But, because undeserving people who are thrust into unaccustomed prominence always show insolence towards those who are not much inferior, there was, in the words and manners of the bailiffs, an offensive boasting of their power and a haughty contempt for the people. They called the old honourable families "peasant nobility." As Gessler was riding through Steinen, past Stauffacher's house, and saw that it was built of well-hewn wood, according to the style of a rich farmer, with many windows, painted with names and mottoes, roomy and gleaming, he said, in the presence of Stauffacher, "Is it to be borne that peasants should live so finely?" When Landenberg fined a man in the Melchthal, in Unterwalden, a pair of good oxen, his servant remarked, "The peasants probably can draw the plough themselves."

At Schwanau, on the Lake of Lowerz, in Schwyz, there lived a burgvogt who seduced the daughter of a man of Art. The burgvogt was slain by the brothers of the girl. One morning, as Wolfenschiess [burgvogt at Rozberg] came forth from Engelberg, he saw upon a flowery meadow a beautiful woman. When he had, by questioning her, discovered that her husband, Conrad von Baumgarten, was away from home, he ordered that a bath be prepared for him, and tried many acts whereby her honour was imperilled. At last, under the pretence of going to divest herself of her clothes, she sought her husband, by whom Wolfenschiess was killed. Before Baumgarten was discovered, or the killing of the burgvogt could be avenged, Margareta Herlobig, the wife of Stauffacher, was thinking with disquiet how this violent man [Gessler] envied her her house. She talked it over with her husband, and persuaded him to provide against the threatening disaster. Werner Stauffacher crossed the lake to the land of Uri, to his friend Walther Furst of Attinghausen, a rich farmer. With the latter he found secreted a young man of courage and good sense, who was said by Walther to be from Melchthal in Unterwalden. His name was Erni (Arnold) von der Halden, and he was related to his host. For some trifling act of Erni's, Landenberg had fined him a yoke of fine oxen; and his father had much lamented the loss. Then the bailiffs' servant had said that, if the peasants would eat bread, they might draw the plough themselves. This had made Erni's blood boil, and he had broken one of the servant's fingers with his stick—which was the cause of his hiding here. In the mean time, the bailiff had had the eyes of Erni's father put out.

In talking of this, the three men voiced their common grief that justice was being more and more trodden under foot, and Walther testified that the much experienced master of Attinghausen had said that the innovations were becoming unbearable. They well believed that resistance would bring cruel revenge upon the Waldstätte, but they were one in the sentiment that it were better to endure death than an unjust yoke. With these thoughts, they decided that each should sound his friends and relatives.

The Oath on the Rütli

That they might see one another in safety, they picked out the Rutli, a grassy mead upon a height in a lonely region near the Lake of Lucerne, not far from the boundary between Unterwalden and Uri (on the spot where the *Mythenstein* stands solitary). There they often took counsel together, in the stillness of night, concerning the liberation of the people, and brought news to one another as to how they progressed in preparing for this deed. Thither came Furst and Erni von der Halden of Melchthal by lonely paths;

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[1307 A.D.]

Stauffacher in his boat; and from Unterwalden, the son of Stauffacher's sister, the squire of Rudenz. From various hamlets, they brought friends to the Rütli. There, without fear, one entrusted to another his thoughts. The more dangerous the deed, the more firmly were their hearts bound together.

On the night of Wednesday before St. Martin's Day, 1307, Furst, Von der Halden, and Stauffacher each brought to this spot ten honourable men of his land, men who had honestly opened their hearts to all three of them. When these three-and-thirty stout-hearted men, full of the consciousness of their inherited freedom and everlasting bond of brotherhood, and united by the dangers of the times, were gathered on the Rütli, they feared neither King Albert nor the might of Austria. In this night they gave one another their hands, and made a pledge to the effect that in these matters none of them would undertake anything upon his own judgment; none would forsake the others, they would in this friendship live and die; each would, upon common counsel, so uphold the innocent people of his own valley in their ancient rights that all the Confederate people forever might have the benefit of this friendship; they would not alienate from the counts of Habsburg the smallest part of all their estates, their rights, or their own people; the bailiffs, their retinue, their servants and soldiery, should not lose a drop of blood; but the freedom which they had received from their forefathers they would preserve and hand down to their descendants.

When all were firmly resolved upon this, and each looked at his friend with a resolute countenance and held him fast with a loyal hand-clasp, knowing that upon their good or ill fortune would probably depend the fate of all those that were to come after them, Walther Furst, Werner Stauffacher, and Erni von der Halden of Melchthal raised their hands toward heaven, and took an oath in the name of God — God who has brought forth emperors and peasants from the same stem, and gifted all with inalienable human rights — manfully to preserve this freedom together. When the thirty heard this, each of them also raised his hand and took the oath in the name of God and the saints. As to the manner of fulfilling their purpose, all were united. Then each went to his cottage, kept quiet, and looked after the wintering of his cattle.

William Tell

It now happened that the bailiff Herrmann Gessler was shot dead by William Tell — a man from Uri, of the hamlet Burglen — the son-in-law of Walther Furst. He was one of those bound by the oath. The bailiff, because of a tyrant's natural suspicions, or because of a warning of disturbances to come, undertook to discover those who bore his rule the least patiently. A hat was to represent the dignity of the duke, and the friends of freedom were to be forced to offer obeisance to that though they would not obey the ruler himself.

A youth, Tell, a friend of freedom, scorned to bow before the meaningless symbol, the hat; and as a result he was compelled to shoot an apple from the head of his son. After this feat, the feeling that God was with him took possession of Tell; and he confessed that had he failed in the enterprise, he would have avenged his son. The bailiff, fearing Tell's relatives and friends, did not dare to keep him prisoner in Uri for this, but carried him across the Lake of Lucerne (thus violating the rights of the people, which forbade imprisonment outside of the country). When they had got just beyond the Rütli, the Föhn,¹ with its peculiar force, suddenly broke forth from the gorges

[¹ A storm of the Alps.]

[1308 A.D.]

of the Gotthard. The narrow lake tossed its angry waves high; the depth roared, and the mountains reverberated with the clamour. In this great danger of death, Gessler, filled with proper apprehension, ordered that the fetters be removed from William Tell, a strong and mighty man, whom he knew to be an excellent oarsman. They rowed in fear past the dreaded rocky cliffs, and came as far as the Axenberg, to the right as one is leaving Uri. At this spot, Tell grasped his cross-bow and, leaping, gained a flat rock, whence he climbed the mountain side. The boat rebounded from the shore. Tell fled through the land of Schwyz. The bailiff, too, escaped the storm; but when he had landed near Kussnacht, he fell in a pass, shot down by the arrows of Tell. Herrmann Gessler met this end before the hour determined upon for the liberation of the country, by the righteous anger of a free man.

In the first hour of the year 1308 a youth from Unterwalden, of the number of those who had sworn to undertake the liberation of the Waldstätte, was by a domestic in the castle of Rozberg drawn up with a rope to her room. In the ditch of the castle twenty friends of the lad were waiting, and were drawn up by him with this rope over the wall. The young men took the commander of the place, his people, and four knights prisoners, took possession of the gate, and remained quiet. Early in the day, when the bailiff Landenberg, in Sarnen, was going down from the castle to mass, he was met by twenty men from Unterwalden with calves, goats, lambs, chickens, and rabbits, for a New Year's gift, in accordance with ancient custom in the mountains and the neighbouring lands. The bailiff, pleased by the presents, let the peasants bring them into the castle. When the twenty were within the gate, one of them blew his horn; and upon this signal each of them took from his bosom an iron, and stuck it upon his long pointed stick. From the alder-bushes thirty of their fellows ran, through the water, to the castle, and together they took the inmates prisoners. Then they made a signal, whereupon the whole country of Unterwalden came together from all the hamlets, in a united movement for the preservation of liberty. From alp to alp travelled the signals agreed upon. Then the men of the Uri took the Zwinghof. Then Stauffacher and all the people of Schwyz met at the Lake of Lowerz. There they soon got possession of the castle of Schwanau. Upon the Lake of Lucerne the hastening messengers met one another, bringing their good tidings.

On this day, when the blind father in Melchthal was again glad of his life, and the wife in Alzellen was happy over the home-coming of her husband; when Walther Furst openly honoured his son-in-law, and, in Steinen, Stauffacher's wife kept open house for all who were with him on the Rütli and at Lowerz, not a drop of blood was shed, and no lord was robbed of a single right, in the first moment of the feeling of freedom regained, after the castles had been broken. When Landenberg, fleeing from the church through the fields, from Sarnen toward Alpnach, was overtaken, he was compelled, like the others from the castles, to take a solemn oath that he would not again come into the Waldstätte. He returned to the king. The Swiss people, on the following Sunday, met together, and confirmed by oath the ancient Everlasting League.^k

Critical Survey of the Tradition

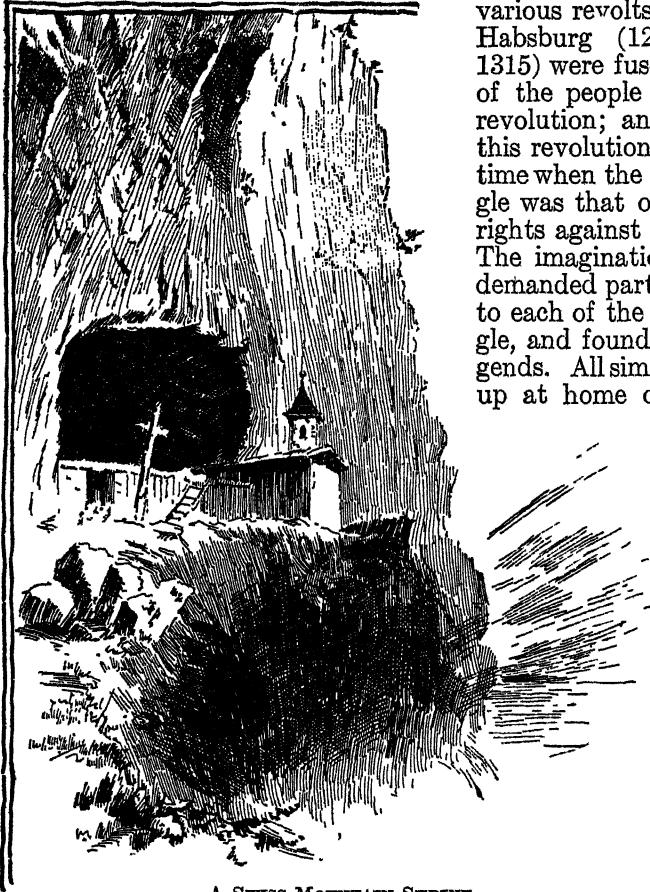
A literature has sprung up out of the controversy over the authenticity of the preceding narrative. The following sketch represents in brief the conception of the whole matter which is general among historians of the present day.^a

[1803 A.D.]

The remembrance of the glorious events of the liberation lived during centuries in the memory of the people, and, for want of chroniclers, was handed down from generation to generation. In this way, facts were misrepresented, and little by little, the course of events was reported rather as the people imagined it to have been than according to the true nature of things. By degrees it was forgotten that Swiss freedom was a gradual development, rising by successive stages upon the groundwork of the primitive legal condition of the Swiss people — just as the cities had acquired, step by step, their rights and franchises. The

various revolts against the house of Habsburg (1245–1273 and 1291–1315) were fused in the recollections of the people into a single sudden revolution; and, in order to justify this revolution, it was referred to a time when the character of the struggle was that of a defence of sacred rights against an impious despotism. The imagination of the people then demanded particular episodes, suited to each of the events of that struggle, and found them in the local legends. All similar accounts, gathered up at home or abroad — whatever

still remained of the most distantly related recollections — were fastened on to the exploits properly belonging to the struggle for freedom. Thus the quarrels of the peasants with the lords of Kussnacht and the assassination of one of them were joined to events that had occurred in the Waldstätte. The story of Tell's shooting of the apple from his son's head is to be found in Spanish,



A SWISS MOUNTAIN SHRINE

Norwegian, English, and Indo-Germanic legends. It goes back to times much more remote than that of the *Song of Tell*, of 1474. Legend does not trouble itself about dates, and mixes events remote and of different ages, just as the poem of the Nibelungen puts into the same scene Attila and Theodoric, and combines in a single story popular tales whose origins are widely different. The historians of the fifteenth century (Justinger, 1420; Hammerlin, 1450; the *Chronicle of the White Book*, of Obwalden [Sarnen], in 1470; the *Chronicle of Lucerne*, by Melchior Russ, 1482; Etterlin of Lucerne, in 1507) have embellished the facts, and have added to them unauthentic information; several of

[1308 A.D.]

them, indeed, have not hesitated to change the documents in order to prove the truth of their narratives. Nevertheless, there remained differences among the traditions, and even contradictory versions. The narratives are not even in accord among themselves, either as to the dates of the events or as to their causes and the persons who played a rôle in them. While some of them (Hammerlin is among these) grant a general rising, provoked by the tyranny of the bailiffs, others attribute the deliverance of the Swiss solely to the action of Tell (the *Song of Tell*, in 1474, and the *Chronicle* of Russ); or, again, they represent Tell as one of the three confederates (*Drama of Uri*, in 1511).

The historian Ægidius Tschudi,¹ of Glarus (1505-1572), endeavoured to do away with all these differences. Obedient to an ardent patriotism, he wished, by a brilliant and thrilling composition, to set the glory of the Confederation in a bright light. He treated the history of the foundation of the league with perfect freedom, like an epic poem, a romance, or as G. Meyer von Kronau says, "like a historical painting, whose heroic figures the painter groups in such a way as to obtain the desired effect." He placed the insurrection in the period that seemed to him most suitable (in 1307 and 1308, immediately before the death of Albert), and has given the dates to a day, although even the most ancient authors had not determined them. He has added new names (among others the Christian name of Herrmann and the designation "of Bruneck" to Gessler's name; Walther Fürst, Beringer von Landenberg; Conrad Baumgarten, Arnold an der Halden, Wolfenschuess, etc.). He sought to reconcile the contradictions of the first chroniclers, and has well arranged all the effects of his dramatic subjects. Thus were produced little by little the stirring recitals of the taking of the oath on the Rutli, of the expulsion of the bailiffs, and the story of Tell, of Gessler, and of Stauffacher, which Johann von Müller, by his *History of Switzerland*, and Schiller, by his beautiful drama *Wilhelm Tell*, have rendered so popular that they are still the common property of all the world.

But when J. Eutyck Kopp, professor at Lucerne, in 1835 published the documents bearing on the birth of the Confederation, the inaccuracies of those narratives were plainly seen. It was thus proved that the enfranchisement took place little by little, by the securing and confirmation of imperial charters, that the Everlasting League was formed in 1291, that the Gesslers and the Landenbergers never had anything to do with the Waldstätte, etc. These documents show, above all, that the destruction of the strongholds of the vassals of Habsburg could have occurred only in the middle of the thirteenth century (1247-1252). The most ancient accounts (Justinger), moreover, agree with this.

It appears, at any rate, from the documents, that tradition has faithfully preserved certain isolated recollections, and that it has accurately outlined the rôle played by the family of Stauffacher as landammann of Schwyz and by Werner of Attinghausen as the head of Uri. Since Kopp, historians no longer confine themselves to denying the traditions, but go on to explain their origin (as Vischer and Meyer von Kronau) and to disentangle truth from error.⁹

Evidence for the Tradition; Its Significance

The last word, apparently, has not yet been said concerning the authenticity of the traditional narrative of the struggle of the people of the Waldstätte against the Austrian bailiffs. Thus, for instance, a recent paper of

[¹ "The Plutarch and the Herodotus of Swiss history" — *RELIET*.]

Dr. Th. von Liebenau holds out some promise of rehabilitation as history to certain portions of the so-called legendary account.^a Doctor Liebenau has shown that, in 1283, the emperor Rudolf of Habsburg gave the right of receiving the tolls for escort over the St. Gotthard Pass to his sons, the dukes of Austria. The levying of these tolls gave rise to various disputes between the men of Uri and the bailiffs of the dukes of Austria; and by 1319 (if not already in 1309) the claim to levy them was silently given up. But these facts show (what could not hitherto be proved), that at the time where legend places the rising of Uri, Tell's exploit, etc., the dukes of Austria really had disputes with Uri.^f

Ever wider will spread the circles of those who have become accustomed to the conception that the story of the origin of the Confederation, in its old customary form, is internally devoid of support as a means to the understanding of historic facts, as it contradicts truth, and is therefore no longer to be included in the history of the country. The Tell episode they will completely shut out, and in regard to the rest — the tradition of the league of the Ruth — they will have to admit that it is now no longer possible to extract from it its historic kernel, the recollection of events occurring about 1247. But they will console themselves with the thought that not all these beautiful legends are to be cast aside, as the idle invention of the learned, as has been proposed in recent times; but that, on the contrary, in them has been preserved a priceless memento of the plastic tradition, of the poetic activities of several generations of the Swiss people.

But incomparably greater will be their gratification on realizing that, instead of legends, attractive, to be sure, yet having their beginnings veiled in mist, history has provided them a picture of the founders of the Swiss Confederation — a picture as beautiful as ever a people could desire of the originators of its government. Unshaken steadfastness in persevering towards the aim once selected, courage that suffered no abatement in spite of numerous disappointments, clear understanding of the necessary unification of the elements of political life — until then unequally distributed — wisdom that chose an alternation in the use of prudent moderation and active resoluteness: these are the characteristics that brought into unity the country people of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. The existence of these things is taught us by the original documents, on which is built up the earliest history of the Swiss leagues. Such a gain for history undoubtedly much outweighs the too great emphasis laid upon the solitary whirring of a death-dealing bow-string.^l

HENRY VII AND THE FOREST DISTRICTS

We have spoken of the murder, on May 1st, 1308, of King Albert by his nephew, John of Austria, and fellow-conspirators. After an interregnum of seven months Count Henry of Luxemburg was elected Albert's successor. Although the latter, directly after his election and again after his coronation, had promised the dukes of Austria to grant them all the feudal rights which they or their ancestors had possessed under the kings Rudolf, Adolf, and Albert, and to protect them against all attacks; he nevertheless assumed a hostile attitude toward the dukes, probably incited thereto by the archbishop Peter of Mainz, the most irreconcilable enemy of Austria. Almost a whole year had passed since his accession, before he visited the lands of the upper Rhine and the lake of Geneva; and he still delayed to grant their *enfeoffment* and pronounce the ban of the law against the murderers of their father and king.

[1309-1311 A.D.]

The inhabitants of the forest districts, who never lost sight of the general relations of the empire, endeavoured to utilize for themselves this disposition of the king, and sent ambassadors to him at Constance. With open contempt for the solemn promise repeatedly given by him to the dukes, Henry VII, on June 3rd, 1309, confirmed to the inhabitants of Uri and also of Schwyz the charter of freedom given by Frederick II and King Adolf in 1240 and 1297, thus acknowledging them immediate states of the empire. He went even further than this, and as if Unterwalden had always been in the same position as Uri and Schwyz, he treated it, too, as an immediate state of the empire. At the same time the king granted to all three countries, though on conditions, the privilege of not being liable to be brought before any secular court outside their own valleys, with the exception of the king's supreme court. The king appointed as governor and guardian Count Werner of Homburg, who, however, was recalled before a year had expired. After this, no special governor was appointed for the forest districts, and they were probably subject to the governor of the countries south of the Rhine, Count Rudolf of Habsburg Laufenburg, and afterwards Eberhard of Bürglen. The inhabitants of Schwyz had, for the third time, reached the goal they had striven for with such admirable perseverance during two generations, and had a better prospect than ever of maintaining their connection with the empire; the people of Uri, though probably not without anxiety about their political freedom when the Habsburgs should be in a position to establish their sovereignty all around, had been firm allies of Schwyz for many years; the inhabitants of Unterwalden, who until now perhaps had not stood in close connection with the people of Schwyz, and had not signed the league with Zurich in 1291, were forced, in their own interest, to unite themselves closely with the other valley states, as then they could expect help from the king against Austria should the need arise.

However justifiable were the complaints of the dukes at the infringement of their rights — for the king had destroyed their power not only in Schwyz, but also in Unterwalden — they were not in a position at the time even to dream of restoring their prestige by force of arms. Occupied with bringing the king's murderers to justice, they were glad not to be attacked by the inhabitants of the forest districts and their governor, Werner of Homburg. Even when they had become completely reconciled with the king, and had avenged in blood the murder of their king and father, they employed no violent measures against the valleys, but sought to be reinstated in their rights by the king himself. By their faithful service, and particularly by the brilliant bravery of Duke Leopold — who accompanied the king to Rome, and distinguished himself in the dangerous rising of the Milanese against the Germans, on the 12th of February, 1311 — their relations with Henry VII became much more friendly. At last Leopold was able, in the camp before Brescia, on the 15th of June, to petition the king to reinstate him and his brothers in the possession of the property and rights which were their due in Alsace, and in the valleys of Schwyz and Uri. The king who, as he explained, was not fully acquainted with the rights which he and the empire had there, appointed the noble Eberhard of Bürglen to make a full inquiry into the matter, while Leopold made Count Frederick of Loggenburg his representative. The king promised, after official examination, to restore to the dukes all the goods and rights which they and their ancestors from time immemorial had held by hereditary right, and in the quiet possession of which King Rudolf had been count, and King Albert duke, by virtue of inheritance or purchase.

[1312-1314 A.D.]

The hopes of the dukes to recover possession of their lands and rights by lawful means, without recourse to arms, were not fulfilled, however. Henry was too much engaged in Italian affairs, and was in too great need of men there, to think of allowing Eberhard of Bùrglen to return home in order to examine into the legal rights and relations of the forest districts. The Austrian dukes, therefore, applied to Henry's son, King John of Bohemia — the imperial administrator in Germany — who promised them, on the 25th of July, 1312, to try to induce the emperor to fulfil the promises made before Brescia, by Candlemas, the next year; and, in default of this, to take proceedings himself, as imperial administrator, for their fulfilment. At the same time, he promised to assist them with two hundred men should they find that any command of his was disobeyed in Swabia.

But, before the matter had proceeded any farther on this path, fraught with danger to the freedom of the forest districts, death carried off the emperor, on August 24th, 1313, and the condition of things was essentially changed.^m

THE ATTACK ON THE ABBEY OF EINSIEDELN

At the time of the election to the German throne, in 1314, the Schwyzers found the time favourable for renewing their old-time quarrel with the great abbey of Einsiedeln, of which Frederick the Handsome of Habsburg was the hereditary "advocate" or patron. A midnight raid made on the abbey by the Schwyzers, January 6th, 1314, had serious consequences. Rudolf von Radegg,ⁿ "the school-master" — a monk of the abbey and himself a captive of the mountaineers — gives us a vivid though probably much prejudiced picture of the Schwyzers of that day, in an account of the affair in his curious Latin poem *Capella Eremitana*.

"There is a nation that is no nation," he begins, "men who cannot be called men, but wild beasts. This nation inhabits a valley called Schwyz, and is hardened in evil unto damnation, for God himself has given it up. It is perverse, bad — worse, worst. It is spared in order that it may hereafter suffer heaped-up ills. It carries on wild wars — ever thirsty for blood — turns from the good, and cherishes all that is bad. It abuses the people, and does much harm to the brothers of the abbey. It has torn from the brothers by force of arms many a lucrative piece of land belonging to this house of God. But the abbot, although not warlike, has yet withstood them. He summons them, then excommunicates them, and hurls at them the lightning of his curse. Finally he interdicts them; but no judgment, no interdict, terrifies them so that they give that which they have stolen in tithes to the Lord. Thus, the abbot trusts in his right, and they in their weapons.

"All believers are celebrating the feast of Epiphany, and are praying to the Lord for enduring peace. These people, however, scorn the holy day; they are busy plotting evil deeds. The sun goes down, but the other heavenly orbs are shining. At midnight, these people approach us and occupy the ways leading to the house. The warder in the tower strikes his bell, and this sound tells the sheep that the wolves are at hand. The whole swarm quickly surrounds the building, in order that none of us may flee away. Slumber leaves us — fear penetrates us to the marrow and shakes our limbs — our bones tremble — our souls are thrilled, and we shudder — none knows where he is, or what to do. With tottering steps, stunned by fear, we run from the chambers. Meanwhile, the wolf breaks into the sheep-fold. Great

[1315 A.D.]

crowds press towards us and storm the house. They demand no keys to the chambers, cells, and sleeping rooms, but tear open the doors without keys. No lock, no door, is strong enough to withstand them; no bolt avails. A loud and crashing din is heard: they open the chests and closets — they search through our secret possessions. Our books, clothing, and beds they take away, as well as other things that are useful. They scatter everything we have collected which is of the slightest use, and break things under their feet.

“With great beams and axes they dare to splinter the doors of the holy temple. They drag away tapestries, carpets and sacred garments. They take the gilded cabinets of relics, studded with jewels, and the candlesticks. They rob the temple of all adornment. They tear the doors of the holy altar from the hinges; the bones of the saints that had been put to rest in peace, and which all the faithful reverence, they dare to touch with their sinful hands, and to tear from their rest; they scatter the relics in the aisles. With burning torches, the mob presses into the tower that has received us in our flight. The monks in the tower are made captive, and the invaders ransack the building from cellar to roof. Pulling fugitive, trembling monks out of dark corners, and laughing at their terrors, they drag them to the village. Arrived there, the prisoners are brought before the landammann, and are jeered at by the women. ‘Zounds,’ the latter say, ‘these are they whose fine quibbles unjustly make us guilty and take away our food from us. Let them now find out themselves how hunger like ours feels, so that just punishment may fall upon the guilty.’”

After eleven weeks of captivity, the monks were released. This good fortune they owed to letters from the friends of the abbey, the counts of Toggenburg and Habsburg. These missives were couched in remarkably humble terms, considering the relations of those concerned. A special assembly of the *Landsgemeinde* took action upon them, March 2nd, 1314. A semblance of reconciliation, however, failed to remove the cause of friction. The abbot had the mountaineers excommunicated, and Frederick placed them under the ban of the empire.

Meanwhile, the dispute for the German throne was again in progress. The people of the Waldstätte opposed Rudolf, the Habsburg candidate, and sided with Louis, the choice of the majority of the electors. At their request he at once removed the ban. Determined to reduce the Waldstätte mountaineers to submission, Duke Leopold of Austria, brother of Rudolf, prepared to invade the country with arms. How he fared is best told in the words of a contemporary, who was in part an eye-witness — the chronicler Joannes Vitoduranus (John of Winterthur) — with which we proceed:^a

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF MORGARTEN

At this time — in the year of our Lord 1315 — the peasants who dwelt in the valleys called Schwyz, and were walled in on all sides by mountains reaching nearly to the skies, trusting in their strong mountain bulwarks, refused the obedience, the taxes, and accustomed services which they owed to Duke Leopold, and armed to resist him. This the duke would not let pass. In great anger he collected, about St. Martin's day, from his subject towns and such other neighbouring ones as gave him aid, an army — about twenty thousand fighting men, 'twas said — to battle against those mountaineers that had risen against him, and to plunder and subjugate them. In the

army Duke Leopold had the strongest, most select, most battle-seasoned, and most fearless knighthood. The men of his army, single of soul, then came together in the purpose of thoroughly subduing and humbling these peasants, who were surrounded with mountains instead of walls. So assured were they of their victory and of capturing, robbing, and plundering that land that they carried with them ropes and cables by means of which to lead away their booty in large and small cattle.

When the Schwyzers heard of this, they fell into great fear, and fortified all the weaker places of the land where there might possibly be an approach, with walls and ditches and in other ways, as best they could; and they commended themselves to God with prayers, fastings, and processions, and occupied the mountain heights. The whole people cried with great earnestness to the Lord, calling upon Him that He might not permit their cattle to be given up for booty; their women, for distribution among the enemy; their villages, to destruction; and their honour and virtue, to suffer stain. And, on account of their refractoriness, they sought with all their power for mercy and peace through the count of Toggenburg — an excellent man, who offered himself as intermediary between the parties. Though he strove long and faithfully to further the interests of both sides, he accomplished nothing with Duke Leopold; because, altogether too incensed and flaming with too great a rage, the latter would not accept the humble conditions proposed to him through the count of Toggenburg, but wished only to crush the Schwyzers and to annihilate them, together with their possessions.

When the Schwyzers heard this, they were seized with fear and trembling. They therefore took up their weapons of war, and stationed themselves in those places where there was a narrow pass and where the way led between cliffs; and there they waited day and night. Now, Duke Leopold with his warriors sought to make an entrance into the land by a pass between a mountain and a lake called the lake of Ägeri, but was prevented by the steepness and height of the mountains. Nearly all the noble horsemen, burning with eagerness and in the hope of adventure to come had placed themselves in the front ranks; yet they had not the ability, nor was it possible, to ride up the mountains for the foot soldiers could hardly gain a firm foothold there. The Schwyzers, however, knew beforehand, by warning from the count of Toggenburg, that they would be attacked on that side, and knew the checks and obstacles that the enemy would meet with because of the difficulty of access to their country. They therefore charge, valorous and strong of heart, from their hiding places down upon their enemies, and catch them like fish enclosed in the net, cutting them to pieces with no resistance. They had, indeed, on their feet climbing irons, by means of which they could easily walk on the steepest mountain side, and keep their footing; whereas the enemy, and the horses of the enemy, could in no way find a foothold. The Schwyzers, moreover, had in their hands certain terrible instruments of death — halberds, with which they cut through the most strongly armed opponent, and hacked him in pieces. There was no battle, but, because of the reasons cited, only a butchering of Duke Leopold's men — like that of a herd driven to the shambles — by these mountain people. They spared none, nor did they trouble themselves to take any prisoners, but struck dead every one, without distinction. Those, however, who were not killed by them, were drowned in the lake, through which they sought to escape the hands of the Schwyzers, hoping that they might be able to swim across. Some of the foot soldiers, indeed, when they heard how cruelly their fighters were struck down by the Schwyzers, threw themselves, bereft of their senses by the fear of so terrible a death, into

[1315-1318 A.D.]

the lake, and preferred drowning themselves in the depths of the waters to falling into the hands of enemies so dreadful.

It is reported that, in this slaughter, fifteen hundred men fell by the edge of the sword, besides those who were drowned in the lake. Because of the knighthood that was lost there, the knighthood of the surrounding lands was for a long time but thinly scattered; for almost all who were knights, or others of the nobility accustomed to arms from their youth up, perished. Those, however, who had taken other roads for the conquest of the country escaped the blood-thirsty enemy; for, when they heard that the others had been cut down so terribly by the foe, they forsook everything and fled to save their lives. Out of every city, castle, and little town, several men were killed. And, therefore, everywhere the voice of joy and of mirth was silenced, and only the sound of weeping and lamentation was heard. Out of the little town of Winterthur, however, none were lost — except a single burgher, who had separated himself from the others, and, to his harm, joined the nobles — the others all returned home with sound bodies and all their belongings safe. Among these came also Duke Leopold, who seemed half dead with overmastering grief. This did I see with my own eyes; for I, — at that time a school boy — with no little joy, ran out before the gate with other and older school boys to greet my father.

It was for good cause, indeed, that the countenance of Duke Leopold appeared sad and troubled; for he had lost almost the entire heart and flower of his army. This happened while his brother Frederick was in Austria, in the year of our Lord 1315, seventeen days from the calends of December [15th November], on the day of St. Otmar [16th November]. When the battle was over, the Schwyzers stripped the slain and the drowned of their weapons, robbed them also of their other possessions, and enriched themselves with arms and money, deciding to make that day, because of the God-given victory, a yearly feast and holiday, forever.^o

THE THREE STATES ARE FURTHER STRENGTHENED

This great victory of the Confederates had decisive consequences. Not only did it deliver the three states from Austrian domination, but it also strengthened the old alliance. Drawn together more closely by the common danger, the three states renewed the League of 1291, at Brunnen, December 9th, 1315. The unity of the confederate lands was again solemnly affirmed; no individual land was to accept a master or undertake negotiations or treaties, except by the consent of all; whoever should attack or betray any one of the states should be outlawed and incur the enmity of all. The following year, Louis confirmed the charters of the Waldstätte.

In 1310, Austria made a truce with the Waldstätte, which, while it assured her of her rents from her landed properties, annulled all her rights of sovereignty. In spite of the rude shock which the battle of Morgarten had given to the power of Austria, she could not resist the temptation to round off her domains into one compact principality, by the full possession of the Waldstätte. In 1313, she had brought into subjection the Kyburgs and their landgrafschaft of Burgundy, and, in the west, was seeking military forces and support to begin a new war. But the Burgundian towns of Fribourg, Bern, Solothurn, Morat, and Bienne united against the duke. Leopold determined to subdue them by force, and besieged (Solothurn) in 1318.^g The old chronicles quaintly relate the story of a deed of knightly generosity that was done there. We give the version of one of the earliest of these accounts:^a

[1318 A.D.]

In the year 1318, the duke of Austria had a great war with the people of Solothurn. He besieged the town with a large force, and lay in camp there ten weeks. Above the town of Solothurn, the enemy also made a bridge over the Aare, so that they might hem in the town on all sides. Now, the people of Bern had sent them four hundred men, who behaved very bravely, and destroyed the enemy's works, their throwing machines, and their shelters. Then a great rain poured over the land in floods; and the enemy were afraid that the mighty water would break their bridge and carry it away. A great many of them therefore went to look after the bridge, and to make it heavier, so that the water should not carry it away. Now, while there were many of them on the bridge, the mighty water came with such a rush that it broke down the bridge, and the enemy fell into the water and clung fast to trees and pieces of wood wherever they could. Nobody could help them, and they were driven towards the town bridge. The people in Solothurn saw what was happening to their enemies, and they commanded all their soldiers to do them no hurt, either in body or in goods; and they at once got large boats and helped their enemies to escape, and sent them back to the duke. When the duke saw that he could do nothing, he was persuaded to depart, and went against Bern.^p

Thus failed the designs formed against the Waldstätte. These, on the other hand, improved the opportunity to strengthen their defences, allying themselves with others who shared their sentiments, while the house of Austria was occupied with other conflicts and suffered reverses in other countries. The common danger brought closer to them the Burgundian cities, especially Bern and Thun. They made a particular effort to gain over the neighbour whose hostile policy had been most troublesome to them, and whose friendship was an urgent necessity. This neighbour was Lucerne, the town which, already at the time of the first rising against Habsburg, in 1250, had formed an alliance with them. Their commercial relations and neighbouring position rendered their interests the same. Menaced by Austria also, Lucerne was the more disposed to renew its alliance with the Waldstätte.^q

The city of Lucerne, which, since 1291, had become subject to the dukes of Austria, felt all the inconvenience of being in a state of war with its immediate neighbours of the Waldstätte. The great thoroughfare to Italy through the St. Gotthard was now stopped, and the trade of Lucerne suffered materially from the obstruction; its fairs were deserted, its lands exposed to the incursions of the Swiss and Bernese, and its burghers obliged to be under arms night and day for the defence of their walls. Yet the duke of Austria, instead of endeavouring to make some compensation to the people for these hardships, aggravated their distress by imposing fresh duties on them to carry on the war. At last the burghers of Lucerne, weary of these undeserved calamities, made a truce with their Swiss neighbours without consulting the duke. Although the noblemen in the town and neighbourhood were still in their hearts attached to the Austrian power, the citizens for their own safety concluded, in 1332, a perpetual alliance with the Waldstätte, and were admitted as a fourth canton into their confederation, on the same terms as the others. It was stipulated that in case any difference should arise between the first three cantons, Lucerne should side with the majority.

Frederick of Austria had died in 1330, and by his death peace was restored to the empire. But his successor, the duke Albert II, was not of a temper to give up tamely the possessions of his house in Helvetia. The nobles of Aargau armed in his name against Lucerne, and surrounded the town; but

[1323-1328 A.D.]

the citizens, reinforced by their new allies of Schwyz, defeated them. The Austrian party attempted next to gain possession of the town by a conspiracy. The nobles who were in Lucerne agreed to sally out in the night, and, after surprising the leaders of the popular party in their beds, to open the gates to the baron of Rotenburg. The conspirators assembled in arms on the borders of the lake, in a subterraneous vault under the hall of the corporation of tailors. A boy accidentally overheard their conversation, but he was perceived, seized, and would have been put to death but for the interference of some, more humane than the rest, who made him swear solemnly not to reveal to any living person what he had heard. The youth was then released, and went to the butchers' hall, where some men were still loitering, drinking and playing; he placed himself facing the stove, with his back to the company, and there told in a loud soliloquy all he had heard and seen, and the oath he had been obliged to take. The others listened attentively, then rushed out and awoke their townsmen.¹ They seized the conspirators, sent to Unterwalden for assistance, exiled the nobles who were still in the magistracy, and formed a council of three hundred citizens to administer the affairs of the canton.²

The treaty between Austria and the confederates had lasted about six years, when Louis summoned the Schwyzers, in 1323 to aid in the war of the empire against Austria.² In this, as in its former contests, the latter power was unsuccessful; and Duke Leopold's life is supposed to have been shortened by disappointment. In 1326, the armistice with Switzerland was renewed by his brother and successor, Duke Albert. In the same year the forest districts which adhered with remarkable loyalty to the emperor, followed him in an expedition to Italy. Excommunicated on that account in 1328, they knew, as they had known before, how to reduce to nothing the force of that so much dreaded sentence, by setting before their priests the alternative of doing their duty, or of leaving the country. Against such determined resolution, Pope John XXII felt himself powerless, and said of the clergy who chose to remain in the country that their conduct was unrighteous, but prudent. Notwithstanding all the feuds and disturbances which crowded upon each other during so short a time, prosperity made progress in the land. Towns and convents vied with each other in diffusing cultivation, even throughout the wildest mountainous regions. Considerable commercial intercourse was also maintained with Italy, Germany, France, and Flanders. Zurich and St. Gall possessed linen and silk manufactures; the pasture lands produced hides, wool, cheese, and butter; in Bern and Fribourg, cloth-making and dyeing establishments flourished; the western districts traded in iron, horses, hawks, and horned cattle; Geneva, in southern fruits and spices. The trade in gold was prohibited, and that of silver restricted.

Religion still appeared in all its primitive simplicity. Wealthy knights still knew no better method of perpetuating their memory in the land than through the medium of bequests for the foundation of cloisters. The respect in which the monks were held, however, already began to decline, by reason of their flagrant violations of the rules of their order, in spite of frequent attempts at reformation of their discipline. Accordingly, no fault was found with the conduct of the forest districts, which, when under excommunication, as we have seen, in 1328, left their priests free to perform divine service or

[¹ The story of this conspiracy is regarded as legendary by most historians, so far as its details are concerned. The date is variously given as 1343 and 1332.]

[² The forest states at this time also entered into alliance with Bern and Thun for the same purpose.]

[1331-1339 A.D.]

quit the country. No fault was found with the clergy for accepting the former alternative. Again, it was heard without disapprobation that the men of Bâle had seized on a distinguished papal legate, who had dared to affix to the walls of their church the bull of excommunication against the emperor Louis, and had drowned the legate in the Rhine.

Such violent acts were perfectly in the spirit of the times. The people of Zurich cared so little for the bulls of the pope that, in 1331, they drove the clergy out of their town for obeying them, and for eighteen years there was no divine service in Zurich, except such as was rendered by the barefooted friars. The whole population often resisted ecclesiastical ordinances, when they ran against their old traditional adages, and detected with instinctive sagacity whatever was indifferent or useless in them. Such was in those times the state of Switzerland, which contained sufficient elements of those great changes which we shall presently see effected in its polity.^r

BERN

The proud imperial city of Bern had hitherto been attached to the emperor Louis, having, in 1323, joined him and the forest districts against Austria. Louis, however, became reconciled to the Austrian nobles, and Bern, taking advantage of the fact that he had been placed under the papal ban, refused to acknowledge him. The growing power of this town, moreover, had placed her at odds with all the surrounding nobility, and had aroused the envy of Fribourg, her neighbour to the west. A league was formed against Bern by King Louis, the counts of Gruyères, Kyburg, Nidau, and Neuchâtel, and the dukes of Austria and Fribourg. A great council was held at Nidau, and the total destruction of Bern was determined upon.

The story of the ensuing struggle of Bern against Fribourg and the nobles is best told in the words of the old chronicles. The account we give, known as the *Conflictus Laupensis*, was written by an anonymous contemporary citizen of Bern. Its manner recalls the battle narratives of the Old Testament. It is evident that the Bernese are the chosen people.^a

The Siege of Bern, by a Contemporary (1339-1340 A.D.)

When the Bernese saw how the count of Aarberg favoured Count Gerhard of Valentign, they determined to avenge all the evil deeds done to them by Count Gerhard. So they went out armed, after sunset on holy Whitsunday of the year 1339, marched the night through, and besieged the count of Aarberg with their soldiers and machines, but could not overcome him. Then the Fribourgers and all the counts arose fearlessly and openly to the assistance of the count of Valentign and the count of Aarberg; and collected all their own people and every helper whom they could get, with engines, shelters, wagons, and horses, and encamped as an enemy round the royal town and fortress of Laupen¹ on the eve of St. Barnabas Day (June 10th) in the same year.

In this siege were the Fribourgers with all their troops; the count of Neuenburg with his, and many picked knights whom he had brought with him out of Burgundy; the count of Nidau with his people and 140 helmets, strong, noble knights, proved warriors, whom he had sought out and chosen in Alsace and Swabia; the count of Gruyères, Gerhard of Valentign, Count

[¹ A possession of Bern toward Fribourg, and the key to Bern's defence.]

[1389-1340 A.D.]

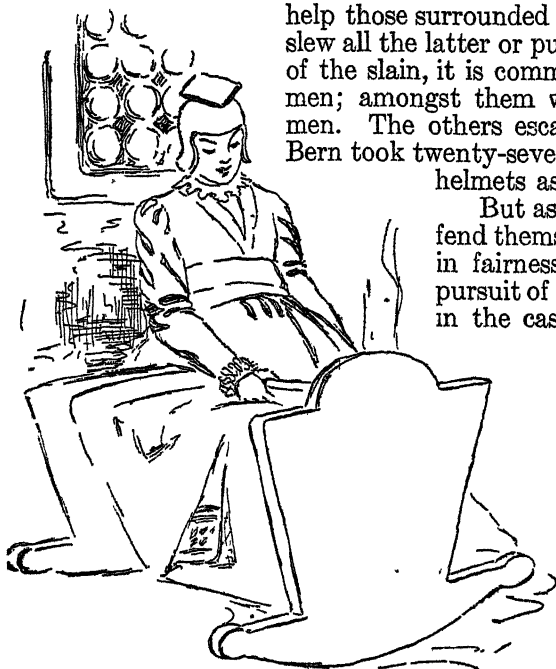
John, the only son of the duke Louis of Savoy, master of Vaud, and the count of Montenach, each one with troops. But Lord Eberhard, count of Kyburg, did not come with his men-at-arms to the siege, but attacked Bern from the other side, particularly from the east, with robbery, murder, and fire. The bailiffs of the duchy of Austria had united the troops which they had in Aargau, and were preparing to join in the siege. Now these all lay encamped twelve days with their men before the fortress and town of Laupen, strutting and riding about in mighty numbers and in all kinds of grand and costly garments. There were, it is generally said, sixteen thousand armed footmen and one thousand knights, or helmets, in steel armour. There was abundance of wine and pleasure, plenty of other things too, and very great insolence of every sort. All the enemies of the Bernese had sworn together a fierce oath to rase to the ground the town and fortress of Laupen without mercy or compassion, and to put all the inhabitants to the shameful death of hanging — for which purpose ropes and cords were ready to hand; and to destroy utterly the town of Bern itself.

At that time in Bern the chief avoyer or magistrate was the knight Lord John of Bubenberg the elder. Lord Antony of Blankenburg, knight, was governor for the Bernese in Laupen. But the real chief man and ruler there was Lord John of Bubenberg, knight, the younger; with Master Burkhard, the architect; and Master Peter of Kranzingen. And a banner of Bern was in Laupen, which was carried by Rudolf von Muleren and six hundred men, who had been chosen out of Bern and also out of those who belonged to Laupen and of those who had taken refuge in the town. The lay priest of Bern, Brother Theobald, like a faithful father and guardian of souls, had openly and lovingly instructed those under him in the church, and had encouraged and exhorted them to stand fast in their obedience, as true sons of holy church, to the apostolic chair and the Roman church, and rather to suffer death and the loss of their worldly goods from the aforementioned enemies than to go against the apostolic commands and the sentence given against the aforesaid Lord Louis, who gave himself out for the Roman emperor. The Bernese, therefore, so faithfully and obediently instructed and exhorted by their lay priest, that they might escape evil and remain true sons of holy church, were ready to endure any misfortune which the enemy might bring on them, either in life or goods, because they placed their firm trust in the help of heaven. And after they had assembled a thousand armed men out of the four forest cantons, particularly out of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, and some from Hasli, and the young noblemen of Weisenburg, the Bernese turned out in the presence of Johann von Weisenburg, all armed and with banners, which from the highest to the lowest were marked with the sign of the holy cross in white cloth, and they came to Laupen to free from death the six hundred men who were shut up and besieged in the castle and the town. With the Bernese went out also the good pastor, who was willing to give his life for his sheep, the aforementioned Brother Theobald, the lay priest of Bern, of the order of the German brotherhood.

When the Bernese saw that a great number of the enemy were over against them, they all gathered together in one body and placed themselves on a little hill, and formed themselves into the shape of a small wedge. But they did not dare to attack the enemy. The latter left their tents and prepared themselves for battle, the red glow rose up from the tents which were set on fire; the new knights mocked at them by throwing their swords into the air; suddenly they came rushing toward them. About two thousand Bernese men saw this and turned with fright to flee away into the forest, so to

[1340 A.D.]

escape the strong hand of the enemy. Amongst these were a few without weapons, but many of them were strong and armed, and had been thought to be brave fighters. The rest of the Bernese, however, who did not see this flight—they might perhaps be about three thousand men—stood fast together and awaited the enemy. On one side the men from the four cantons were fiercely surrounded by the enemy's knights; on the other the Bernese were attacked by the Fribourgers and other foot soldiers. But the Bernese, like Samson, so to speak, broke the fetters of every danger, received the fierce onslaught of the Fribourgers and took from them all their banners, and slew their standard-bearers and many others, and put to miserable flight all the rest of the infantry, every one. And turning to help those surrounded by the knights, they forthwith slew all the latter or put them to flight. The number of the slain, it is commonly said, was fifteen hundred men; amongst them were many knights and noblemen. The others escaped by flight and the men of Bern took twenty-seven standards and eight crowned helmets as booty from the slain.



SWISS NURSE-MAID IN THE MIDDLE AGES

But as the Bernese wished only to defend themselves and their innocent people in fairness and moderation, they ceased pursuit of the fugitives. Those who were in the castle and town of Laupen knew nothing at all about the battle or the victory of their friends, till the Bernese, after they had killed or put to flight all the enemy, got into the town and told them what had happened. Freed by God's help and favour, the Bernese, full of joy, gave God thanks that he had set them free, and determined to keep as a festival the day of the feast of Martyrs, on the vigil of which this had happened, and in

the future to give on that day great alms to the poor. On the other side the Fribourgers and their helpers, the enemies of Bern, full of rage at their shame and loss, thirsted for revenge on the Bernese, and till the next Easter (April 10th, 1340) they laid waste with all their might the district round Bern with fire and sword and killed without mercy all whom they took unawares. And the most noble dukes of Austria and their bailiffs assisted the Fribourgers. So the Bernese, abandoned by all men, were fought against on all sides and could not get victuals or provisions, especially wine or milk, without going to the town and castle of Spiez with armed men and banners and carrying home the food.

After the Bernese had done many things to their enemies they turned out armed in the holy week after Palm Sunday, and went to the town of the count of Kyburg which is called Hutuwyl. And the chief magistrate, Lord John of Bubenbergh, with his standard bearers and the other Bernese knights, hurried in front of the rest who were on foot; and before those who were on foot

[1340 A D]

arrived, the knights who had ridden stormed the town, set fire to it, plundered and burned it to the ground; those who were defending it being killed or taken prisoners.

On the Tuesday in the week after Easter, April 24th, 1340, the Bernese went out alone with their standards and troops, and attacked Fribourg. And the Fribourgers coming out against them turned and fled at the sight of the Bernese. And the Bernese pursued them in their flight to the town gate; and on that day there fell of the Fribourgers seven hundred men, who were drowned in the river in their flight from the weapons of the Bernese. In that victory the leader of the Bernese, and their most faithful helper, was the knight, Lord Rudolf of Erlach, who, like a most powerful lion, was never afraid of the attack of any wild beast. On the next Thursday following, they again attacked Fribourg, plundered that part of the town called Galteren, as well as all houses as far as the town bridge, setting fire to them. The Bernese became famous amongst their enemies for such great earthly success, so that it was said on all sides that God was openly on the side of the Bernese and fought for them, and it seemed that God was a citizen in Bern. At last the enemies and adversaries of Bern were so wearied and broken with their many defeats and disgraces, and the Bernese so bowed down with their many troubles and worries that all enemies and adversaries returned to peace and unity.^p

Significance of the Battle of Laupen

As McCrackan well points out, "A particular importance attaches to this battle of Laupen from the fact that it gave an opportunity for the Bernese to co-operate with their friends of the forest states against Austria. It was the first occasion on which the east and west of what is now Switzerland joined hands against a common enemy." The companionship of the battlefield was followed by a renewal of an earlier alliance of Bern and the forest districts and formed the prelude to the later entrance of Bern into the growing league.^a

THE ACQUISITION OF ZURICH, GLARUS, ZUG, AND BERN

The city of Zurich began about this time to be distracted by internal dissensions, which continued for years and brought that republic to the verge of ruin. The council was composed of four nobles and eight of the most influential burghers, who at the expiration of four months chose their own successors. Power and office were, therefore, in the hands of a few families, who were not responsible to their fellow citizens for their public conduct, or for their employment of the public moneys. The citizens murmured, but submitted, until at last one of the members of the council itself took their part and became their leader. Rudolf Braun was a man of great talents, but ambitious. He won to his side some of the other members, who supported the demand of the citizens that the council should produce the accounts of the public expenditure. But the majority of the members endeavoured by procrastination to avoid complying with this claim. At last the people, under Braun's directions, assembled in crowds round the town house, and the obnoxious councillors left the hall, and afterwards the town, in alarm.

Braun, supported by his friends and invested with discretionary powers, formed a new government; he divided the traders and artisans into tribes or guilds, and separated them from the gentry and nobles, who together formed

[1350-1351 A.D.]

one class. One half of the council consisted of the heads of the guilds, and the other of members of the nobility, and each was to be renewed every six months. Braun was named burgomaster for life, with extensive powers. No alteration was made, however, in the relations of the town with the empire, to which it continued to own allegiance. The people sanctioned this new constitution in 1336. The heads of the trades, having seats in the council, used their newly acquired power each for the interest of his respective craft,¹ by excluding all foreign competition, and preventing the country people from manufacturing goods. Another great object which they had in view was to secure for the town the monopoly of the transit trade between Italy and Germany. The runaway councillors were banished forever, with their adherents, and fines were levied on their property. But the exiles found refuge in the castles of the neighbouring nobility, and were especially supported by the count of Rapperschwyl, who was possessed of the Marches, the valley of Gasterenthal, and of several other districts. From his castle the discontented emigrants made frequent incursions into the lands of their countrymen. The people of Zurich, on their side, allied themselves with the count of Toggenburg, who was in continual war with the lord of Rapperschwyl concerning a disputed inheritance, when, after several engagements, the latter was killed, with many of his men, near Gronau.

Years passed, during which time, former feuds being partly forgotten, several of the exiles obtained leave to return to Zurich. These, in concert with the rest of the emigrants, as well as with the neighbouring nobles, formed a conspiracy to get rid of Braun and his friends. Many of the conspirators came into the town under various pretexts, others were waiting outside for their friends to open the gates for them. A baker's boy overheard part of the plot in a house where the conspirators assembled. Braun was informed of it in the night; he put on his armour in haste and ran to the town-house, calling the citizens to arms. The conspirators, in a body, endeavoured to effect a retreat out of the town, but Braun, at the head of the citizens, met them in the market-place, and an obstinate engagement ensued, in which most of the conspirators were either killed or taken prisoners. The captives were beheaded or broken on the wheel, together with several citizens of their party. Braun then marched against Rapperschwyl, took the castle by storm, drove all the inhabitants out of the town, and then burned it and rased it to the ground. The counts John of Habsburg and Ulrich of Bonstetten, being taken prisoners, were kept as hostages. These events occurred in 1350.

The duke of Austria strongly resented the conduct of the Zurichers towards Rapperschwyl; the lord of which town was his relative, and he threatened the citizens with his vengeance. The nobility around rose also to avenge the humiliation inflicted on their own body. The people of Zurich, seeing the storm gathering, applied to the Swiss, and Zurich was received into their confederation as a fifth canton in 1351. But in consideration of the wealth and importance of the city of Zurich, the others yielded to it the first place in order of rank. This prerogative, however, gave Zurich no superiority over the rest, but merely constituted it as a central point where all the affairs which concerned the whole confederation were transacted; its deputies had also for a time the precedence in the general diets.

[In the league of Zurich was first outlined a federal circle within which the confederates should render aid. It was an area of considerable extent, including all the roads and passes of importance. The principle of arbitra-

[¹ The chief manufactures of Zurich consisted then of silks, linen, and leather.]

[1351-1352 A.D.]

tion, of such prominence to this day in Swiss statesmanship, was adopted for the settling of internal dissensions.]

Albert, duke of Austria, repaired to Brugg in Aargau in the month of August, 1351, and there he assembled his forces. He formally demanded of the Zurichers that they should rebuild the town and castle of Rapperschwyl at their own expense, and restore the Marches, of which they had taken possession. Upon their refusal to comply with these conditions, he laid siege to Zurich with a considerable force. The Waldstätte ran to arms for the assistance of their new confederate. The duke of Austria, on his side, summoned the people of Glarus for their contingent. The latter refused, saying that they were "under the protection of the empire, and subject to the abbey of Seckingen, and bound to take up arms for the defence of these, but not for the private wars of the dukes of Austria." The duke, however, in his quality of *vogt* or warden of the abbey, understood the matter otherwise. Besides, he wished to occupy the country of Glarus, in order to check the people of Schwyz on that side and prevent them from sending succour to Zurich. But the Schwyzers, anxious to secure their own frontiers, were beforehand with him; they occupied the country of Glarus in November of the same year, 1351, without striking a blow, and Glarus [June 4th, 1352] was received into the Swiss confederation, of which it formed the sixth canton.

The cavalry of Duke Albert was stationed in the country of Baden, whence it made incursions into the lands of Zurich. The citizens, having resolved to attack the enemy, advanced on Christmas Day [1351], to the number of thirteen hundred men, towards Baden, whose suburbs they destroyed, together with the baths, the Austrians having retired into the town. But the Zurichers were intercepted in their retreat near Mellingen by four thousand of the enemy, whom they bravely attacked; and, being joined by the contingents from the banks of the lake, they obliged the Austrians to retire, after the loss of six hundred or seven hundred men. The Zurichers had captured at Baden a number of mares, which they drove towards the enemy's horses, and thus threw them into disorder—a stratagem which mainly contributed to the defeat of the Austrians.

Next year Walter de Stadion made an incursion into the territory of Glarus, but was defeated and killed near Nafels [1352]. The people of Glarus pursued their advantages, and laid siege to the town of Zug, a hereditary possession of the duke of Austria. Deputies from Zug repaired to Konigsfeld, where Duke Albert was quietly enjoying the sports of the chase, whilst a war in which he had wantonly engaged was desolating the territories of his own subjects. The deputies, who came to implore his assistance, found him engaged with his falconer: he would hardly listen to their urgent requests for assistance, and told them peevishly that they might, if they chose, give themselves up to the Swiss. When this answer was reported to the people of Zug, they immediately followed the duke's advice, and were readily received, in 1352 [June 27th], into the Swiss confederacy, of which they formed the seventh canton.

The duke of Austria arose at last from his apathy, and a second time laid siege to Zurich, in the month of July; but seeing no better chance of success than before, he listened to the proposals of the Markgraf of Brandenburg, who negotiated a truce.

[The terms of the Peace of Brandenburg, as this was called, were somewhat unfavourable to the league. Glarus and Zug were compelled again to admit the sovereignty of Austria.]

The republic of Bern, which had of late greatly extended its dominions

[1352-1368 A.D.]

both by arms and by purchases, having some differences with its subjects of the Oberhasli, the cantons offered their mediation, and in 1352 a diet was held at Lucerne for that purpose. On this occasion the first three cantons proposed that Bern should enter into the Swiss alliance. The Bernese, grateful for the assistance the Swiss had afforded them at the battle of Laupen, readily accepted the offer. Bern was thus received into the confederation [March 6th, 1353], of which it formed the eighth canton. This important accession imparted to the Swiss Confederacy a reputation for power and stability which it had not till then enjoyed. It also led to the settlement of a general system of polity among the Swiss, which, while keeping inviolate the independent sovereignty of each canton, provided for cases where a diversity of interests might lead to a rupture. This last and most difficult object was obtained by constituting the deputies from each state into a diet or representative council of the whole Helvetic body, to whom the neighbouring princes might accredit their ministers, and before whom all important affairs concerning the general welfare of the country might be discussed and concluded.

The eight cantons — Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Bern — constituted for more than a century the whole federative republic of the Swiss, and even after the accession of other cantons they retained, together with the title of the "eight old cantons," a superiority over the younger members of the league. During that period they made considerable conquests, which were distributed among themselves according to the decrees of the diets.

The Peace of Brandenburg which Duke Albert had made with the Swiss was not of long duration. He soon pretended that the stipulation which secured to him his rights in the cantons of Glarus and Zug meant the annihilation of their alliance with the Swiss. The affair was brought before the emperor Charles IV, who, after some vacillation, finding that the Swiss would not hear of any infraction of their confederation, took the part of the duke of Austria. The Austrians renewed hostilities in July, 1354, by laying siege, for the third time, to Zurich. The emperor joined them with the troops of the empire, as well as those of Solothurn, Schaffhausen, and several other imperial cities. The combined army amounted to more than forty thousand men. The garrison of Zurich, reinforced by contingents from the other cantons, held out for several weeks against their numerous enemies; at last they hoisted on one of the towers their great banner, which consisted of the arms of Zurich surmounted by the imperial eagle; this reminded the contingents of the free towns that they were waging war against one of their own body. The Zurichers also secretly made representations to the emperor, who, naturally jealous of the power of the house of Austria, and weary of a war from which he could expect no advantage, at length withdrew his troops; and Duke Albert, weakened by this defection, raised the siege.^g

Terms of peace similar to those of the Peace of Brandenburg were agreed upon July 24th, 1355, at Regensburg. In 1360 the confederates again opposed Austria. The emperor Charles IV formally recognised the confederation in 1361 as a lawful union for the preservation of the public peace (*Landfriedensverbinding*). The men of Schwyz by a bold stroke in 1364 gained possession of the town and lands of Zug, and in 1368, Zug, by the consent of Austria at the Peace of Thorberg, became permanently a member of the league. This district, originally composed of the town and the land of Zug, had been formed into one community and now formed a transition link between the civic and the rural members of the league.^h

[1375-1385 A.D.]

THE GUGLER WAR

The whole of Switzerland enjoyed tranquillity until, in 1375, an army of strangers, French and Englishmen, after ravaging Alsace and the borders of the Rhine, invaded the country on the banks of the Aare, and, carrying fire and sword, advanced along the Limmat as far as Wettingen. This unexpected irruption, which recalled to mind the former incursions of the northern tribes, was led by Enguerrand de Coucy, a French nobleman, who had inherited, through his mother, a grand-daughter of the emperor Albert, several towns and castles in Alsace and Aargau, of which, however, he had never obtained possession. Leopold of Austria, Enguerrand's cousin, refused to deliver up to him his mother's portion, and Enguerrand, who had married Isabella, princess of England, availing himself of the peace between that country and France, came with a large army of adventurers, chiefly English, to regain his inheritance by force of arms.

The invaders, dividing their forces, advanced with a strong party towards Bern. One of their principal leaders, a Welshman, erroneously styled by the chroniclers "duke of Wales," encamped at Frauenbrunnen, on the road to that city. Having met little or no opposition so far, the English were reposing in security, when in the night of the 26th and 27th of December the Bernese surprised their camp. They found little resistance except in the convent, where the principal officers were lodged, and where they fought singly in the corridors and cells. The English were thrown into confusion and dispersed in the darkness, with the loss of eight hundred men. Others of their bands met with similar reverses in various parts of the country. The lord of Coucy, who had his headquarters at the abbey of St. Urban, seeing this, and finding that he could not maintain discipline in his motley army, or procure provisions in a country which he had ravaged, began his retreat, and returned to Alsace, which he completely devastated. This expedition was called by the Swiss the Gugler War from the pointed kind of helmet which the English wore, and which in German is called Gugelhut.²

NEW BATTLES AND NEW VICTORIES

As the towns grew in power and importance the strength and wealth of the nobility in western Switzerland had decreased. To recuperate his dwindling fortune Count Rudolf of Kyburg in 1382 prepared to capture Solothurn by a sudden night attack, but his plot was discovered and the attempt failed. The Bernese hastened to the assistance of their old allies; the confederates also lent aid, and their joint forces laid siege to Burgdorf. They were unable to take the place, however, because the Austrians came to its aid, treacherously violating an agreement to remain neutral. The Kyburgs were the losers in the end, being forced to sell Burgdorf and Thun to Bern; they, moreover, bound themselves not to make war in the future except with permission of Bern and Solothurn. Bern, thus steadily pursuing her policy of extending her territory by conquest or purchase, now ruled over all the territories of the upper and middle Aare.

Quarrels with Austria were soon renewed. In 1385 Zurich, Bern, Solothurn, Lucerne, and Zug joined the great union of south German cities for protection against the nobles. The forest districts of all the members of the league alone held back. Duke Leopold of Austria seized the opportunity of apparent disunion to refuse the demands of Lucerne for the abolition of the payment of custom duties to the Austrian bailiff at Rotenburg. Lucerne

[1386 A.D.]

held that she had the right of free traffic. Her citizens stopped paying tolls, attacked the custom house at Rotenburg, and granted co-burghership to the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Sempach, which was discontented with Austrian rule.^a

Nothing remained but for Leopold to convoke his vassals and subjects. He united them at those places where, seventy-one years before, the army had marched out against Morgarten. The Swiss also took measures of defence. Zurich prepared for a fresh siege. Berne, while condemning the unreflecting violence of the Lucernaise, held herself ready for anything. She would rather have seen the confederates make common cause with the German towns, who, to gain time for concerting a plan of war, sought an armistice. But neither were these towns long in dividing and joining Leopold, leaving the confederates entirely alone and at issue with Austria.

Already hostilities had begun at certain points. The Glaronaise, taking up the quarrel of the Swiss, destroyed some castles in their neighbourhood. Zurich, which expected to be the first attacked, had received a federal garrison within her walls (1386). But Leopold's plan was not that of the confederates. Leaving five thousand men, destined to keep Zurich in alarm, at Brugg, he advanced (July 1st, 1386) at the head of four thousand horse and a well armed infantry. After some days had passed, the army, skirting the eastern bank and the green lake of Sempach, marched on Lucerne. It was harvest time, and reapers were putting the sickle to the corn. At this moment, on the morning of July 9th, the Swiss appeared, coming out of a wood which traversed the route leading to Lucerne by Rotenburg. The duke hastened to range his army for battle, but as the country did not lend itself to cavalry movements, he ordered the horsemen to dismount. Formed in a large and deep square, with serried ranks and set lances they marched on the enemy, leaving the infantry behind because they would not divide the honour of punishing the peasants. Presenting to the Swiss a forest of sharp steel they attacked with so much impetuosity that sixty men were killed and the magistrate Gundoldingen was wounded, before they had lost a single man themselves.

But soon the scene changed. All accounts of this battle mention the sudden change, but ascribe different reasons. The Austrian narratives blame the extreme heat, the weight of the nobles' arms, and the treason of the mounted gentlemen-at-arms, who, remaining inactive witnesses of the battle, were said to have set the example of flight. The Austrians acknowledge the defeat, but give an imperfect account of it. The Swiss version completes the story and gives a more natural explanation of the event. When all was going as badly as possible, it says, and the long lances of the cavaliers were slaughtering the foremost ranks, without allowing the Swiss halberds to reach the enemy, this is what a pious and faithful confederate did — he seized as many lances as he could and bent them under his weight, so that his companions, advancing through the breach, broke the order of the nobles' ranks. It was then that counts, cavaliers, and servitors fell pell-mell together; even Leopold himself, whose ardour his men had vainly tried to restrain, also fell dead in the *melee*.

And that is all of the battle of Sempach. More ancient chronicles relate it in a still simpler manner. The Swiss wrote little, contenting themselves at first with saying that it pleased the all-powerful God to give them victory, and that they were in sore straits when they gained the field. Even the more explicit narratives, in relating how the victory was won, do not name the hero, the noblest embodiment of that love of country which allowed the

[1388 A.D.]

Swiss to conquer powerful neighbours. Very tardily a popular song made famous the name of Arnold von Winkelried.

Large booty, of gold and silver and rich standards, was found on the field. The confederates lost 116 men, the Austrians nearly 700. After having, according to custom, passed three days on the place which saw them victorious, the conquerors with outspread banners sought the road to their own homes. Swift as the wind travelled the news of this victory, till the disgrace the nobility had suffered was known beyond the limits of the empire.

After Sempach the war spread. Wishing to pursue their advantages, the Swiss extended their forces in various directions, ravaging the enemy's country. Bern, seeing war inevitable, took up arms. Twenty-four villages were, according to the conqueror's expression, "blown sky high." Bern exacted homage from the towns of Thorberg, Unterséen, and the upper Simmen Thal. Then she turned her forces against Fribourg, where the Austrian party again ruled. Time after time the Bernese tried to seize Fribourg and the Fribourgese to surprise Bern. [The Bernese finally took possession of the dominions of Fribourg and Austria in the Bernese Oberland and in Seeland].

THE BATTLE OF NÄFELS AND SUBSEQUENT PEACE

Elsewhere war had also pursued its course. The Glaronaise, believing their independence assured by the victory of Sempach, had constituted themselves a free people, and had, with confederate aid, taken Wesen by assault. The Austrians, however, thanks to agents they had in that place, had no trouble in regaining possession (February, 1388). Soon after, they presented themselves to the number of about six thousand men on the borders of the Glarus country, ordering submission.

This was in winter. Accumulated snow on the Alps separated the Swiss from their allies. Reduced to their own small number, they nevertheless ranged themselves behind an intrenchment constructed from one mountain to another in the environs of Näfels. Mattis am Buhl commanded them. When on the 9th of April he saw the Austrian army on the march, he sent orders for every member of the confederation to sound the alarm, while, by a vigorous resistance, he gave the people time to assemble. The moment came when he saw himself constrained to yield to numbers. The Austrian army was spreading in wave after wave on every side, seizing the flocks, burning Näfels, and seeking booty. Am Buhl led his little group to the side of a mountain (an der Rauti) so that they could not be surrounded. There, passing through the enemy by detachments of twenty, thirty, or sixty men, came contingents from the valley. The women and children fled into the Alps, leading the cattle. Thirty auxiliaries of Schwyz succeeded in passing the mountains.

The Austrians, in their turn, re-formed. They were ranged in battle when the Glaronaise rained on them showers of stones, wounding both men and horses and throwing the ranks into confusion. Then, agile as usual, they fell on their enemies, throwing them off their horses and covering them with wounds. Ten times they had to retire, yet ten times returned. The eleventh onslaught was decisive; for, seized this time with panic, the Austrians fled, and being hotly pursued perished in great numbers either in the plain or in the waters of the Linth. [Seventeen hundred Austrians are said to have perished.] The battle of Näfels is still celebrated every year on the first Thursday in April.

During the days which followed the battle of Nâfels, contingents of confederates arrived one after the other, to learn from the Glaronaise how they had helped themselves. All together they meant to march on Wesen, when they learned that the enemy had forestalled them and destroyed this town with their own hands. Then was formed a plan for profiting by these circumstances to seize Rapperschwyl, but the resistance of the inhabitants constrained them to go away after three weeks. They returned to their homes fighting on the way and pillaging and seizing booty on the enemy's territories. These were the final hostilities. After a year's warfare the country showed towns and villages reduced to ashes, stores destroyed, premature harvests hastily reaped. Famine followed in the train of high prices. Taking in the situation, seeing their treasure exhausted, their armies dispersed, as well as fiefs lost, Argovia and Thurgovia in danger, the dukes and Leopold's son laid down their arms. A seven years' peace was concluded [April, 1389]. The Swiss kept their conquests.^s

THE CONFEDERATE RELATIONS STRENGTHENED

Glarus was at this time definitely acknowledged a member of the league.^a

No further members were admitted till 1481, after the Burgundian war. But, in order thoroughly to understand the nature of the league, it must be remembered that, while each of the five new members was allied with the original nucleus — the three forest districts — these five were not directly allied to one another; Lucerne was allied with Zurich and Zug; Zurich with Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus, Glarus with Zurich; Zug with Lucerne and Zurich; Bern with no one except the three original members.^f

The defeats of Sempach and Nâfels gave to the Austrian power in Switzerland a blow from which it never recovered. The feudal nobility, the vassals of Austria, had lost in those fights their bravest leaders; and the dukes of Austria, occupied with others matters, neglected the affairs of Switzerland. The feudatories, finding themselves unsupported, made the best terms they could with the cantons; some of them, being in want of money, sold or mortgaged their estates and jurisdictions to the wealthy towns of Zurich, Bern, or Solothurn; others entered into co-burgerships with them, engaging to assist them in their wars. In a few years more than forty lordships belonging to the dukes of Austria, or to vassals of that house, came into possession of the Swiss confederates, especially of Bern and Zurich.

In 1393 Leopold, duke of Austria, and son of the Leopold who was killed at Sempach, came to Baden on the Limmat, and thence he endeavoured to sow dissension among the Swiss, with whom, however, he was at peace at the time. He succeeded in bribing Rudolf Schon, burgomaster of Zurich, and some of the other councillors of state, or members of the executive, who agreed to conclude a treaty offensive and defensive between Zurich and Austria, one of the conditions of which was that Zurich should not support the other cantons in the possession of the territories they had seized during the last war. A draft of the treaty was made out and sent to Leopold for his sanction. All this was done by the burgomaster without consulting the great or legislative council of Zurich.

Meantime the other cantons, having heard of the negotiation, became alarmed, and sent deputies to Zurich to remonstrate against a transaction which they denounced as a treason against the federal alliance which bound Zurich to the rest of the Swiss. The Swiss deputies insisted upon the question

[1394 A.D.]

being referred to the great council; and appealed to the citizens whom they met in the streets. These angrily and clamorously demanded the convocation of the great council. The magistrates were obliged to comply, and the great council, being assembled, summoned a meeting of the commune, or general assembly of the citizens. These impeached the magistrates, and ordered them for trial before the "council of two hundred," or great council, which pronounced that the alliance with Austria was illegal, and condemned Rudolf Schon, and seventeen other individuals concerned in it, to banishment. After this the council and burghers together adopted several resolutions, to the effect that in future the burgomaster and councillors of state and tribunes should be renewed every six months and that the councillors should be chosen from among all classes of citizens without exclusion. Duke Leopold, being thus baffled in his scheme of detaching Zurich from the confederation, and unwilling to recommence hostilities, entered into a fresh treaty with the Swiss in 1394, renewing the former truce for twenty years longer, and regulating the question of their recent acquisitions. It was after the death of Duke Leopold, and during the disputed successions and weak administration of the dukes Albert IV and Albert V, that Austria lost her remaining influence in Helvetia.

The treaty of 1394 was prolonged in 1412 for fifty years. The hundred years' struggle of the Swiss League to throw off all political dependence on the Habsburgs was thus finally crowned with success. The confederation as a whole was relieved from the overlordship of the Habsburgs, to whom, however, all their rights and dues as landed proprietors were expressly reserved. Thus the distinction always made by the confederates between the Habsburgs as rulers and as land owners was once more upheld; and though that powerful family entertained hopes of recovering its former rights, so that technically the treaties of 1389, 1394, and 1412 were but truces, it finally and forever renounced all its feudal rights and privileges within the confederacy of the "everlasting compact" of 1424.^a

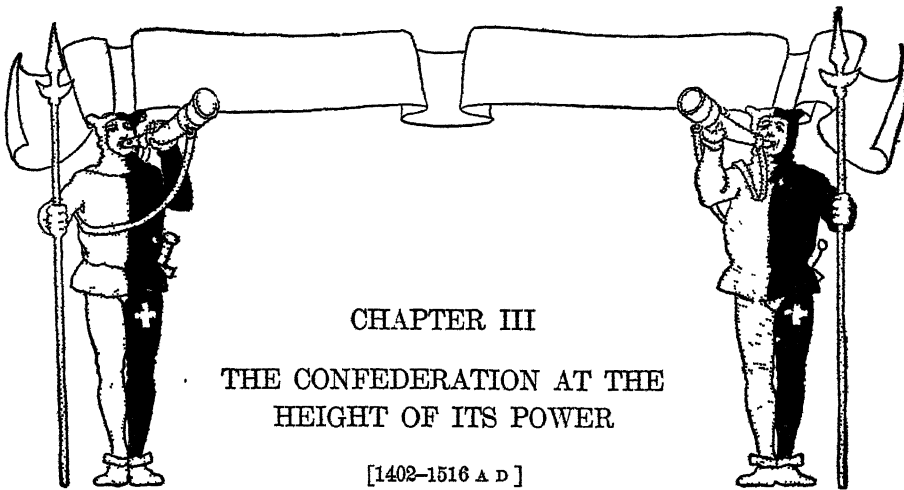
THE PFAFFENBRIEF AND THE SEMPACHER BRIEF

The course of events compelled the confederates to strengthen and regulate their political relations by the adoption of principles binding upon all. When the provost of the cathedral of Zurich, after becoming guilty of an attempt on the life of Peter von Gundolding [mayor of Lucerne], had refused to appear before the civil tribunal, the majority of the confederates adopted the principle that the clergy should be subject to the authority of the state. This was done in the decree of September 7th, 1370, known as the Pfaffenbrief.

On the 10th of July, 1393, the eight confederates adopted a common military ordinance, the Sempacher Brief (Letter of Sempach). By this they forbade all individual enterprises, pillage, violation of sacred places, and violence to women and defenceless girls. This is the only example of a regulation of military discipline in the interest of humanity during feudal times and affords good evidence of the noble principles which actuated the league and the lofty aims towards which it strove.

These two documents were confirmed by oath every five years, like all other treaties. It is plain from all these facts that the confederates did not have from the beginning a preconceived design and did not make their gains in the full consciousness of a chosen mission. They strove rather to realise step by step whatever circumstances rendered possible. This lack of aim

was, it is true, a tax upon energy or enthusiasm for internal progress, and served as a deterrent from decisive actions. And yet, when the conduct of the confederation is contrasted with the disorderly movements of the lower classes in France, England, etc., we praise the moderation that preserved the confederation from all violent reaction and permitted it to continue tranquilly its onward march.



The great victory at Sempach not merely vastly increased the fame of the Everlasting League, but also enabled it to extend both its influence and its territory. The fifteenth century is the period when both the league and its several members took the aggressive, and the expansion of their power and lands cannot be better seen than by comparing the state of things at the beginning and at the end of this century. — W. A. B. COOLIDGE ^b

THE EMANCIPATION OF APPENZELL

ABOUT the beginning of the fifteenth century, misunderstandings arose between the mountaineers of Appenzell and their lord, the abbot of St. Gall. The agents of the abbot encroached on the privileges of the people, and levied taxes in a harsh and oppressive manner: one of them, the bailiff of Schwendi, exacted a duty on the cheese and butter which were carried to market, and he kept two fierce mastiffs to fly at anyone who attempted to pass the toll-house without having paid the duty. The bailiff of the town of Appenzell had the right of *catel* or "chattel," in virtue of which the best garment of every man who died became his perquisite. He one day caused the grave of a man lately buried to be reopened, in order to seize the clothes in which the children of the deceased had dressed their parent.

These and many other vexations, joined to the example of their neighbours the Swiss, led the Appenzellers to think of emancipating themselves from the abbot's rule. On a fixed day they rose, surprised the castles, and drove the bailiffs away. The abbot Cuno of Staufen, having no means of suppressing the revolt, applied to the imperial towns of Swabia, who were his allies, and who sent messengers into Appenzell. The mountaineers said they were ready to pay the abbot his lawful dues as before, provided he chose his bailiffs among a certain number of honest men whom they would propose to him. The imperial towns, however, rejected the proposal, and insisted that the former bailiffs of the abbot should be reinstated, and these, through malice and revenge, treated the people worse than before. The Appenzellers then turned to the town of St. Gall, which, having grown around the abbey, and being in some measure dependent on it, yet enjoyed imperial franchises and immunities, and was allied to other imperial towns. Its

THE HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND

[1402-1408 A.D.]

position between Germany and Italy rendered it a place of considerable trade, which the industry of its inhabitants had increased by the establishment of manufactures. The people of St. Gall had also their grievances against the abbot; they listened readily to their neighbours of Appenzell, and formed an alliance with them [1401] for the purpose of defending their respective privileges. The abbot, incensed at this, redoubled his severity against the Appenzellers, and appealed again to the league of the imperial towns of Swabia, which decided that the alliance between St. Gall and Appenzell must be dissolved, but that the abbot should choose his bailiffs from among the natives of the latter country. St. Gall submitted to this decision.

The Appenzellers, perceiving that the nobility of the imperial towns preferred the friendship of a prince abbot to the interests of a race of humble mountaineers, addressed themselves to their brethren of the Swiss cantons, expecting more sympathy from that quarter. Schwyz and Glarus alone answered the call; the former entered into a co-burghership with the people of Appenzell [1402], and Glarus, without stipulating any act of alliance, proclaimed that all those among the citizens who chose to serve in the cause of Appenzell were free so to do. All the inhabitants of Appenzell attended in their respective rhodes,¹ and they all swore to each other, and to the landammann of the village of Appenzell, to remain firmly united for the defence of their common rights. On hearing this, the imperial towns, urged again by the abbot, collected a considerable force, both horse and foot, and sent it to St. Gall, where the abbot reviewed and entertained them. Thence they proceeded towards Trogen, a village of Appenzell, the cavalry in full armour, followed by five thousand infantry.

On the 15th of May, 1403, they entered the hollow pass of Speicher. The men of Appenzell, informed by their scouts of the approach of the enemy, had left their wives and children, and after receiving the blessings of their aged parents they posted themselves, to the number of two thousand, on the summit of the mountain; eighty of them advanced to the cliffs which overhang the hollow way, while three hundred men of Schwyz and two hundred of Glarus placed themselves in the wood on each side of the road. The enemy's cavalry boldly ascended the mountain. The eighty Appenzellers began the attack with their slings, whilst the men of Glarus and of Schwyz rushed upon the flanks of the column. The cavalry, pressed in a narrow way, spurred their horses to gain the plain on the summit of the hill, when they perceived the whole force of Appenzell advancing to meet them. At this sight the leaders of the column ordered a retreat, in order to regain the open country below. The dismal word "Retire!" sounded along the files of the long column. the infantry in the rear thought all was lost, and began to disband — the people of Appenzell, Schwyz, and Glarus fell from every side on the cavalry cooped up in the hollow way. Six hundred cavaliers lost their lives; the rest spurred their horses through the ranks of their own infantry; the rout became general, and the discomfited troops reached St. Gall in the greatest confusion.

The imperial towns, disheartened by this defeat and having lost many of their most distinguished warriors, forsook the cause of the abbot and made their peace with Appenzell. The abbot, deeming himself not safe in St. Gall, retired to Wyl. The Appenzellers, being masters of the country, attacked and destroyed his castles, and ravaged his domains. The abbot and the gentry, his vassals, implored the assistance of Frederick duke of

[¹ Rhodes, from *Rotte*, troop or band, means the communes or hundreds into which Appenzell is divided. This denomination continues to the present day.]

[1405-1412 A.D.]

Austria, who, after some hesitation, assembled a force in the Tyrol, which he divided into two columns; the stronger advanced on the 17th of June, 1405, from Alstetten, in the Rheinthal, by the mountain called Am Stoss, on the borders of Appenzell. The count Rudolf of Werdenberg, who had been deprived by the dukes of Austria of his possessions in the Rheinthal, offered his services to the Appenzellers, and, throwing aside his knightly armour, assumed their mountain costume. He was unanimously entrusted with the defence of the country.

The Appenzellers had posted themselves on the mountain, from whence they threw down enormous stones and trunks of trees on the advancing column. The day was rainy, so that the slope upon which the Appenzellers were posted, and which was covered with short grass, was extremely slippery. The Austrians had scarcely reached the middle of the ascent when Rudolf gave his men the signal to advance. The Appenzellers were barefooted, and they rushed safely down the hill upon the enemy, whose ranks were thrown into disorder and whose bowstrings were rendered unserviceable by the rain. The Austrians, however, fought desperately man to man with sword and spear. On a sudden they perceived on the hills a fresh body of Appenzellers, which threatened to cut off their retreat. A general panic then seized them: it was no longer a fight, but a slaughter; and the streams of rain flowing down the sides of the hill were reddened with the blood of the invaders. The combat and the pursuit lasted six hours, after which the Appenzellers returned to the field of battle, and there, falling on their knees, they returned thanks to the Almighty for the deliverance of their country. The troop whose appearance had decided the flight of the Austrians was composed of the women of Appenzell, in shepherds' frocks, who had come to share the dangers of their husbands and their brothers!

Duke Frederick, who had advanced with another body of troops from Arbon, and vainly besieged the town of St. Gall, attempted to penetrate into Appenzell from another side, but was also repulsed and obliged to retire into the Tyrol. The Appenzellers now formed an alliance with St. Gall, conquered the Rheinthal, and advanced into the Tyrol, whilst another body assisted their allies of Schwyz in conquering the valley of Wäggis and the Lower March, which have ever since formed part of the latter canton. The war of Appenzell lasted five years, during which the shepherds of that country, whose name was hardly known before made themselves formidable, extending their incursions to Bregenz and Landeck on the Inn, and in Thurgau as far as Weinfelden. They took by force more than sixty castles, and destroyed thirty. They also entered the town of Wyl, and made the abbot of St. Gall prisoner. It was in vain that they were excommunicated by the bishop of Constance, and put by the emperor under the ban, in 1406; they disregarded both. Their too enterprising spirit, however, received a check under the walls of Bregenz, whence they were driven back. At last in 1408, the emperor Robert, who had come to Constance, negotiated a peace, by which the abbot of St. Gall gave up his seigniorial rights over Appenzell, retaining, however, certain revenues. The Appenzellers restored the Rheinthal to the house of Austria. They contracted [November 24, 1411; St. Gall in 1412] an alliance with the Swiss cantons, Bern excepted. The Swiss, in this alliance, showed some mistrust of the newly awakened ambition of the mountaineers of Appenzell, for they stipulated that the latter should not engage in any war without the consent of the confederates, and that in all cases the expenses of the war should be defrayed by Appenzell alone.

THE CONQUEST OF THE AARGAU

In 1415, the famous council of Constance began. No less than three popes, John XXIII, Gregory, and Benedict, contended for the see of Rome, to the scandal and distraction of the Christian world. The emperor Sigismund determined to put an end to this deplorable schism, and for this object the council was mainly convoked. But the emperor's disposition was false and rapacious. The duke Frederick of Austria favoured John XXIII, a prelate of a worldly, profligate character, and protected and abetted him even after the council had deposed him, as well as the two other pretenders to the papacy, and elected in their place Martin V. For this Frederick was excommunicated by the council, whilst Sigismund, jealous of the power of the house of Austria, and covetous of its vast domains, put him under the ban of the empire, and invited all the imperial vassals and towns to make war against him. The same invitation was addressed to the Swiss cantons.

The Swiss refused at first, with the exception of Bern, ever ready to seize a favourable opportunity to aggrandize itself. The old forest cantons hesitated; they had lately renewed their truce with the duke of Austria for fifty years longer, and although the bishops, in council assembled, absolved them from their engagements, and the emperor promised them the permanent possession of all the conquests they should make on Frederick, they for some time withstood the temptation, saying that a breach of faith could never be justified by either church or empire. But Zurich, more covetous and less scrupulous than the rest, having followed the example of Bern, the other cantons, threatened on one hand and tempted on the other, also declared war against Austria in April, 1415. The canton of Uri and the brave shepherds of Appenzell formed the only honourable exceptions; they remained faithful to their truce with Frederick, and took no part either in the war or in the spoil. Bern, joined by Solothurn and Bienne, entered the Aargau. This fine province was the cradle of the house of Habsburg; it extends from the Aare to the Limmat, and northward to the Rhine, and was divided between towns enjoying franchises under the protection of the dukes of Austria and several lords vassals of the duke. Hearing of Frederick's interdict, and of the movements of the cantons, they assembled a diet at Sursee. The towns were for remaining neutral in the approaching struggle, and forming a close alliance among all the districts of Aargau for the defence of their liberties, with leave to treat with the Swiss confederates in case of necessity, and to join them as a distinct canton, as Glarus and Zug had done. But the nobles did not accede to the compact; they preferred having the duke as their master to placing themselves on a level with the burghers. This was the cause of the misfortunes of Aargau, and of its state of subjection, which lasted till the end of the eighteenth century.

The towns then resolved to place themselves under the protection of the confederates in order to secure their freedom, but it was too late. As the assembly broke up, and the deputies were returning to their homes, they espied on the hills the banners and the troops of the cantons, who had hostilely entered the country. The town of Zofingen was the first attacked, and was obliged to renounce its allegiance to Austria, and swear fidelity to Bern. The same happened to Aarburg, Aarau, Brugg, Lenzburg, and others. In a few weeks the Bernese had conquered the greater part of Aargau, the rapidity of their movements preventing any effectual resistance. Lucerne on its side took Sursee, Meienburg, and other places, as far as the Bernese line of conquests. The Zurichers, having crossed Mount Albis, occupied the bailwick

[1418 A.D.]

of Knonau, Dietikon, and the banks of Limmat towards Baden. The forces of the confederates united between the Limmat and the Reuss, and conquered in common, in the name of the seven cantons (that of Uri being excepted), Mellingen, Bremgarten, and the country of Baden. The strong castle of Baden held out for some time longer for Austria, but the artillery of the Bernese having battered down part of the walls, the garrison surrendered and the castle was burned.

The confederates then divided their spoils. Bern, Zurich, and Lucerne kept each its conquests with the same rights as the house of Austria had exercised over those districts, and the country conquered in common was formed into bailiwicks under the authority of the united cantons, who sent by turn bailiffs every second year to govern them. Bern, which had already obtained the lion's share, did not participate in the common bailiwicks. Thus the Swiss republicans began to have extensive subject districts, over which they ruled as sovereigns. The practice was afterwards widely extended: it became an abundant source of discontent and civil war, and was at last the main cause of the overthrow of the old Swiss Confederation.

Whilst the house of Austria was thus stripped of its ancestral possessions in Helvetia, Duke Frederick made his submission to the emperor Sigismund, and, having given up Pope John, became reconciled with the church. This re-establishment of peace was signified to the Swiss cantons, with the injunction that they should restore their conquests to the duke. Uri again lifted up its voice for the cause of honesty, but its scruples were laughed at by the other cantons, who were determined to hold fast their prize, and they propitiated the cupidity of Sigismund by a sum of 10,000 golden florins. By a treaty concluded in 1418 between the emperor and the duke of Austria, the duke renounced all his rights over the Aargau, and the counties of Lenzburg and Baden, and the other bailiwicks. Such was the end of the war called the war of Constance, the first in which the Swiss acted on the offensive without having received provocation.

FIRST ADVANCE SOUTH OF THE ALPS; THE VALAIS

About this period the Swiss cantons first carried their arms across the Alps into the valleys of Italy. The cantons of Uri and Unterwalden had grounds of complaint against the officers of the duke of Milan, who had annoyed some of their countrymen and seized their cattle. The duke refused to give them satisfaction. They crossed the St. Gotthard, took possession of the valley of Leventina or Livinen,¹ and then, with the full consent of the inhabitants, they occupied the valley of Oscella or Ossola. The duke Visconti engaged the duke of Savoy to reconquer the latter. The troops of Savoy crossed the Valais, and, penetrating by the Simplon to Domo d'Ossola, drove the Swiss garrison away. The cantons of Uri and Unterwalden next purchased of the baron of Mesocco, a Rhetian nobleman, the town and valley of Bellinzona as far as Lake Maggiore. The duke of Milan sent a large force under the command of Pergola, one of the ablest condottiere of his time, to prevent the Swiss from keeping possession of their purchase.

The two armies met at Arbedo near Bellinzona, and an obstinate combat ensued, which lasted the whole day. The landammann of Uri, the standard bearer of the same canton, and the ammann of Zug, Peter Kolin, were among

[¹ The Vallis Lepontina of the Romans. The Ticino, descending from the St Gotthard, waters the valley in its course to the Lago Maggiore.]

the killed. The son of Kolin seized the banner dyed with his father's blood, again waved it at the head of the men of Uri, and although he too perished the banner was saved. Swiss bravery, however, could not triumph over the steady discipline of the veteran troops of Italy. Weakened by the loss they had sustained, the Swiss mournfully recrossed the St. Gotthard, leaving a garrison, however, in the Val Leventina. The battle of Arbedo was fought in June, 1422, and Bellinzona was soon after given up to the duke of Milan by a treaty.

These Italian broils were the cause of a popular insurrection in the Valais. The lord of Raron, captain-general of that country, had allied himself to the duke of Savoy, whom he had assisted in his expedition against the Swiss at Domo d'Ossola. The cantons, resenting this, excited the people of the Valais against the lord of Raron, whose ambition had already offended his countrymen. An old custom prevailed among the people of that country; when they wanted to obtain from their lords redress of their grievances, they hoisted in the market-place an enormous club, one end of which was rudely carved into something resembling a human face, bearing an expression of woe and crowned with thorns; this was called *La Mazze*, and was meant to represent oppressed justice. A man stood behind it, and the people came one after the other to ask of the Mazze what made it so sad? Was it such or such a lord, mentioning several, that had grieved it? The Mazze remained motionless. But when the lord of Raron came to be mentioned, the Mazze made an inclination of the head. Then the man lifted up the Mazze and carried it from village to village, the people following it, and increasing at every step; and it was proclaimed that the Mazze was going to demand satisfaction of the lord of Raron, of his nephew the bishop of Sion, and their adherents. The baron, seeing the whole country risen against him, escaped to Savoy; and the people destroyed his castle near Siders, as well as that of the bishop.

Having obtained no assistance from the duke of Savoy, the lord of Raron repaired to Bern, whose co-burgher he was. Bern espoused his cause, the forest cantons took part with the Valaisans. A diet, assembled at Zurich, decided that the property of the baron should be returned to him first, and that, on the other hand, he should do justice to the people. But the people were not satisfied with this decision, and hostilities commenced between them and Bern. The Bernese, joined by Fribourg and Solothurn, sent an army of thirteen thousand men over the Sanetsch Alps into the Valais.

The forest cantons offered their mediation in vain; and the Valaisans, having refused to accede to any terms with Raron and Bern, were left to their own resources. They fought desperately, and repulsed the Bernese. At length fresh proposals of peace were made, and the Valaisans agreed to restore Raron's domains, to pay 10,000 florins as a compensation for the damage they had done him, an equal sum to Bern for the expenses of the war, and 4,000 florins to the chapter of Sion. This was in 1420; but the lord of Raron died at a distance from his country, and his family losing all their influence, the Valaisans continued, ever after, to govern themselves according to their own municipal constitution. The upper, or German Valais was divided into six *dixains* or hundreds, and the town of Sion formed a seventh. Each sent deputies to the general assembly of the country, at which the bishop of Sion presided. The lower Valais was afterwards wrested, by the upper Valaisans, from the duke of Savoy, and was governed by them as a subject district. The Valais entered also into alliances with various Swiss cantons, and particularly with Bern.

LEAGUES OF THE GRISONS

Another country, more extensive and populous than the Valais, effected its emancipation about the same time. This was the highlands of Rhætia, with their sixty valleys, where the Rhine and the Inn have their sources, a wild secluded region, surrounded and intersected on all sides by the highest Alps. The house of Habsburg, or of Austria, had no pretensions over the country. Its numerous nobles had become independent, holding directly of the empire; indeed the bishop of Coire, who had great possessions in the country, was a prince of the empire. A century had now elapsed since the Swiss cantons had achieved their independence, and their neighbours of the Rhætian valleys still groaned under the oppressions of their petty lords, far more overbearing and capricious than the Austrian rulers had been in Helvetia. Perched up in their castles, built on lofty cliffs, they sallied thence like birds of prey, scaring the poor shepherds and cultivators below, and extorting from them the produce of the soil, insulting the chastity of their daughters, and disposing of the liberty and lives of their sons. The chronicles of Rhætia record many instances of rapacity and barbarity perpetrated in those remote valleys, which have never been surpassed in the most corrupt countries by the most depraved tyrants. We read of a baron of Vatz, who used to starve his prisoners in his dungeons, and listen with complacency to their moans from his banqueting hall, and who, to try an experiment on the process of digestion, had three of his servants ripped open some hours after dinner. In another place, we find the chatelain of Guardovall sending deliberately to demand, for his private pleasures, the young and beautiful daughter of Adam of Camogask, one of his tenants — an outrage, however, which led to the revolt and emancipation of the fine valley of Engadina. We are told of the governor of Fardun driving his wild colts among the ripe crops of the farmer Chaldar, whom he cast in chains into a subterranean dungeon for pursuing and killing the destructive animals.

The nobles were often at variance with each other. Hartmann, bishop of Coire, unable to defend the scattered domains of his see, authorized his vassals to form alliances with the neighbouring communes and lordships; accordingly, in 1396, his subjects of the valleys of Domleschg, Avers, Oberhalbstein, and Bergun entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the powerful counts of Werdenberg, lords of Schams and Obervatz. This was the first origin of one of the three leagues or federations of Rhætia, afterwards called the League Caddea, (*Casa Dei*) or of the house of God, from its being under the bishop's jurisdiction. The increase of strength thus derived by the prelate excited the jealousy of the nobles of the upper Rhine, who formed likewise, in 1400, an alliance with their neighbours of the free canton of Glarus. But they did not grant any franchise to their vassals as the bishop had done, and this made the people more impatient of their servitude. They had no justice to expect from the courts, nor protection on the high roads, nor security for their persons or properties. Several of the elders among the peasants of the country formed a secret association for the purpose of devising a remedy for the evils with which the country was afflicted. They assembled at night time in a wood near the village of Trons, between the abbey of Disentis and the town of Ilanz. There they framed certain resolutions, which they communicated to the trustiest among their respective neighbours. On a fixed day all the communes of upper Rhætia sent deputies to their respective lords, demanding a solemn compact, by which the rights of all, high and low, should be defined and guaranteed, and justice and security rendered inviolable.

The barons were taken unawares; they had few soldiers on whom they could depend. The abbot of Disentis, a prudent and pious man, who himself belonged to an ancient native family, received the deputies kindly, and acceded readily to their demands. The two barons of Razuns followed his example. Count Ulric of Saxe, one of the most powerful feudatories of the Alps, did the same, as well as old Count Hugo of Werdenberg, brother to the defender of Appenzell. Henry of Werdenberg-Sargans, lord of Schams, whose father had been defeated at Nafels by the people of Glarus, alone rejected with scorn the deputies of the communes. In May, 1424, the abbot and all the lords of upper Rhætia joined the deputies of the various valleys, and of the towns of Ilanz and Tüsis, in an open field outside of the village of Trons, and there forming a circle round a gigantic maple tree, all of them standing, nobles, magistrates, deputies, and elders swore, in the name of the holy Trinity, a perpetual alliance for the maintenance of justice, and the security of everyone, without, however, infringing on the rights of any. The articles of the league which, to this day, rules that country, were then stipulated. This was called the Grey League, from the colour of the smocks which the deputies wore. By degrees it gave its name to the whole country, which was called Grisons, *Graubünden*, and that of Rhætia became obliterated. Such was the glorious covenant of Trons, one of the few events of its kind which can be recorded with unmixed satisfaction.

The baron of Werdenberg-Sargans, who had alone stood aloof in that day of joy from his countrymen, soon lost his domains. The cruelty of his own agents hastened the crisis. His chatelain of Fardun, after having imprisoned Chaldar, as above mentioned, released him upon the payment of a large ransom, by the united exertions of the prisoner's friends. Chaldar had returned to his cottage; one day when he had just sat down to dinner, with his numerous family round a table, in the midst of which stood a large bowl of boiling porridge, the dreaded chatelain suddenly entered the room. All rose respectfully to receive him, when he, looking surlily at them, approached the table, and spat in the mess which was to supply their humble repast. He then insultingly told Chaldar to begin his meal. The mountaineer could refrain no longer: He rushed upon the chatelain, and seizing him by the neck, "Wretch!" he cried, "thou alone shalt taste of the dinner thou hast contaminated." He then plunged the chatelain's head into the scalding liquid, and held it there until life was extinct. Chaldar, leaving the deformed body stretched on the floor, rushed out to alarm the country around, telling them what he had done and the provocation he had received. The people, already ripe for revolt, rose to a man and attacked the castle, which they took and demolished; and the valley of Schams and the Rheinwald were free, and joined the Grey League which was able to protect them against any further attempts of Werdenberg.

The Engadine, one of the finest and largest valleys in all Helvetia, is watered throughout its length, about sixty miles, by the river Inn, an affluent of the Danube, and is separated on one side from Italy and on the other from the rest of the Grisons by two lofty ridges of the Rhætian Alps. The inhabitants speak the *ladin*, a dialect of the romansch language, greatly resembling the Italian. After the emancipation of the neighbouring valleys, the people of Engadine aspired to the same liberty as their brethren of the Grisons League. The brutal insult offered to Theresa of Camogask, which has been noticed above, decided the explosion. Her father, with assumed composure, told the emissary of the tyrant that he would himself bring his daughter to the castle next morning in a more becoming attire than she was in at present.

[1436 A.D.]

Meantime he collected his friends and exhorted them to follow the example of their neighbours. Next morning he led forth his daughter in her best clothes, and, followed by several young men, proceeded to the castle, near which another party had posted themselves in ambuscade. The chatelain came out of the gate, and, seizing the maid from her father's arms, he rudely kissed her lips. At the same moment the father's dagger pierced his heart, and he fell lifeless to the ground. The men of Engadine rushed into the castle, overpowered the guard, and destroyed the walls. The independence of Engadine was proclaimed, and that fine valley joined the Caddean League.

Some time after, the count Frederick of Toggenburg having died without issue, his numerous vassals at Davos, Maienfeld, and other parts of eastern R  taria, on the borders of the Tyrol, assembled and proposed to form a league similar to the other two for their common protection, during the troubles which broke out about the disputed succession of Toggenburg. "As soon as the legitimate heir shall be acknowledged," they said, "we will restore him his inheritance, but our league shall remain for the security of all. None of our countrymen shall be arraigned before foreign judges, no commune shall form an alliance without the consent of all." In 1436 they swore fidelity to the league, which was called of the Ten Jurisdictions. Thus were formed the three leagues of the Grisons, which have ever since maintained their independence and their municipal liberties. Most of the valleys gradually redeemed the dues they owed to their lords, but by mutual consent and without violence. In 1450 a union, called the Black League, formed of many noblemen who disliked the enfranchisement of the communes, endeavoured to reduce the communes to subjection, but it was defeated, and many of the nobles lost their lives in a conflict in the valley of Schams.

Alliance of the Three Leagues

The three leagues now proposed for their mutual support a solemn alliance among themselves, embracing all the R  tarian valleys. Each commune sent deputies, in 1471, to the village of Vazerol, which stands nearly in the centre of the country, and there a perpetual defensive alliance was sworn to between the leagues, and general diets were appointed to be held by turns in each of the three leagues to deliberate on the interests of the whole. If differences should arise between two of the leagues, the third was to be umpire, and the decisions of two leagues should be obligatory on the third. But in their internal affairs each league, and even each commune, governed itself according to its own laws and customs, held its own meetings, and elected its own magistrates; several communes together formed a jurisdiction, having its courts of civil and criminal justice, and a landamma was elected for a time by the majority of voices; several jurisdictions formed a league, having its annual diet; and the three leagues together formed the confederation of the Grisons. Their government, like that of the Valais, contained a mixture of pure democratic and representative forms, suited to an extensive but mountainous country, where each valley forms a little world of itself, being secluded from the rest by ice and snows during great part of the year. It was not till 1497, during the war called of Swabia, that the Grisons contracted a perpetual alliance with the Swiss cantons, which they maintained ever after, forming an important accession to Switzerland, and protecting its eastern frontiers on the side of the Tyrol, and of the other dominions of the house of Austria.

THE OLD ZURICH WAR

The death of the last count of Toggenburg, in 1436, became a source of fatal dissensions among the Swiss. Zurich pretended to the inheritance, because the count had been a freeman of that city. But he was also a burgher of the canton of Schwyz. His widow sided with Zurich, but those subjects of the count who inhabited Uznach, Lichtensteg, and other districts of Toggenburg, between the Lake of Wallenstadt and the river Thur, sent deputies to their neighbours of Schwyz, and requested to be admitted among its citizens, saying that such had been their master's wish before his death, and in fact he had himself expressed this intention before the deputies of Schwyz and several other witnesses. The cantons of Schwyz and Glarus admitted the inhabitants as co-burghers, and took possession of Toggen and of the Upper March, of which the count had given them the reversion by a former treaty. Zurich prepared to oppose these arrangements by arms, and seized upon several other districts. The other cantons interfered, and prevented the explosion for a time, but in 1440 the war broke out between Schwyz and Glarus on one side and Zurich on the other. One condition of the Swiss Confederacy was that any canton having disputes with another, and refusing to submit to the direction of arbiters chosen according to the prescribed forms, should be constrained by force. Zurich was in this predicament, having refused to abide by the decisions of the umpires, and she drew upon herself the forces of all the other cantons. Uri and Unterwalden, Lucerne, Bern, and Zug all sent their contingents, and Zurich was threatened with an immediate attack, when, perceiving the danger, it submitted to what is called the *jus Helveticum*, or public law of the confederation. Arbiters were appointed from the five mediating cantons, whose decision was that Zurich should restore all it had taken out of the Toggenburg estates, while Schwyz and Glarus were to retain their conquests.

Stüssi, burgomaster of Zurich, a bold ambitious man, thinking solely on revenge, forgot the sacred ties of his country with the Swiss cantons, and sought the alliance of the hereditary enemy of their common country, Frederick III of Austria. This prince had been elected emperor of Germany, and he aimed at reconquering the Aargau, and the other domains which his house had lost in Switzerland. An alliance offensive and defensive between Zurich and Austria was concluded at Vienna in 1442. Frederick soon after repaired to Zurich, when the citizens swore fidelity to the empire, and tearing from their sleeves the white cross, the badge of the Swiss in all their wars, assumed the red cross of Austria. The confederates were indignant at this conduct; Zurich had broken the federal pact, and in 1443 war was declared by all the cantons against the perjured republic. The confederates defeated the Zurichers and Austrians in several battles, and took or destroyed many towns and villages.

At last they advanced against Zurich in the month of July. The Zurichers came out of the city, and crossing the bridge on the river Sihl, under their walls met the Swiss, led by Ital Reding of Schwyz, a man brave and resolute even to ferocity. A desperate battle was fought in the fields near the Sihl, close to the ramparts of Zurich. At last the Zurichers gave way, and recrossed in disorder the bridge to re-enter their town. The old burgomaster Stüssi alone stood on the bridge, with his battle-axe in hand, trying to stop the flight; but a citizen of Zurich, exclaiming that he was "the main cause of all this mischief!" ran him through with his spear. Stüssi fell in his heavy armour, and friends and foes passed over his body on their way to the gate.

[1444 A D]

Some of the confederates had entered the town, but a Zuricher had the presence of mind to lower the portcullis, and thus saved the city from the horrors of a storming. The confederates set fire to the suburb, committed the greatest devastations in the country around; they brutally cut open the body of the burgomaster Stussi, pulled out his heart, and then threw the mangled remains into the river. The night was spent by the confederates in drinking and carousing among the bodies of the dying and the dead. Such were the brutalizing effects of civil war, and so much altered were the Swiss since the days of Morgarten and of Sempach!

Next year the castle of Greifensee was taken by storm after an obstinate resistance. Ital Reding, who led the confederates, ordered the commander and the whole garrison to be beheaded by the public executioner. In vain Holzach of Menzingen implored the Swiss not to offend their God, not to stain the honour of the confederation, "by so inhuman an act." "*Down with them!*" was the answer of the ferocious soldiers; head after head fell to the number of sixty and the work of blood was completed by the light of torches.

In the following summer, 1444, the confederates, to the number of twenty thousand, laid siege to Zurich. The emperor Frederick and his cousin Sigismund of Austria, being engaged in distant wars, strove to raise up another enemy against the Swiss. They wrote to Charles VII, king of France, to whose daughter Sigismund was betrothed, and who, having just concluded a truce with England, was not sorry to employ abroad the mercenary companies of partisans which proved very troublesome guests in time of peace. These companies were composed of soldiers of fortune of all nations, accustomed to a life of violence and plunder, and impatient of any restraint. An old chronicler calls them *filii Belial*, sons of the Devil. They were better known by the name of Armagnacs, being the remains of the faction of that name which had figured in the civil wars of France. The king collected them and sent them first into Alsace, and then against Bâle, under the command of the dauphin Louis, afterwards Louis XI of France. They desolated the countries on the left of the Rhine, sparing neither friends nor foes, and at last, on the 23rd of August, they appeared under the walls of Bâle to the number of thirty thousand men, chiefly cavalry.

The citizens of Bâle sent one of their councillors in great haste to request the assistance of the Swiss against this formidable irruption. The Swiss detached twelve hundred¹ men of Bern, Solothurn, and the forest cantons from their camp before Farnsburg, which place they were then besieging. On the 26th of August this little band met the advance guard of the Armagnacs at Brattelen, and drove them back beyond the river Birs. The main body of the enemy was posted on the left bank of the river. The Swiss, seeing the bridge of Sankt Jakob well guarded, threw themselves into the stream and forded it, notwithstanding the fire of the French artillery. Having reached the opposite bank, they cut their way through the numerous ranks of the Armagnacs, with the intention of reaching Bâle. The inhabitants of that city, seeing from the summit of their towers the efforts of this band of heroes, made a sortie to join them; but a body of eight thousand horse, whom the dauphin had placed on that side, drove them back into the city. The Swiss were divided: a body of them, surrounded in the plain by forces ten times their number, were all slain, after making dreadful havoc among their enemies: they fell in their ranks close to each other. Another party of five

[¹ Some historians say fifteen hundred, but the calculation of the dead and wounded found on the field of battle seems to correspond with the lesser number.]

[1446-1450 A.D.]

hundred threw themselves into the hospital and chapel of Sankt Jakob. The gardens of the hospital were surrounded by high walls; there this handful of Swiss, hemmed in by a whole army, stood, determined to sell their lives dearly. Three times they repelled the attack, twice they sallied out like lions against the close ranks of their enemies; at last the walls were battered down by cannon, and the French cavaliers, having dismounted, entered the breach; yet the Swiss still opposed a desperate resistance. The hospital and the chapel took fire, and the surviving confederates were smothered among the ruins. Out of twelve hundred Swiss who fought on that day ten alone escaped by flight, and these were shunned and driven away with scorn in every part of Switzerland, for not having shared the fate of their comrades.

The fight lasted ten hours. Thousands of men and horses of the Armagnacs strewed the field of battle. The dauphin was dismayed at the sight of his own loss; and, hearing that the whole confederate army was moving against him from the camp before Zurich, he thought it prudent not to attempt to proceed any further, after witnessing such a specimen of Swiss intrepidity. *Æneas Silvius Piccolomini*, afterwards Pope Pius II, who happened to be at Bâle at the time, mentions in his epistles several circumstances of that memorable combat. He says the Swiss, having emptied their quivers, snatched out of their wounds the arrows of their enemies, and shot them back. *Burkhard Monch*, a nobleman bitterly hostile to the Swiss, who served in the ranks of the dauphin, as he was walking in the evening among the bodies of the dead Swiss, and, observing the streams of blood which drenched the ground, exclaimed, "Now am I bathing among roses." *Arnold Schilk* of Uri, who was lying near, wounded, overheard him, and picking up a large stone flung it with such force at the inhuman boaster that he fell dead to the ground.

Two days after the battle, the dauphin granted a safe conduct to the citizens of Bâle, that they might bury the dead and carry away the wounded: 1,158 Swiss were found dead, and 32 wounded. The dauphin withdrew his army, and signed a peace with the cantons and with Bâle in the following October. Struck with admiration at the bravery of the Swiss, he even sought their alliance, and this was the origin of the long friendship and connection between the French kings and the Helvetic body.

The war against Zurich and its allies continued the whole of the following year; several parties of Austrian troops were defeated by the Swiss, who took the town of Rheinfelden. At length, in 1446, several of the German electors and the bishop of Bâle interposed, and a peace was concluded [1450] on these conditions: that Zurich should renounce its alliance with Austria, and return again to that of the Swiss cantons; that the conquered districts should be restored on both sides, with the exception of Pfeffikon and Wolran, which remained to Schwyz. The Toggenburg, the cause of all this war, was left in the possession of the lord of Raron, a relative of the late count, and both he and his subjects remained co-burgers of the cantons of Schwyz and Glarus. The alliance of Bâle with the cantons was confirmed. This unnatural war cost the Zurichers more than a million of florins.

But the differences between the cantons and Austria were not yet settled. The vassals and partisans of the latter power in Switzerland continued to make incursions on the lands of the confederates. They pillaged Rheinfelden; they surprised Brugg by night, and slaughtered its inhabitants, or carried them away and obliged them to pay a high ransom; Aarau was partly burned. *John*, lord of Falkenstein, distinguished himself in this predatory warfare. On the other hand, the Swiss burned many of their castles. The town of Fribourg remained faithful to the house of Austria, although now become

[1452-1469 A.D.]

quite isolated in the midst of hostile states. But the dukes of Austria did not reward the fidelity of its citizens; on the contrary they burdened them with fresh taxes, and its governors acted in an arbitrary manner by deposing the avoyers and council. This conduct alienated the hearts of the Fribourgers.

About the same time the duke of Savoy claimed payment of 200,000 florins, due to him by the city. The duke of Austria, despairing of retaining possession of Fribourg, ordered its governor, Halwyl, to quit the town, which he did after taking possession, by a stratagem, of the best part of the burghers' plate. The citizens, preferring the domination of Savoy to that of Bern, which had long had views upon their country, submitted to the former power in 1452, and swore fidelity to the duke of Savoy, who guaranteed to them their ancient privileges.

THE PEACE OF WALDSHUT (1468 A.D.)

The only possessions remaining now to the house of Austria in Switzerland were the county of Rapperschwyl, the town of Winterthur, and the landgrafschaft of Thurgau; and these were lost soon after. Rapperschwyl gave itself voluntarily to the three forest cantons and that of Glarus. Duke Sigismund of Austria, upon this, treated the four cantons as enemies. But Sigismund himself, happening to have disputes with the pope, was excommunicated, and the pope called upon the Swiss to seize on his domains. The confederates were not slow in obeying the call. In 1460 they entered the fine province of Thurgau, which extends from the frontiers of Zurich to the Lake of Constance, and consists of gentle hills and plains, fruitful in corn, flax, and wine, and watered by the river Thur. They encountered no opposition; the town of Diessenhofen alone defended its allegiance to Austria, but was obliged to capitulate, retaining its privileges as a little republic, under the protection of the cantons. All the rest of Thurgau was taken possession of as a conquered country, the cantons assuming the rights which the house of Austria had till then exercised over it (as they had done with the Aargau about half a century before). Each of the eight old cantons by turns appointed the bailiff, who resided at Frauenfeld, and who was changed every two years. This order of things continued till the end of the eighteenth century. In 1467 Duke Sigismund mortgaged Wintherthur, his last remaining possession, to the citizens of Zurich, to whom it was finally given up ten years after. And here was the end of the power of the house of Habsburg in Helvetia. When in the following century Charles V was raised to the thrones of Germany, Spain, Italy and "the Indies," the house of Austria had lost every acre of its old patrimonial estates; the castle of Habsburg itself having passed into the hands of strangers.

Mulhausen, an imperial town in Alsace, finding itself annoyed by the neighbouring nobility, contracted an alliance with the Swiss cantons, which it maintained for centuries after. This, however, led to a fresh quarrel with Sigismund. The banks of the Rhine, from Schaffhausen to Bâle, were again the scene of a desultory though destructive warfare, in which, however, the Austrians were worsted.^c The confederates laid siege to Waldshut. The garrison made a stubborn resistance, but in August, 1468, hostilities were ended by the Peace of Waldshut. Sigismund surrendered to the confederates his rights over the Thurgau and promised to pay 10,000 gulden damages by June 24th, 1469, giving as security Waldshut and the Black Forest.^a

THE BURGUNDIAN WAR

Sigismund was not in a state to fulfil the engagements he had entered into with the Swiss. The penury of his finances made him lend an ear to those gentlemen who, in their hatred against the confederates, did not fear to see once more the key to their country in the hands of France. They determined to offer to his brother-in-law, King Louis XI, Alsace, Sundgau, and the two Rhine banks as pledge for a considerable loan. But the maxims of Louis were those followed in imitation of Italian tyrants, by the princes of his time — maxims which Machiavelli exposed later, leaving them his name. Everything in France was making for the downfall of feudalism and the creation of a united monarchy. The king did not forcibly demand what he could obtain by trickery, and he awaited from his enemies' mistakes what others sought from the issues of war. Thus he guarded himself from losing the friendship of the Swiss by accepting the offers of Sigismund. It was to his powerful and redoubtable vassal, Duke Charles of Burgundy, that he addressed the archduke.

Eleven years younger than the king, Charles expected from his riches and his army that which Louis sought from politics. Taking Alexander and Cæsar as models, he conceived vast plans which he embraced with great enthusiasm, though he gave little thought to making them clear. The pope, who, since the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, had preached a new crusade, called "the great duke of the west" to lead it. It is well known that Charles, already more powerful than his suzerain, dreamed of founding a kingdom of Burgundy, which should stretch from the Mediterranean and the sources of the Rhine to the mouth of this river. When, then, Sigismund offered him five provinces in mortgage for a loan of 50,000 florins; when he made known to him the prospective marriage between Maximilian, only son of the emperor, and Mary, the Burgundian heiress, and Charles learned that the only thing asked in exchange was support in a struggle against the Swiss, he saw in the offer a mark of distinguished good fortune. He hastened to give up the necessary sums, more considerable than those asked at first, and to receive homage from the mortgaged countries (1469).

He charged with the administration of these countries one Peter von Hagenbach, a low born and conceited parvenu, who was avaricious and vulgar in manner, and who succeeded in making his master's rule detested and in uniting in a common hatred nobles, bishops, free towns, the new subjects of Burgundy and the Swiss leagues. However, Charles laid his ambitious designs before the emperor. The two monarchs met at Treves on the 29th of September, 1473. One might almost have thought Charles was the emperor, and the aged Frederick of Austria his humble vassal! Seeking equally to deceive each other, one urged the marriage of his son with Mary of Burgundy, and the other, who dreaded above all things having a son-in-law, only wanted to obtain, without giving anything for it, the title of King of the Romans. The throne was all ready: the sceptre and crown were exposed to public view, when the emperor made off without taking leave, playing with hopes that he had allowed Charles to conceive (1473).

The duke's anger was extreme. His approach spread alarm in Alsace. The inhabitants fled; peasants shut themselves up in the towns, and these towns shut their gates. Arrived at Ensisheim, Charles convoked there the nobility of the country. Nicholas von Sharnachthal and Peter von Wabern presented themselves in the name of Bern. Kneeling, they complained

[1474 A.D.]

among other things of the ill treatment that Mülhausen, a Swiss ally, had had to endure from Hagenbach. "I am about to set forth," responded the duke; "follow me to Dijon." They did so, but after long waiting left Dijon without any answer.

However, the king of France did not neglect to profit from the alarm spread by the duke of Burgundy. He knew the keen desire of the Habsburgs to recover their patrimony, and did not ignore the fact that Frederick III had even recently put the confederates under ban of the empire. Nevertheless, he conceived the project of reconciling the Swiss with the house of Austria, and uniting them in a common alliance against the prince named by his contemporaries Charles the Bold, known in history as Charles the Rash. Everywhere he found obstacles in his path.

Since the eyes of the confederates had turned towards France, Bern had become the scene of negotiations with that country; and she had left the direction of them to her most eminent political and military leaders. But debate had arisen between these men of the old or new nobility and the townsfolk. As the nobility, in order to become Bernese citizens, had been obliged to abandon many privileges irreconcilable with the new notions of a state, but had preserved nevertheless certain justiciary rights, they were called Lord Laws (Twingherrn). Time came when also these rights were opposed by ideas hostile to feudalism. A butcher named Kistler had constituted himself at Bern the organ of the new tendencies. In 1470 at the annual election for the head of the republic, Nicholas von Diessbach obtained fifteen votes, Adrian von Bubenberg twenty, Rigoltingen thirty, Scharnachthal forty, and eighty were given to Kistler. The gentlemen withdrew to their castles, while the new head of the republic let his zeal as reformer run its course. He took note of the luxury of high-born ladies and proscribed their long trains, their high heeled shoes. They braved his proscription and proudly retired to their own lands.

Strife would have been engendered if the lords, united to the country people by a habit of living together in peace and war, had not had the wisdom to hinder the peasants from assembling or waging an unequal fight against the town. They knew how to wait to see what time and amicable intervention from the confederates would do. And, indeed, a large deputation from the cantons was not slow in going to Bern, urged by the necessity of establishing concord in those difficult times. The lords consented that the town should hold the jurisdiction demanded. Left free to invest themselves as they pleased, the deputation returned from Bern amidst universal jubilation. Kistler, who had not been useless to his fellow citizens, remained in their midst as a magistrate worth listening to. From this time the republic, fresh from triumphing over intestine dissensions, could give all its attention to the serious events happening abroad.

The Everlasting Compact (1474 A.D.)

Two men in Switzerland directed and served the politics of Louis XI. These were the advocate Nicholas von Diessbach, and, in the eastern cantons, the Lucernaise, Jost de Silinen, provost of Münster and for some time administrator of the bishopric of Grenoble. Coming from a family enriched by commerce and ennobled by the acquisition of imperial fiefs, Diessbach had been royal page and chamberlain. At Bern he was the distributor of royal largesse and the leader of a French party. When the Fribourg advocate, Raoul de Wuippens, and Adrian von Bubenberg, who had lived

at the Burgundian court and fought for the duke at Montlhéry, reminded him of the good relations the Swiss had always held with their neighbours from beyond the Jura — when they made clear what had been imprudent on the part of the confederates in overthrowing a barrier which still separated them from a powerful monarchy, Diessbach contented himself with answering that those who were useful were always estimated at their right value. Already, in the course of the year 1470, he had obtained the conclusion of a treaty, by which France and the confederates mutually engaged not to support one another against the duke of Burgundy. But Louis wanted more: the agreement was defensive, and he sought the offensive.

To arrive thereat, Silinen urged on the one hand that the archduke Sigismund should redeem the mortgaged countries for the duke of Burgundy; while on the other hand he knew how to prevail upon the confederates to allow the king to direct the terms of their reconciliation with the Habsburgs. All took place concurrently. The house of Austria and the cantons agreed to a perpetual peace, the Everlasting Compact (March 30th, 1474). The confederates remained in full possession of that which they had acquired. The parties promised each other good neighbourship and mutual succour. Immediately upon the signature of the treaty the principal Alsatian towns arose and allied themselves with the Swiss. They made up without difficulty the sum necessary for the redemption of the province, deposited it at Bâle, and invited the duke to receive it. Hagenbach, who during a popular insurrection at this time had fallen into the enemy's hands, was imprisoned, judged by a tribunal, and put to death. Aided by the Swiss, the duke retook possession of his lands.

The Treaty of Lucerne; Battles and Skirmishes

While these events were in progress, Charles, who had fought against the German Empire, was obstinately besieging Neuss, a fortress of the archbishopric of Cologne (June, 1474 to March, 1475). He had to confide to Italian condottieri the task of reducing Alsace and the neighbouring county of Ferret (August, 1474). But on the news that these "Lombards," as the condottieri were called, were putting all to fire and sword, the confederates rose and united at Lucerne, where the royal envoys urged them, under an appearance of cordiality, to show themselves "friends to friends, inimical to enemies." A treaty was signed, in which the king was promised, in case of war against Burgundy, six thousand men at a pay of 4½ florins a month. The king on his side engaged to pay each canton 2,000 francs yearly, and 20,000 francs every three years to the confederates, if he could not, in case of war against Burgundy, help them with arms. Neither party was to conclude peace without the other. A secret convention dealt with the sums, still more considerable, that the king engaged to pay to the principal cantons and their most influential magistrates.

The treaty concluded, an army of twenty thousand men, composed of divers contingents from the cantons and their allies, Swabian horse-soldiers sent from friends and from the towns of the league on the Rhine, laid siege to Héricourt, a fortress of the Franche-Comté, the property of Marshal Thiebault of Burgundy. The marshal, succoured by the count of Romont, Baron de Vaud, tried to raise the siege. They fought valiantly, but could not resist the impetuosity of the Swiss, their long halberds, and double-handled swords. The rout was complete (November 13th, 1474). Héricourt surrendered. The Swiss returned home laden with spoil.

[1475 A.D.]

Diessbach did not intend his army to remain long inactive. From the first months of 1475 expeditions went forth from various points in the Franche-Comté. At Neuchâtel a new house, that of the Hochberg counts, had succeeded that of the Fribourg counts, and relied on Bern. Rudolf everywhere exercised his rôle of mediator. His men had fought in the Swiss ranks at Héricourt, but his son served Charles the Bold; he himself had gone to Neuss to try to bring Charles and the emperor together and reconcile them with the Swiss. Diessbach reminded him of his duties towards Bern in letting a troop of adventurers ravage his lands.

A more considerable army corps crossed the Jura to surprise Pontarlier and ravage it with fire. The Bernese found themselves under the walls of this city in the presence of Louis de Châlons, lord of Château Guyon, who possessed on this side of the Jura, Granson, Orbe, and Echallens; at Héricourt they had to fight against Count Jacques de Romont, their fellow citizen, who held an appanage comprising the greater part of the Vaud country. They also thought to comprise in their offensive operations all the countries along their way as far as the Jura. They surprised Granson, seized the castle of Orbe which was heroically defended, reduced that of Jougne, and did not retire until they had made themselves masters of all the fortresses situated in the mountain passes.

A fresh expedition was directed on the county of Montbeliard. The Blamont fort, defended by walls eighteen feet thick, dominated all this country and important routes. It was during this siege that Nicholas von Diessbach, wounded by a kick from his horse, then seized with an epidemic which was decimating the troops, died while still young, at Parrentruy. He was not to see the end of a war he had started. He had opened a glorious career to his party, but had also given it an example of venality and bound it with chains from which it took long centuries to free itself. Scharnachthal replaced him before Blamont. Town, castle, all were ruined from base to turret amidst wild cries. His partisans ravaged the land as far as the gates of Besançon.

Bern and Fribourg Open a Campaign in the Vaud (1475 A.D.)

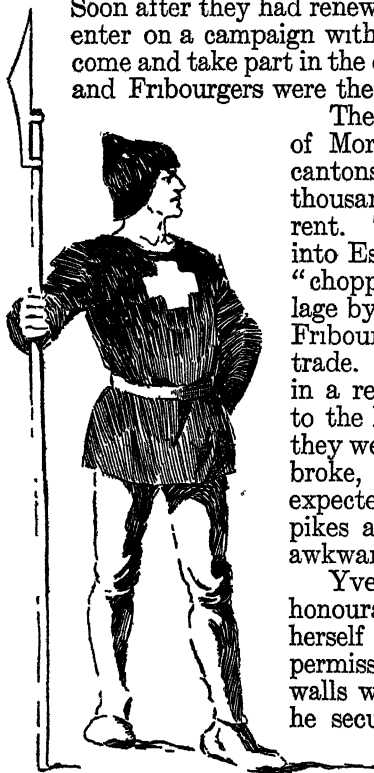
Bern had not yet declared war against the house of Savoy. This house, her ancient ally, was very different from what she had been. Since Felix V had, in 1449, abdicated the pontifical power, in the church of the Lausanne Franciscans, so doing to enter into the solitudes of Ripaille, and had renounced all his high authority, keeping only the titles of Bishop of Geneva and Cardinal Coadjutor in Switzerland and Savoy, the star of his family had waned. The change of the title of count into that of duke was far from being for the house a sign of aggrandisement. To a century and a half of glory there was to succeed as long a time of trouble and misfortune. There was an interrupted series of weak princes, minorities, regencies; and meanwhile the sceptre was found in hands too weak to bear it, nobles disputed for power, and the country was a prey to factions. Finally the hour came when the Swiss and the duke of Burgundy decided their quarrel on the fields of Romande Helvetia.

Yolande of France, sister of Louis XI, governed the Savoy counties in the name of Philibert I, her son, then a minor. She wanted to preserve the neutrality; yet hatred of her brother, and the hope she cherished of seeing the young prince of Savoy marry the heiress of Charles the Bold, inclined her to the side of Burgundy. Around her worked the young princes' uncles, of whom one, Philip of Bresse, was wholly French, whilst the two others, the

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bishop of Geneva and the count of Romont, adhered to Charles. The nobility of the country had embraced the same cause. The Gingsins, high-minded according to their crest, served the duke with devotion. Torrent of the house of Compois, who had made use of the troubles to form a kind of satrap government in Aigle, welcomed on their way the Italian condottieri that Duke Sforza of Milan had sold to the duke of Burgundy, while at the same time he pressed Louis XI to make war on this prince. Bern felt herself justified in carrying fire and sword into the Vaud country, and in asking the allies of Neuchâtel, Solothurn, and Fribourg to join their armies to hers.

She first addressed herself to Fribourg. For a long time two parties had been at issue in Fribourg. The one, Savoyard, the other, faithful to Austria. Abandoned by the archdukes, the Austrian party ended by succumbing, and the Fribourgers in 1452 floated on their towers the white cross of Savoy. Soon after they had renewed their alliance with Bern she urged them to enter on a campaign with her without waiting for the confederates to come and take part in the conquest of the Vaud counties. Thus Bernese and Fribourgers were the first to set out (October, 1475).



SWISS SOLDIER
(Fifteenth century)

They sacked Vully, and received the submission of Morat and Payerne. Contingents from many cantons had joined with them and the army, ten thousand strong, spread over the country like a torrent. Three hundred men of Nyon threw themselves into Estavayer — their courage was useless. All was "chopped up and skinned." They came to the pilage by sea and land. A hundred chariots carried to Fribourg the fabrics in which Estavayer did great trade. Eleven soldiers of the garrison were hidden in a redoubt. Discovered, they were handed over to the Bern executioner; bound together with ropes, they were to be drowned in the lake. But the rope broke, and the Swiss soldiery, disappointed of the expected sight, killed the unfortunate men with their pikes and ended by killing the executioner for his awkwardness.

Yverdun had never been attacked without making honourable resistance. She had prepared to defend herself well, when the count of Valentign obtained permission for the garrison to march beyond the walls with the insignia of war; while for the town he secured the maintenance of its liberties. The castle of Clees only yielded after several vigorous assaults. At Greifensee those of her defenders who survived were condemned to be beheaded. But as the Swiss had killed the Bern executioner, they

offered pardon to that one of the prisoners who would take his place. A German, valet to Pierre de Cossonay, commander of the place, undertook the office, and the captives fell beneath his axe, Pierre de Cossonay the last.

The castles of Jougne and Sainte-Croix had the same fate as that of Clees. Those of Montagney, Champvans, and La Sarra, vigorously defended by their lords, were reduced to ashes. The army, increased daily by reinforcements, drew near Lausanne and Geneva. Its leader, Peter von Wabern, had orders to take nothing from churches. But the true episcopal towns had, never-

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theless, to pay ransom. Lausanne, which had amicable relations with Bern, paid 2,000 florins, and Geneva 28,000; the parishes of Lavaux paid 5,000 florins.

The Alliance of Bern and Upper Valais (1473 A.D.)

The war had begun at the foot of the Alps. The Valais were, at this time, governed by a bishop as firm in his actions as he was skilful in managing popular favour. German by birth, and born in the tithing of Conches, Walther von Supersax maintained himself among the patriots of Upper Valais, without bending to their democracy. It was not until a long time after he had forbidden them to renew their alliance with the Alpine cantons, their neighbours, that he lent himself, in 1473, to a renewal of this alliance. Two years after, when he saw the Burgundian war beginning, and a chance of recovering the patrimony of Saint-Thesdule, usurped from the church by the house of Savoy, he allied himself with Bern and did not delay marching on Lower Valais. Pierre and Amédée de Gingins, at the head of eight thousand men, threw him back on Sion. But as the two armies were at close quarters under the walls of this city, three thousand Bernese, descended from Sanetsch, took the Savoyards on the flank, and forced them to retire in great disorder. The conquerors then overran all Lower Valais. At the same time there came down from Simmenthal and Haute Grunyère mountaineers always ready to work havoc on the plains. They destroyed the castle of Aigle, and the town submitted to Bern and became her subject.

Emperor and King Desert the Confederation

Charles, however, had continued the siege of Neuss; the emperor having finally advanced upon this place at the head of German contingents, the two princes found themselves face to face. As neither one nor the other desired war, but an understanding, an agreement was made without difficulty (June 4th, 1475). For the hope of obtaining for his son the hand of the Burgundian heiress, the emperor sacrificed the French alliance and broke his pledge with the Swiss and Archduke Sigismund. Louis XI hastened, on his side, to conclude a long treaty with Charles; he granted him free passage to march against the Swiss (September 13th, 1475). Thenceforth free in his movements, Charles came to an understanding with the archduke, conquered Lorraine, whence came the heritor of Duke René, and made ready from the first days of 1476 to cross the Jura.

Charles, in conquering Lorraine saw his star for the last time in ascendancy. It was not that his army was less splendid, his artillery less numerous — his court, transported into camp, was still the most magnificent in the West; but, being no longer able to rely on the affection of subjects whom he had wearied, he saw himself compelled to put his chief confidence in the foreigners who served him, in the Italians and their leader, Campobasso, who might betray him. And as he showed himself more and more incapable of supporting contradiction, the fidelity of those made proud by fortune was no longer secure.

The Swiss garrisons had evacuated Jougne, Orbe, Yverdun, to retire on Granson, on the borders of Lake Neuchâtel. It was round this spot that Charles made his army encamp — an army thirty thousand strong. Granson resisted fifteen days and was taken only by treason. Its defenders were induced to believe that Fribourg was burned, that Bern had submitted,

that all resistance was useless; but that nevertheless, touched by their bravery, the duke would grant them life. When, under the influence of this false news, they had come to the Burgundian camp, some were hung on the nearest trees and the others drowned in the lake (February 28th, 1476).

Charles had a strong encampment beyond the Arnon, but his intention was not to receive the enemy there but to march on Bern, skirting the base of the Jura. Already he had sent on a reconnoitring party as far as the castle of Vaumarcus, where he had left five hundred men. Before him stretched an undulating plain. Still farther, Mount Aubert descended abruptly towards the water. The route passed by it. A difficult road, the Voie d'Estraz, wound along its flank. It was on this road that the first encounter took place.

The Battle of Granson

The confederates advanced from Neuchâtel, to the number of twenty thousand—the Bernese under Scharnachthal and Halwyl, the Waldstätte under Rudolf Reding, the Lucernese commanded by their old commander Hasfourter, and the Zurichers by Goeldli. As both sides were impatient to meet, the Schwyzers had got ahead of their brothers in arms, and on the morning of March 2nd found themselves suddenly face to face with the Burgundian advance guard. Promptly rejoined by Bern, Solothurn and Fribourg, they made them retreat until, coming out of a wood, the sun having dispelled the mists, they saw advancing in battle array all the duke of Burgundy's forces. At this sight they stuck their pikes and banners into the ground, kneeling asked help of the God of battles, and prepared for the fight.

The duke also hastened to place his men. He posted his artillery on the right, on the plateau which dominates the village of Corcelles, ranged his infantry behind them, and charged his gendarmerie, under Louis de Château Guyon, to follow a hidden winding in the Jura so as to fall on the flanks of the Swiss. But the artillery was posted too high; the gendarmerie were broken on the long lances of the confederates, and lost their leader in the *melée*. On his side, Charles, at the head of his infantry, met with invincible resistance. Sometimes the Swiss opened their ranks to let bows and culverins hurl projectiles on the enemy, but immediately they closed again, presenting a formidable hedge of pikes. Charles essayed a retrograde movement, to draw them into the plain; but just as his commands were being executed a new army appeared. These were the Swiss of the Waldstätte, who came on making wood and plain re-echo to the sound of their Alpine trumpets of the bull of Uri, the cow of Unterwalden, sounds known well enough to the Austrians, and which the Burgundians also were to learn that day in their turn. Fear took possession of them; they were panic stricken, and they fled in every direction. "The leaguers," says the Neuchâtel chronicler, Hugues de Pierre, "cut up these fine gallants on every hand. So thoroughly and completely were these poor Burgundians discomfited that they were as smoke before a strong wind."

However, the pursuit was short. After thanks were rendered to the God of battles, the army hastened towards the camp where pillage had already begun. Some endeavour was made to inspire order in the sharing of the immense booty, but the leaders themselves hardly knew the riches of those conquered. The duke's big diamond, which had not its equal in the world,

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passed through many hands, beginning with those of the curé of Montagney, who bought it for a crown, and arrived eventually in those of Pope Jules II, who paid 20,000 ducats for it as an ornament in his papal tiara. Draperies of silk and velvet, rich embroideries, cloth of gold and damask, Flanders lace, Arras carpets were cut up as if they were ordinary cloth and shared by the army. The duke's seal, his collar of the Golden Fleece, his splendid sword fell into the hands of men "gross and bucolic," says Paradin, "who knew not how to profit by them." Forty artillery pieces, eight hundred bows, and three hundred barrels of powder were distributed among the cantons and their allies. The duke's treasure was equally divided. It was so considerable that the division was made without counting or weighing, simply by measuring out hatfuls.

The garrison of Vaumarcus succeeded in escaping by passing the mountains; that of Granson surrendered unconditionally. Those who composed it were either thrown from the walls, hung, or drowned. Then the conquerors, carrying spoil, set out for their cantons, whilst Charles, who had suffered less a defeat than a rout, and who had not lost a thousand men, thought only of renewing the campaign with a stronger force.

Charles Renews the Campaign

Lausanne was chosen as his centre of action (March 15th). The duchess of Savoy installed herself near him. Romont retook possession of the Vaud country. The army re-formed on the Jorat plateau, the "plain of wolves." Three thousand hired English passed for being the best in the army; four thousand Italians, recruited from the papal states, tried to cross the St. Bernard, but, repulsed by men of the Valais, only arrived in camp after a long détour in the Savoyard Alps. But Charles had to yield to bodily fatigue and severe anxiety. Fever seized him, he became delirious, and it was only after some weeks' illness that the unfortunate monarch came to himself, and still pale, with the traces of death on his face, rallied his troops and retook command (May 27th, 1476).

He had hoped the Swiss would come to meet him in the Vaud country, where the land was more favourable. But the army which had conquered at Granson was dispersed, and now occupied on their farms; these Alpine mountaineers, who knew nothing of a Romande Helvetia or the natural limits of the Jura, had renounced all warlike preoccupations at Bern. The confederates were hardly prepared for a campaign when the enemy came on afresh. Bern gave them rendezvous on the right bank of the Saane (Sarine), three leagues from Morat, where an advance guard was posted. She sent there Adrian von Bubenbergh with fifteen hundred men. Bubenbergh, it is true, passed for a Burgundian, but under these circumstances the private person gave place to the citizen. He asserted that he knew how to defend Morat. Soon after, Charles came on at the head of thirty-four thousand men (June 9th), and covered all the country with his army, a country formed of wooded hills which fell away from around Morat, towards a rather deep lake. Three vigorous assaults were successively repulsed.

On the 22nd of June the confederates crossed the Saane. Burgomaster Herter of Strasburg brought them German contingents, and René of Lorraine three hundred gentlemen attached to his fortunes. One could reckon on thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse. It would be difficult to say who commanded them. It was really the genius of the confederation which allowed them to act each according to his strength in a common plan.

[1476 A.D.]

Still, it was to the burgomaster of Strasburg and the Zurich Waldmann that the principal direction of the combat was entrusted. Halwyl marched in advance at the head of the men of the Waldstätte and the Oberland. René was on his flank with a corps of pikemen, bowmen, and culveriners. Herter and Waldmann took places in the main body, and the commissioner Hertenstein, of Lucerne, in the rearguard. There were a thousand rencounters.

The Battle of Morat (1476 A D)

All the morning the duke had awaited a battle, which the confederates did not hurry to begin. They made a good show by capering about and deceived the impatience of their men, but were really awaiting the middle of the day to fatigue their enemies. The sky was dark with driving rain. But when, towards mid-day, the sun appeared — “Know, my men,” said Halwyl, waving his sword, “that God sends us his sun. Think of your wives and children. Would you abandon to the Welsch those whom you love?” A chapel was afterwards built in the village of Cressier in the place where his troops said their prayers and whence, always restraining their ardour, he led them on to the enemy.

The duke began to collect his troops, tired of long waiting, and had hardly time to place them in battle order. He had intrenched his camp by a quick-set hedge and a ditch, ranging his artillery in front and his cavalry on their flank. The artillery did wonders. They bore entire ranks before them. But Halwyl, getting behind the hedge, fell from above on the Burgundian flank. Then, animated with fresh ardour, the confederates leaped into the ditches, trod the hedge under foot, and by the force of their sinewy arms bore their cannon beyond the ditch, forcing back the artillery on the main body.

Charles was there in person. He had round him Orange, Hugues de Château Guyon, Somerset and his English, his bravest soldiers and his best captains. On his left, on the shores of the lake, was the Burgundian bastard, and hidden beyond Morat the count de Romont, who might be dangerous. But the Swiss had deceived Romont by a false attack; and Bubenbergh having sufficiently occupied the left wing by a sortie, the principal efforts of the confederates were directed on the main army, where Charles fought like a lion. He had just seen Somerset fall at his side; fifteen hundred gentlemen-at-arms strewed the ground around him — yet still he fought. But when Hertenstein, with the Swiss rearguard, having scaled the heights, threatened to fall on his remaining host, despair seized him. Giving rein to his horse he mournfully fled, and trotting day and night did not stop until he had reached the Lake of Geneva.

His troops had not awaited the moment of his flight to disperse like the wind. As this time there was no lack of cavalry, the pursuit was hot and bloody. From Morat to Avenches it was simply a battle. No prisoners were made, they were all killed. “Morat cruelty” was long afterwards a popular phrase. Fifteen thousand dead were counted. Driven back on the lake, the cuirassiers and the Italians of the Burgundian bastard, who had tried to rejoin the count of Romont by following the banks covered with reeds, had become entangled in a marsh. Romont alone succeeded in escaping with his Savoyards. The conquerors had lost three thousand men. The dead were buried in a vast ditch. Four years afterwards the bones were exhumed to make an ossuary, a tribute to the valour of a people who had fought for their hearths and the destruction of Charles of Burgundy.

The Vaud is again Invaded; the Congress of Fribourg

The battle of Morat was followed by a new invasion of the Vaud country. Already the mountaineers of Upper Simmenthal and Gressenay, having descended to the plain, had destroyed the Tour de Beilz and Vevey. Twelve thousand Bernese and Fribourgers had in their turn spread over the towns and country, not killing but pillaging. At Lausanne, finishing the work of the count of Gruyères, who had gone ahead and put the town under contribution, they sacked indifferently churches, convents, and private lands, only stopping at the gates of Geneva and at the voice of Louis XI. The Swiss had beaten his powerful rival, but he did not wish the Romande country to become their prey. He demanded a suspension of arms and a congress to meet to decide the conditions of peace.

The Congress assembled at Fribourg on the 25th of July. The heroes of Morat, as first magistrates in their cantons, met with the ambassadors of France, Austria, and Savoy. The confederates differed in their point of view. The Bernese coveted domination, others repose from hostilities. Bern demanded, for war expenses, the counties of Vaud, Geneva, and Le Chablais; but the mediators ordered otherwise. They exacted the restitution of the Vaud country under condition of an indemnity of 50,000 florins mortgaged on the country. They recognised the house of Savoy as debtor towards the Fribourgers for a sum of 25,000 florins, as balance of that which they had engaged to pay when they detached themselves from Austria to lean on Fribourg. Geneva had to give guarantee for the ransom which had been imposed on her in the preceding war. The Valaisans restored the Chablais and kept the Lower Valais, the gate of their country. The Bern canton was enlarged. Bern and Fribourg remained in possession of Morat, Granson, Orbe, and Echallens. The two towns agreed to govern these little towns in common, and to send them a bailiff who should remain five years in charge, and who, if he were a Bernese, should take orders from Fribourg; if a Fribourger, from Bern. Finally Fribourg was recognised as independent, and floated the eagle of the empire.

Soon afterwards an embassy, composed, like the diet of Fribourg, of men who had commanded at Morat, went to King Louis XI at his residence in Plessis-les-Tours (October). The king gave them hearty welcome, and pronounced his intention of using for the future the Swiss as his own personal guard and the guard of the French sceptre. He made the captains detail their victories and did not suffer them to go until they were loaded with largesse for the cantons and presents for themselves. The richest gifts were for Adrian von Bubenbergh, whom the king wished to win over. He did not neglect to recommend to the envoys that Charles the Bold should be crushed.

The Battle of Nancy; the Treaty of Peace

The unhappy prince, too proud to show his grief openly, had retired to the Château de la Rivière, near Pontarlier, where he remained solitary, shut up in his gloomy sorrow. His subjects had ceased to respect his orders. However, at the news that René had conquered Lorraine, and entered Nancy, he roused himself, succeeded in getting together six thousand soldiers, and laid siege to this place. René, on his side, hastened to ask help from the cantons. He wanted six thousand men. Enthusiasm yielded him eight thousand. The cold was excessive, yet the men marched as if to a fête.

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[1477-1478 A.D.]

The meeting took place on the 5th of January, 1477, not far from Nancy. There was a desperate resistance and a bloody defeat. Among the slain was found the almost unrecognisable corpse of Charles of Burgundy — "*Jamais plus n'est rentré chez lui*" runs the old war-song.

Then Louis deemed his cause won. The Swiss had earned the victory; his privilege it was to gather the fruit of their exploits. He occupied a part of Burgundy, while at the same time seeking to divide the confederates, whose intervention he feared. The time was an important one. A modern world was awakening. The contest had involved the test of monarchy *versus* republic; public opinion was profoundly shaken by the victories of the Swiss. The two tendencies, monarchical and republican, had everywhere their representatives. In Italy, Venice, Genoa, and Florence were in ferment. Milan had just tried, unsuccessfully it is true, to found an Ambrosian republic. Among the countries lately subject to the duke of Burgundy the Netherlands, tyrannically ruled by the prince, indulged hopes of enfranchisement. This was also the case of the Franche-Comté. Bern, also, would have liked the cantons to cross the Jura, and to add to Switzerland a province that furnished salt and wheat. The people of Franche-Comté even went beyond this, demanding to be received in a perpetual alliance, even as subjects. Straitened though they were, they offered to buy Swiss aid at the price of 150,000 florins. But the king showed a willingness to give much more.

Under these circumstances the confederates sent an embassy to Louis XI, composed of Bubenbergh, Waldmann, and Imhof. Of the three, Bubenbergh alone showed himself faithful to his country. He served her in France as he had done at Morat. His colleagues in their turn also returned, but with heads held high, honoured with rich presents, bound by secret bonds, and rallying the fears of the Bern commissioner. These were, nevertheless, the ones listened to by the confederates. The king offered them, as the price of their pretensions to Upper Burgundy, 200,000 florins cash and 150,000 florins to be raised on the revenue of the province. They agreed to this offer; but they seem never to have received the indemnity — at least we find mention of it in the treaty of peace they concluded January, 1478, with the heritors of Duke Charles, Mary, and her husband Maximilian of Austria, as being still due.

During these negotiations, war had continued in Bourgogne. The Swiss mercenaries had not ceased to shed their blood — some for the king's cause, some for that of Franche-Comté. They had even lost in the ungrateful struggles many more than in the course of the Burgundian war. Swiss had fought against Swiss, but as the king paid most, the greater part had joined his banner and aided him to conquer the province. It is known that Franche-Comté remained at heart Burgundian, and did not definitely become part of the French kingdom until two centuries later.

THE BATTLE OF GIORNICO (1478 A.D.)

The ruin of Charles the Bold had not so much changed the Swiss boundaries as it had prepared the day when she might attain her natural limits. Outside she had drawn nearer to France by frontier cantons and acquired the Netherlands and Upper Bourgogne from the house of Austria, who thenceforth surrounded the confederation on three sides. She had also brought France and Austria, thenceforward rivals, into contact. In adding to the greatness of their neighbours the Swiss had worked to their own weakening.

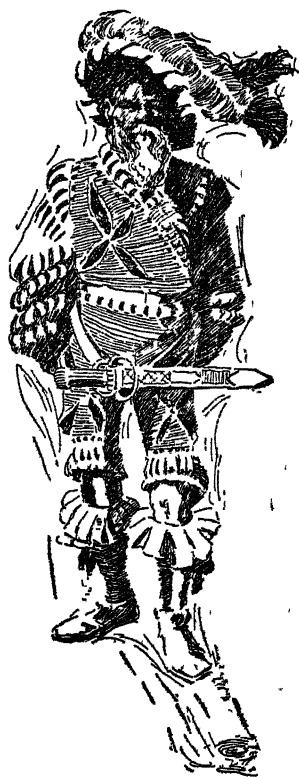
[1478 A.D.]

Yet their renown they kept, and were to keep some time yet — the renown of being the unconquerable nation whose arms would assure victory to those who sought for help. Three battles, three names known far and wide, Granson, Morat, and Nancy, would guard their frontiers for three centuries, and keep them from the danger of a serious invasion.

More than ever their mediation was called for. Fifteen times in two years they were taken as arbitrators in quarrels. Their principle was to refrain from seeking alliance, and to accept or reject, according to their usefulness, those offered. But they nevertheless found themselves led into alliances with most of the western states, sometimes in the interests of commerce, sometimes in those of their mercenaries, often in those of their cupidity.

Matthias of Hungary had recourse to them, less in the hope of obtaining an army at such a great distance than in that of enrolling volunteers there and hindering the emperor from attacking his kingdom while he himself fought against the Turks. Pope Sixtus IV was then learning in Italy what sacerdotal power united to the enterprising spirit of a prince could do. The Burgundian War had made him acquainted with the Swiss, and he neglected no means to win them over to his projects. Knowing them religious to superstition, he began by offering them the means of relieving themselves from the weight of sins committed in the course of bloody wars. It would be necessary, he said, only to confess to obtain absolution. Then he sent them a red silk banner, symbol of the blood they were to shed for the liberty of the church; and as the holy see was then at war with the duchy of Milan it offered them its rights over this duchy¹ and invited them to conquer it. The confederates at first refused; they had just renewed a capitulation with the Milanese, who had made them buy it dearly, and had obtained of Leventina the abandonment of the canton of Uri, on the condition of an annual payment of four hawks and a crossbow. Uri was, nevertheless, the first to allow herself to be attracted to the holy see, and when she could find only one pretext, war broke out between Milan and Switzerland on the subject of a chestnut grove (November 15th, 1478).

It was winter when the men of Uri floated their banner, calling all confederates to arms. Immediately ten thousand men under Waldmann and Bubenberg crossed the St. Gotthard. From the money they had just given him for the remission of their sins, Sixtus paid them subsidies. But the confederates were not all animated by the same spirit. A lady, Bona of Savoy, governed the duchy, in the name of her young son Galeazzo. She offered to renew the capitulation with the Swiss, with new concessions and 22,000 florins, as the price of peace. Bern also, who condemned the rise to arms, had



SWISS WARRIOR
(Fifteenth century)

[¹ More accurately, the cession of the valleys of Bellinzona, Locarno, and Lagane.]

sent three commissioners with an army charged with a pacific mission. These mediators had just obtained quick and sure success when the landammann Beroldingen of Uri appeared brusquely, repulsed the enemy's advance guard, and advanced on Bellinzona with such impetuosity that he took one wall by assault and made a breach in another. This, too, would probably have been taken if discord had not reigned in the camp. Some accused the mediators of treason and demanded an assault. Others wished to spare a town in which the Swiss had commercial interests. While the irritation gained ground, heavy snow fell on the Alps. This was the pretext seized on for return. The army regained its firesides, accusing its leaders of having an understanding with the enemy. Only six hundred men, under Troguer of Uri, remained at the entry of the Leventina in the fortified village of Giornico, charged with the militia of the country and their captain, Stanga, to defend the entrance to the valley.

This feeble garrison was not long in being attacked by the Milanese. Fifty thousand men advanced, followed by a numerous cavalry and powerful artillery. On the mountain peaks nature reigned in her fiercest and sternest aspect; at the foot the sun reminded one of Italy. But the season was cold, the night icy. Stanga advised diverting the waves of the Ticino on to the road and fields, providing the armed men with grappling hooks, and letting them engage one another on the ice which covered the slopes and the plain. When they had with great trouble got near, Swiss and Levantines rolled enormous stones on them; then, made firmer by grappling hooks, they broke on their adversaries whose courage was cowed. The Italians hastily retreated, continually pursued. Their cannon were taken and turned against them. Terror seized their hearts. A young Lucernese, Frischans Theilig, fought in such a way as to merit equally with Stanga the honours of the day. Fifteen hundred Italians had reddened the snow with blood. Cannon and magnificent horses were taken back to Giornico. The Milan regency hurried to invoke aid from the king of France, and to submit to the Swiss exigencies. Peace was bought at 100,000 ducats; 24,000 florins were paid for war expenses, and 1500 to satisfy divers pretensions. The feudal tribute of Uri was reduced to a candle of three pounds. The terror of the Swiss name spread through all Italy.^d

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BURGUNDIAN WARS

Having become arbitrators in European struggles and guardians of victory, the confederates preserved the glorious role of Morat till Marignan; that is, from the time of their greatest victory until that of their greatest defeat (1476-1515). The half-century that elapsed between these two memorable days is the most brilliant period of their history. But this exterior glory was too dearly bought by the ever-increasing progress of demoralisation and the decline in the customs and institutions of the old Switzerland.

The Burgundian war contributed greatly to this result. Before this time corruption had touched only the leading men and a small proportion of the nation. The gold from Granson, measured by the hatred amongst the soldiers, corrupted the masses. These same people, who had been so economical, so industrious, so upright, so faithful to the law, showed themselves after the Burgundian war corrupt, dissolute, perjured, selfish, and at the same time both unmanageable and servile. The history of the time is filled with incidents of license and violence. Robberies increased in an incredible manner; so much so that the diet of Baden commanded the robbers to be hung (1480).

[1481 A.D.]

In the next few months, more than fifteen hundred capital executions followed this mandate in the midst of a population that, according to a chronicler of the time, numbered but fifty-four thousand men capable of carrying arms.

To these scenes of disorder attaches the escapade of the companions of the *Bande vom tollen Leben* (Band of the Mad Life). The year in which took place the battle of Nancy [1477 A.D.] an unruly assembly of young people of the Waldstätte gathered at the carnival of Zug. There, amidst drinking and foolish mirth, they decided to despoil Geneva and Savoy, and forthwith two thousand or more men started to march across the territory of Bern, which place hastened to close its gates. Fribourg, however, was forced to open hers and to receive these unwelcome guests (February 26th, 1477). Several days later, with the Schwyz chiefs at their head, the famous youths penetrated into the Savoyard country. The people of the *folle vie* had put on their banners a pig and a thistle — dignified symbols of a dishonourable undertaking! To free herself from this invasion, the duchess of Savoy was obliged to pawn her jewels and Geneva was forced to give the men drinks and to pay each of them two florins. The armed seizure was by no means a simple revel. The rumour spread through the Waldstätte that "Messieurs Bern and Fribourg had pocketed the money of Savoy," and that the people of these countries thought it just that they receive their share. The expedition had not been made without the connivance of certain members of the diet, who were jealous of these cities.^e

THE CANTONS AND THE CITIES (1481 A.D.,

When Fribourg had recovered independence by redeeming its seigniorial rights from the dukes of Savoy (1477), she showed a desire to be associated with the Confederation, but the democratic cantons repulsed her demand. It had been the same with Solothurn. However, these two towns had incontestable rights to reckon up. The Solothurnese, present on the battle-field of Sempach, had thenceforth taken part in all the confederate wars. The Fribourgers had fought with distinction at Héricourt, Morat, Granson, and Nancy.

The confederate towns of Bern, Zurich, and Lucerne were irritated by the refusal. They did not feel the importance of primitive cantons, as they had done in the early days of the confederation. Proud of their own power, they unwillingly submitted to having in the diets a voice only equal to that of these small republics. Ostensibly, it was in the name of justice that they demanded the admission of their faithful allies, but in reality they coveted for themselves the preponderance which the early states had enjoyed until then. They aspired also to the obtaining, not only in conquest but in pillage of every kind, of a share proportionate to the number of troops they had set on foot.

For the towns, an access of property, while augmenting their own importance, was in no way inconvenient, by reason of the facility with which the form of their governments permitted them to administer large tributary states. On their side, the earliest confederation cantons feared to lose the influence which a redivision of votes would bring them in the diets, where they had four votes, Glarus being also a canton governed by a *Landsgemeinde*, while the towns only counted three. Zug, whose headquarters was a town, had a democratic organisation, and made the balance incline in their favour. They also doubted the support which Fribourg and Solothurn could give to the pretensions of three towns for this repartition of conquest, although the acquisition of tributary states had for them more inconveniences than advan-

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[1481 A.D.]

ages. In reality, if a few families found in the office of bailiff a source of riches, the people themselves saw with displeasure the inequalities resulting therefrom. But it was necessary to them that the other cantons should not become unduly large, and reduce them to an insignificant rôle. Moreover, after having ceded for a minimum sum to Bern and Fribourg the share of the conquest made at the expense of the seigniorial vassals of the duke of Burgundy and the house of Savoy, they then refused the people of Franche-Comté the favour of becoming confederate subjects. As to the unequal sharing of conquests and booty, made and taken in common, there was no question. The democratic cantons had furnished help to the towns far more frequently than it had been claimed. Drawn by this political ambition into foreign wars of independence, an equal share of the benefits which they procured was only just compensation for their sacrifices. Guided by these motives, the democratic cantons shut their eyes to the services rendered by their allies, and quite lost sight of the consolidation of the federal edifice; so much so that, seduced by the example of the towns, they sacrificed principle to the vain ambition of possessing subjects.

With the intention of attaching Solothurn and Fribourg to the communal fatherland, and fortifying themselves against incursions of disordered bands from the small cantons, Zurich, Bern, and Lucerne formed a perpetual civic league (1477), in which they promised aid and succour on all occasions. This departure was highly disapproved of by the oldest cantons: they considered it a movement against themselves. At different intervals they sent deputations to the towns to engage them to desist; but in vain. The towns answered that this alliance did not affect preceding ones. However, in contracting this one without the consent of the Waldstätte, Lucerne had violated an article of contract with the Waldstätte, and these wanted, in virtue of federal right, to exclude them from the civic league.

THE PLOT OF AM STALDEN

While this was going on, a man of some standing in Obwalder, Peter am Stalden, was suddenly arrested at Lucerne (1481) charged with plotting against that town. He acknowledged his guilt, but attributed the plot to two men of his canton — Burgler von Lungern, late landammann of the place, and his brother-in-law, Kunegger. Lucerne was to have been surprised on St. Leger's night on the Unterwalden side; the chief magistrates and citizens were to have been put to death, the walls and towers rased; it was planned to substitute the constitution of the early cantons for that existent. The citizens of Obwalden, with a view to seducing them, had promised them the office of landammann in democratised Lucerne. The magistrates openly took precautions, and reinforced the night guard — measures which the people of Unterwalden only laughed at. The two inculpated citizens pretended that the prisoner was a barefaced liar. This latter maintained what he had said by offering to repeat it before them, and did so effectively in full council before an Unterwalden deputation. The citizens of this canton did not think it seemly to let their former chief magistrate, an esteemed citizen, appear at Lucerne to be confronted with Am Stalden, whom they considered an impostor. They demurred because such a suspicion had been expressed against them, and because they had been thought capable of such a criminal act. The real truth of this affair had always remained a mystery, but these reports circulating in the confederation considerably augmented misunderstandings between the towns and the democratic cantons.

The Compact of Stanz (1481 A.D.)

To put an end to the growing irritation, the deputies met at Stanz. Not only did they fail, however, to come to any understanding, but the debates were so violent and the recriminations so bitter that recourse to arms seemed the only possible issue, until the pious hermit, Nicholas von Fluhe, appeared. He had come on the appeal of Heinrich am Grund, a native of Lucerne and now vicar at Stanz—thereby in charge of the two cantons most opposed to one another. Although retired from the world, Von Fluhe—this man who succeeded in soothing disputes which seemed purely political—was not a stranger to managing public affairs, and had formerly borne arms for his country. Although a citizen of Obwalden, his religious character rendered him indifferent to party feeling. Accustomed to think of God and holy things, he was high-minded and of rare firmness. It is not known positively if the pious hermit came personally to Stanz, or remained in his cell at Ranft and charged Am Grund to carry his peace message; but it is certain that his ascendancy led the deputies back to pacific feeling, and disposed them to come to some arrangement.

The irritation was so violent as to paralyse deliberations and all measures conducive to the restoration of harmony. To restore men to right judgment, to consider the confederation as a work of God, to bring liberty to the people of these valleys, to have all momentous questions discussed on the old plan, and to reanimate the first motives which the confederates had obeyed—this was the purpose of Von Fluhe. He sought to make them feel that, whether towns or cantons, they belonged to one family. They should, he thought, be brought to see that if federal fidelity was violated when one member of the confederation broke the laws of alliances, it was not less so when so strict an interpretation was put on the laws that other members of the confederation were deprived of power to provide the necessaries of existence, and their development was thereby arrested. Finally, he reminded them that obedience must be strengthened, not weakened, at an epoch when violence was rife and when intestine war would lead the confederation to ruin.

This basis established, Nicholas von Fluhe made known his propositions. They bore only on essential points, and, in the first place, on the relations between Solothurn and Fribourg with the cantons. His words carried the assembly away. The articles of the Compact of Stanz are not altogether his. His was the moving spirit, but the details were the work of deputies. Those of Zug and Glarus had already made many efforts to maintain peace, and had discussed matters at great length. When concord regarding basic principles was established, an hour sufficed for an understanding on minor points. The legislation concerned all the perpetual allies, present and future, of isolated cantonments, and included the assurance of protection to each canton against all violence, and against any attempt on the part of a fellow state to subvert the pillars of regular government or to promote revolt; the punishment of authors of such attempts; the prohibition of gatherings of the people, secret meetings, and unauthorised petitions; the keeping of subjects in obedience; the sharing among the combatants of booty taken in war, and the equal sharing of conquests among the states—such were the things decided on in the Stanz Compact. The preceding decrees were confirmed.

Complete independence was assured to the cantons in the management of their interior affairs. Plots against Lucerne and the incursions of disorderly bands who, setting out from their small cantons, had lately spread alarm in western Switzerland, doubtless contributed to the introductions of

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these guarantees into the federal right. The consolidation of constituted powers against assemblies and illegal popular gatherings showed the hand of men accustomed to take the helm of affairs. By them was accomplished that maintenance of public order which the emperors had sought in vain for over a century to introduce into Germany, and which was only realised under Maximilian (1495).

Later on, the principles laid down in the Stanz Compact were abused as arresting the popular development and fettering liberty. The prohibition of illegal assemblies was very suitable to cantons with local parliaments, in which the entire people were assembled regularly; and these assemblies were a too subversive element in the towns where all the powers were exercised by delegation. One might say as much of the collective petitions, which were only popular assemblies disguised. But to prohibit all measures having for their object the modification of governmental organisations was to destroy national development. The democratic cantons had adopted, or did adopt later, a form assuring to each citizen the right of making known beforehand, and discussing in the local parliament, all projects having for their object the modification of the constitution, or which concerned public affairs. But no petition of this kind could be presented collectively. This legislation procured for the country the benefit of all measures useful in dispelling subversive influences.

If the states guaranteed their confederates against the devices of their own leaders, they were, however, not to interfere in another canton, except on demand from its government. It seems as if Waldmann, to whom the insertion of this clause in the Compact of Stanz is perhaps due, foresaw the fatal influence that the spontaneous intervention of the confederates would have after the Zurich troubles in 1489, and from which resulted the fall and death of this illustrious citizen. The help which the cantons offered for the maintenance of order had no oppression in view. The ancient alliances mentioned the maintenance of rights and liberties for the lordships and villages, without admitting that these governments and the rebels were always on the same footing. But, order once established, the wrongs of the parties were discussed. Later, when the powers had become almost absolute, a forced interpretation was given to these texts and they were employed to subjugate the populations.

The measures adopted for the sharing of war, pillage, and conquests were conformed to the Sempach Decree, and the principle of legality between the states was recognised. When the principle of proportional shares had been solemnly abandoned, the democratic states became more favourable to the aggregation of new states, and consented to the incorporation of Solothurn and Fribourg. Zurich, Bern, and Lucerne renounced their exclusive civic league with these two towns. It was replaced by a perpetual alliance with all the cantons, dated the same day as the Act of Pacification. This double event was hailed with transports of joy in all Switzerland.

HANS WALDMANN

The transient restoration of concord could not restore the primitive moral habits of the people. Rapacity and ostentation flourished in the towns, corruption in all seats of civic authority, immorality and idleness in the people. Young men often marched in troops of hundreds and of thousands, headed by bands of music, over the Rhine and over the Alps, to follow royal standards in quest of booty or a grave. Nor was there any lack of fuel for their

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ardour. In one year, on the side of Italy, four wars were raging. Internal strife and uproar soon recommenced. The noble lords and priests of Zurich, who hated Waldmann the burgomaster, because he sought to impose bounds on their arrogance, inflamed the town and country people against him by their discourses.

Hans Waldmann was the son of a peasant of Zug, and had come to Zurich first in the humble character of a tanner; he had distinguished himself at Morat and at Nancy, and had at last attained to eminence by sheer force of courage and intellect. But it was now whispered against him that he favoured Milan and Austria; and the Zurichers accused him of abuse of power through pride and passion. The burgomaster gave himself no concern about secret murmurs; and woe to those who dared to speak or act against him openly. When Theilig of Lucerne, the hero of Giornico, who had offended him, came into Zurich, bringing bales of cloth for sale, the burgomaster caused him to be taken into custody and beheaded, though his native town made urgent solicitations for the life of her illustrious citizen.

Such tyranny, notwithstanding his great qualities, brought universal hatred and at length ruin on Waldmann. His enemies took advantage of the tumults of the peasantry, and a revolt of the rural communes on the Lake of Zurich. The country people advanced in arms up to the walls of the town, complaining of the injustice of the laws and of other grievances. Delegates from the other cantons offered their mediation, and at length a proclamation was agreed upon by the council, that the complaints of the communes should be investigated and satisfaction given to the people. But Waldmann, who thought fit to regard the honour of the town as being compromised by such a declaration, caused the town clerk to alter parts of the wording, as if the country people had only alleged supposed grievances, and only obtained thus much by their humble supplications — that those grievances should be looked into on the first fit opportunity.

As soon as the falsification of this document became known, a new revolt took place against the town, which, moreover, was disturbed in its interior. The burgomaster no longer went out without armour, and usually slept at the town hall. Authority is tottering when it protects itself by any other panoply than the popular attachment. The burgomaster Waldmann was arrested amid tumult, put to the torture, and finally decapitated, on the 6th of April, 1489.

On the day of his death, the subjects and authorities of Zurich presented themselves as parties before the bar of the confederacy, who brought about a permanent agreement between them. It was enjoined upon the peasantry, in the first place, to be faithful and obedient to the great council of Zurich. On the other hand, the privilege was granted them of bringing their commodities to what market they pleased, of exporting them wherever they chose, of exercising arts and trades in the villages, planting vines and purchasing lands at pleasure, electing a sub-vogt in the lake-district, etc. If at any time the town attempted to exercise a lawless power on their subjects in the rural communes, the latter should send delegates to the diet of the confederacy, that justice might be done to their complaints. This instrument was signed on the 9th of May, 1489, for the seven cantons of the confederacy, by their delegates.

THE SWABIAN WAR

Maximilian succeeded in 1495, by the death of his father, Frederick III, to the imperial throne. After his elevation, he convoked a general diet, and

established at Worms a court styled the imperial chamber, before which all the civil affairs of the empire were to be laid, and which was to be supported by contributions from all the members of the empire. A subsidy of the hundredth penny was also ordered to be raised, for the sake of defraying the expenses of the war against the Turks. Maximilian communicated these ordinances to the Swiss diet assembled at Zurich in 1496, and ordered the cantons, as members of the empire, to conform to it. The emperor required them likewise to join the great Swabian League, of which he made himself the head, and which had been formed in order to settle intestine differences, and commanded them to furnish him a contingent of troops. The Swiss, in all their wars against the dukes of Austria and the emperor of the same family, had never renounced their allegiance to the German Empire, however ill defined and problematic that allegiance had become. Most of the cantons replied to Maximilian's ambassadors that their alliance with France did not allow them to enter into any engagement which might militate against the interests of that power, and that the Swiss, having achieved their independence, hoped to be left undisturbed in possession of it.

The town of St. Gall was put under the ban of the empire. Maximilian, having inherited, by the death of his cousin Sigismund, in 1497, the dominions of Austria, applied to the cantons for the renewal of the "hereditary union," and demanded likewise that the Swiss would not favour the views of Louis XII of France upon the Milanese. The cantons, in reply, insisted, as a preliminary step, on the redress of the grievances of their allies, and especially of St. Gall, before they listened to further proposals. Maximilian said to the Swiss deputies, who had attended him at Innsbruck in the Tyrol, "You are rebels to the empire, and will oblige me at last to pay you a visit in person, sword in hand." Naught dismayed at this threat, the deputies replied that "they humbly begged his imperial majesty would abstain from such a visit, as the Swiss were rude-fashioned men who had not yet learned the respect due to crowned heads."

Hostilities broke out first on the side of the Grisons. The Austrian regency in the Tyrol regarded with ill will those newly risen commonwealths on its frontiers, and some border feuds between the two countries kindled the flame. The Tyrolese made an attempt to surprise the convent of Munsterthal in January, 1499, but were repulsed by the inhabitants. The Grisons upon this demanded assistance from the cantons. Meantime the troops of the Swabian League, on their side, took Maienfeld by force, in the month of February, and put the Grisons garrison to the sword. But the Swiss, having joined their allies [defeated the Austrians at Triesen], retook Maienfeld and the strong pass of Luziensteig, the key of the Grisons country. The troops of Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn, Zurich, and Schaffhausen entered the field against the Swabian League, and formed a fortified camp at Schwaderloch, in a forest near the imperial town of Constance. But the principal scene of action was on the upper Rhine towards Bregenz, where ten thousand Germans were encamped; these the Swiss and the Grisons attacked and put to flight with great loss [at Hardor Fussach].

Louis XII of France was not slow in turning to his advantage this quarrel of the Swiss with his rival Maximilian, who thwarted his views on the side of Italy. Louis sent ambassadors to Zurich, and concluded with the Swiss an alliance defensive and offensive, in which the amount of pensions and subsidies to be paid by France was stipulated. The cantons were deficient in artillery, and the king promised to supply them.

Meanwhile the war was carried on with unabated vigour on the upper

[1499 A.D.]

Rhine. The Swabians and Tyrolese had intrenched themselves in a strong position at Frastenz, near the river Ill, from which they made incursions across the Rhine into the land of the abbot of St. Gall, and other allies of the Swiss. The confederates, having collected their forces, drove back the enemy, and crossing the Rhine in their turn, determined to force the German camp, under the command of Henry Wolleb of Uri. They dislodged the enemy from their redoubts, and notwithstanding a formidable fire of artillery, which the Swiss avoided by lying down at each discharge, they stormed the intrenchments sword in hand, and completely routed the Germans [April 20th], taking possession of the camp and of all it contained, including many pieces of artillery. The Swabians lost more than four thousand men in this affair. The emperor Maximilian was at that time engaged in the Netherlands, warring with Count Egmont about the possession of Gelderland. The Swabian League, alarmed at the successes of the Swiss, applied to him for assistance. He made a truce with Egmont, and arrived in April at Fribourg in Brisgau with six thousand men. Thence he issued a manifesto against the Swiss, in which he upbraided them in the strongest terms, calling them rebels to the empire. He concluded by inviting all the members of the empire to join their forces, in order to destroy these "rebel boors."

The Swiss meantime pursued the war from their camp at Schwaderloch; they defeated eight thousand Swabians [April 11th] who had entered Thurgau; they then crossed the Rhine, devastated the Kletgau, and took the town of Thungen, sparing the garrison nothing but their lives, and making them file off in their shirts through their camp, each soldier bearing a white wand in his hand. The noblemen they kept prisoners for the sake of ransom. They also took several castles, in one of which was the baron of Roseneck, an inveterate enemy of the Swiss, who was consequently excepted by them from the capitulation by which the garrison had their lives granted to them, together with whatever they could carry on their persons. The baron's lady, abandoning all her valuables, came out bearing her husband on her shoulders; and so touched were the Swiss by this ingenious trait of affection, that they not only gave the baron his liberty, but allowed his wife to take away whatever belonged to her.

The frontiers of the Grisons continued to be the principal theatre of the war. Fifteen thousand Tyrolese, and other German troops, from their position of the Malserhaid [on the Calven], annoyed the Grisons, who, to the number of eight thousand, commanded by one Fontana, [May 22nd] resolved to attack their intrenchments. Fontana mounted the first; being wounded in the abdomen, he supported with his left hand his protruding intestines, and defended himself with the right, until his friends joined him. With his dying breath he encouraged them to drive the enemy before them, and at last, exhausted, he fell into the ditch below. The intrenchments were carried by the men of the Engadine and the Austrians were driven away with the loss of five thousand men.

Maximilian himself repaired to Feldkirch in the Tyrol, where he assembled his troops to strike a decisive blow on the Grisons. He detached two thousand men, who penetrated into the Engadine, and burned several villages; but the desperate resistance of the inhabitants and the want of provisions obliged them to retire. The desolation was complete in those border countries; and the provinces of Maximilian had their full share of the work of destruction committed by the soldiers and partisans on both sides. Birkheimer, one of Maximilian's commanders, relates that in crossing the Tyrol he found the country utterly devastated and forsaken by the inhabitants; he mentions,

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[1499-1501 A.D.]

in his account of that war, that he saw two women driving before them a troop of four hundred children, like a flock of sheep, and that as soon as this crowd entered a green field, he saw them fall upon the grass, snatch it up by handfuls, and devour it, to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

The count of Fürstenberg, with fourteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, advanced to the castle of Dornach, which was defended by the men of Soleure. At this news Bern sent three thousand men under D'Erlach; and Zurich and other cantons sent also their contingents. A reinforcement came up, consisting of the men of Luzern and Zug. The Germans began to lose ground, and in trying to retire across the river Birs their retreat became a decided flight. Night prevented the confederates from pursuing them, but the count Furstenberg, with three thousand of his men, lost their lives in the battle. Next morning, July 23rd, the troops of the Waldstätte also joined their allies, and the whole Swiss army marched upon Bâle; but seeing nothing more of the enemy, the confederates, according to their custom, separated and returned to their respective homes.

Practical Freedom from the Empire

In eight months Maximilian, by his own wanton aggression and obstinacy, had lost more than twenty thousand men, while hundreds of towns, villages and castles had been reduced to ashes on both sides; and he was now induced to listen to proposals of mediation which were made to him by Louis XII himself, as well as the duke of Milan. After some negotiations, and some vacillations on the part of the emperor, peace was concluded at Bâle in September, 1499, by which Maximilian yielded to the Swiss the high judicial power in Thurgau, and fully acknowledged their unconditional independence as a nation. The differences between the Tyrol and the Grisons were left to an amicable adjustment between the parties concerned. The Swabian war was the last the Swiss had to sustain for their independence. From that time, and for three centuries after, neither Austria nor the German empire, nor any other monarchy, made any attempts or put forth any pretensions against the liberties of the Swiss cantons, which assumed their station as an independent power in Europe.¹

THE CONFEDERATION OF THIRTEEN STATES (1513 A.D.)

The towns of Bâle and Schaffhausen, in consideration of their attachment to their Swiss confederates, were received in 1501 as two additional cantons. The bishop of Bâle and the chapter, who were not favourable to the Swiss, had lost all their influence in that city, which by degrees made itself completely independent of them; and lastly Appenzell, another ally of the Swiss, became also one of the confederation in 1513, and completed the number of thirteen cantons, which constituted the Helvetic body till 1798: namely, Zurich, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, the three Waldstätte or forest cantons, Lucerne, Glarus, Zug, Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn, Bâle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell. All of these were essentially German, both in their language and habits. Some districts belonging to Fribourg and Bern spoke Romance or French dialects; and the great bulk of the Pays de Vaud, which is essentially Burgundian or French in language and habits, was afterwards incorporated with Bern.

[¹ The Peace of Bâle secured Switzerland practical independence of the empire, but it was not until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 that this was formally proclaimed.]

[1501 A.D.]

The allies of the Swiss at the beginning of the sixteenth century were of two sorts — the *socii* and the *confederati*. The first, which consisted of the abbot of St. Gall, the city of the same name, and the towns of Mülhausen and of Bienne, sent deputies to the federal diets, and, without being cantons, were considered as parts of the Helvetic body. The *confederati* were either, like the Grisons and the Valais, allied to all the cantons, or only to some of them, which last was the case with the republic of Geneva and the county of Neuchâtel. They did not send deputies to the diets, but were entitled to assistance in case of foreign attack. Several of these associates and confederates had also their subjects, as well as the cantons themselves.

The abbot of St. Gall was sovereign of a fine district extending from the river Thur to the Lake of Constance, and including several little towns, such as Roschach, Wyl, etc.; he was also prince of the county of Toggenburg, as far as Glarus and Schwyz, and he had the lower jurisdiction over the Rheinthal. The abbot's palace — or rather castle, it being surrounded with walls and ditches — stood in the middle of the town, which had grown up around the abbey, but had become at an early period independent of it, whilst the jurisdiction of the abbot was maintained over the surrounding country and to within a mile or two of the city gates. This singular state of things gave rise to frequent altercations, and it happened at times that the abbot was blockaded within the precincts of his abbey by the citizens of St. Gall, whilst his dependents in the country coming to his relief beleaguered the city.

Geneva and its bishop were under the protection of the German Empire, and they also contracted an alliance in 1438 with the cantons of Bern and Fribourg in order to protect themselves against the dukes of Savoy, who having become masters of the surrounding country by cession from the counts of the Geneva, were attempting to establish their authority also within the city. The bishops continued to exercise a partial jurisdiction in concert with the citizens, till the Reformation.

The district of Neuchâtel had its counts, who were vassals of the empire and co-burghers of Bern, till about the end of the fifteenth century, when the last count, Philip, died, leaving only one daughter named Jane, who married Louis d'Orléans, duke of Longueville. This prince, having taken part against the Swiss in their Italian wars, was deprived of his possession of Neuchâtel in 1512 by the cantons of Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn, and Lucerne, who sent bailiffs to administer the affairs of the county in the name of the confederates. However, in 1529, through the mediation of France, Neuchâtel was restored to Jane, upon condition that the treaties with the four cantons should continue in force. Jane was the first to take the title Princess Sovereign of Neuchâtel. She died in 1543, and her son Francis, duke of Longueville, succeeded to the principality, to which the county of Valentign was united in the course of the same century. The town of Neuchâtel enjoyed peculiar privileges and franchises; it had its own treaties of alliance with the four above-mentioned cantons, and was included in the neutrality of Switzerland. Of the Grisons and the Valais we have spoken already. These were the confederates of the Swiss cantons. The prince bishop of Bâle, after having lost all authority over the city and canton of that name, entered into a partial alliance with some of the cantons for his great territories in the valleys of the Jura, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

Thus it was that, two hundred years after the first declaration of independence by the Waldstätte, the confederation of the thirteen Swiss cantons,

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[1503-1511 A.D.]

their allies and subjects, had become possessed of the whole country of Helvetia and Rætia, having for boundaries the Jura to the west, and Lake Lemman (the Lake of Geneva) and the Pennine Alps to the south, the farther chain of the Rætian Alps and the Rhine dividing it from Tyrol on the east, and the Lake of Constance and the course of the Rhine from Schaffhausen¹ to Bâle marking its boundaries towards the north. These limits, which appear marked by nature's hand, Switzerland has ever since maintained, with the addition of some valleys on the Italian side of the Alps which were the subject of early contention with the dukes of Milan.

CONQUESTS IN ITALY

The cession of the valleys of Bellinzona, Locarno, and Lugano was promised to the forest cantons by Louis XII, when duke of Orléans, during the reign of his predecessor Charles VIII, if they assisted him in the conquest of the Milanese. The Swiss had done so;² the French, with their assistance, had become possessed of Milan, and the cantons now demanded the fulfilment of the compact on the part of Louis. But the French king, instead of acquiescing in their demand concerning Locarno and Lugano, claimed of them the restitution of Bellinzona, of which they were already in possession, the inhabitants having voluntarily put themselves under their protection. The blunt mountaineers answered that they were determined to keep Bellinzona, and that if his majesty did not choose to ratify the cession, they would appeal to God and their stout halberds. And they kept their word.

After several fruitless negotiations the forest cantons took up arms in 1503, demanding of their confederates their contingents as stipulated by treaties. The other cantons, after vainly endeavouring to avoid a rupture with France, felt themselves bound to send their troops; and an army of fifteen thousand men was collected, which, crossing the Alps, occupied in a few days the whole country around the Lago Maggiore. Louis XII, in his quality of duke of Milan, offered to make peace by giving up to the three cantons Bellinzona and some other districts in perpetuity. The treaty was signed on the 10th of April, 1503. But the Swiss had become mercenary in their engagements with foreign powers. A few years afterwards Pope Julius II, the declared enemy of the French in Italy, having, by means of Matthew Schinner, bishop of Sion, formed an alliance with the cantons, obtained from them a force of six thousand men, nominally for the defence of the papal states, but in reality for the purpose of attacking the French in Lombardy. In spite of the opposition of the French generals, the Swiss, in 1511, forced their way by Varese to the very gates of Milan, which was thrown into the greatest alarm by their sudden appearance; when all at

[¹ The little canton of Schaffhausen, and the town itself, are on the right or Swabian side of the Rhine, and consequently beyond the line stated. A very small portion of the canton of Bâle is also on the same side.]

[² When Ludovico Sforza reconquered for a short time the duchy of Milan, in the beginning of the year 1500, he had sixteen thousand Swiss in his pay. The French had nearly as many in their army. While the two forces stood in front of each other at Novara, the Swiss diet sent orders to the Swiss of both parties, forbidding them to fight. But the French envoy, Brissy, bribed the courier who was entrusted with the order for the Swiss in the French camp, and he tarried several days on the road. The other courier having arrived at the quarters of the Swiss in the duke's pay, they obeyed the orders. The French commanders meantime attacked Novara, which Sforza was unable to defend, as his Swiss had forsaken him, and he was taken prisoner with all his adherents. This has been represented by Guicciardini and other historians as treachery on the part of the Swiss, but the manuscript correspondence of Morone has revealed the truth.]

[1512-1513 A.D.]

once, owing to a misunderstanding among the confederates, their camp broke up and they retraced their steps homewards.

The year following the Swiss openly espoused the cause of the emperor and the pope against France. Julius sent them the banners of the holy see, and bestowed on them the title Defenders of the Church. They entered Italy by way of the Grisons and Trent, and, uniting with the Venetians, drove the French before them, and conquered the Milanese in the name of the Holy League, for so pope Julius had called his crusade against the French. Differences, however, broke out among the conquerors, concerning the disposal of the duchy of Milan. The Swiss, who had a garrison in the duchy, and the pope insisted that it should be restored to Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico, whom the French had deposed and imprisoned. The Venetians, on their part, wished to keep Brescia, and Crema with the whole country as far as the river Adda; and the emperor put forth his own pretensions. All these powers, as well as the king of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and Henry of England, sent ambassadors to the Swiss diet, which was held at Baden. The cantons were now courted, and bribes were offered to them by almost every court of Europe. But they stood firm in holding the duchy of Milan for Maximilian Sforza, and the emperor was ultimately obliged to accede to the treaty which was concluded at Baden in 1512. By this treaty Sforza engaged to pay the cantons 40,000 ducats annually, besides 200,000 ducats for the expenses of the war, and to give up to them in perpetuity Locarno, Lugano, and Valle Maggia; the Swiss, on their side, guaranteeing to him the possession of the Milanese. The cantons then appointed deputies to instal Maximilian Sforza as duke of Milan.

On the 31st of December, 1512, Sforza made his public entrance into Milan, and received the keys of the city from the ammann Schwarzmaurer of Zug, to whom he expressed his deep gratitude towards the Swiss for all their good services on his behalf. Thus we find the Swiss mountaineers, the "rebel boors" as Maximilian had styled them a few years before, bestowing the crown of one of the finest states of Italy against the will of that emperor. The Grisons, whose troops formed part of the Swiss army, took possession for their pains of the fine district of Valtellina and the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio on the south side of the Rhætian Alps, which had formed part of the Milanese, and they kept and governed them as subject bailiwicks till Bonaparte's conquests in Italy in 1796.

In 1513 the Swiss defended their Milanese ally Sforza against a new army of France, at the battle of Novara, in which they lost two thousand men and killed more than ten thousand of the enemy. Guicciardini, the Italian historian, describes their bravery on this occasion as surpassing all that we read of the Greeks and Romans. At the same time, in order to make a diversion against France, and at the instigation of the ever-intriguing and restless Maximilian, a Swiss army of sixteen thousand men, paid by that emperor and commanded by Jacques de Watteville of Bern, joined to an equal number of imperial troops, entered Burgundy, and laid siege to Dijon, which was defended by the French commander, La Trimouille. This officer, doubting of his ability to hold out, treated with the Swiss generals without having authority from his master to that effect: he stipulated in the king's name that France should renounce her pretensions to Milan, and that she should pay the Swiss 600,000 crowns within a fixed time, on condition that the Swiss would leave Burgundy and return home; and for the due performance of these stipulations four persons of rank were named to be delivered to the cantons as hostages. This being done, the Swiss departed, without

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[1514-1515 A.D.]

having consulted with the emperor their ally, alleging as a reason that the emperor had not made the payments he had promised them.

Louis XII disapproved of La Trimouille's conduct, and would not listen to any renunciation of the duchy of Milan, to which he was still pertinaciously attached, notwithstanding all his reverses. But Guicciardini,¹ who relates the above facts, does not notice the dishonest conduct of the French general with regard to the hostages. It had been agreed that, beside La Trimouille's own nephew, the sieur de Mézière, four of the principal inhabitants of Dijon, whose names were mentioned, should be given over to the Swiss. La Trimouille substituted in their place four persons of the lowest condition and under false names. This conduct was keenly felt by the Swiss, who, whatever may have been their love of money, were still observant of the faith of treaties. Blame was attached to their own generals, but the public indignation rose chiefly against France, and the ancient sympathy of the Swiss with that nation was turned into hatred. The flight of De Mézière, who broke his parole at Zurich next year, added to these angry feelings. The Swiss, as a measure of reprisal, arrested the president of Grenoble, who was at Geneva, and treated him severely. They then resolved to invade France again, and in 1514 sent deputies to King Henry VIII of England to propose an alliance for that purpose. Henry dispatched in return two envoys to Switzerland; but he suddenly concluded the negotiations on learning that the king of Spain had concluded a treaty of peace with France.

The Swiss at Marignano (1515 A.D.)

Leo X, who had succeeded the warlike Julius in the papal see, adopted a system of politics different from that of his predecessor. He inclined to peace with France, and offered his mediation between that country and the Swiss. In the midst of these negotiations Louis XII died, in January, 1515; and Francis I, who succeeded him, assumed the title of duke of Milan, together with that of king of France. In notifying to the cantons his accession to the throne, he requested the renewal of their friendship. The Swiss replied that, if his majesty would ratify the Treaty of Dijon, concluded under his predecessor, he might rely upon their friendship; but otherwise they could not listen to any proposals on his part. Francis made great preparations for war, and the emperor and the duke of Milan on their side strengthened their alliance with the cantons. The king of Spain also agreed that, should the French invade Italy, he would enter France on the side of the Pyrenees; he, however, did not keep his word, and the defence of the duchy of Milan was ultimately left to Swiss intrepidity alone. Hearing that a French army under Trivulzio, an Italian himself, and a commander of great abilities, had assembled at Lyons, the cantons sent no less than forty thousand men into Lombardy, who occupied the passes of Mont Cenis and Mont Genève. But Trivulzio entered Italy by another pass, which leads by the Col d'Argentièr into the plains of Saluzzo, and which the Swiss had neglected as impracticable.

The Swiss fell back upon Novara, and, finding themselves unassisted and alone, they were actually marching out of that town on their return to their country, when the subsidy of money promised by the pope reached them. This timely arrival decided the troops of Zurich, Bâle, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, the forest cantons, and Grisons to turn again towards Milan by the way of Galera. But the contingents of Bern, Fribourg, and Solothurn continued their retreat towards Domo d'Ossola, at the foot of the Alps.

[1515-1516 A.D.]

This separation of the Swiss was occasioned by the intrigues of Francis I among the cantons, with whom he had never ceased to negotiate. The Swiss troops at Galera, expecting to be attacked every day by the French, who had taken possession of Milan, solicited their countrymen to join them, and they were supported in their expostulations by Watteville, who commanded the Bernese, but in vain. The latter, having heard from their country that negotiations were far advanced, disbanded themselves; and of seven thousand Bernese who were at Domo d'Ossola there remained together no more than one thousand.

At last the troops of the other cantons who were at Galera, with the exception of the Waldstätte and Glarus, agreed to a peace with France, on the 8th of September, 1515, and took the road towards the Alps. The men of the forest cantons refused to ratify the treaty, and those of Zurich and Zug, persuaded by Schinner, the cardinal of Sion, following their example, their united bands, not more than ten thousand strong, boldly took the road to Milan. Trivulzio, on hearing of their approach, abandoned that city, and took up a position at Marignano, in order to prevent their junction with the pope's troops. The position of the little Swiss army was singularly critical. They had before them more than forty thousand soldiers of France, headed by the king in person, with whom several of the cantons had just concluded peace. But they were joined by a number of volunteers, among whom was a Winkelried, from Unterwalden, who left the ranks of the retreating army in order to assist their gallant countrymen in the hour of danger.

The Swiss began the attack late in the afternoon; the French camp was fortified by a double intrenchment, and defended by numerous artillery. On the report of the battle having begun, all the Swiss that were still lingering at Milan ran out without waiting for orders and joined in the attack. The Swiss forced their way into the intrenchments and seized part of the French artillery. Francis himself charged them at the head of his cavalry, and the combat continued with the greatest obstinacy till four hours after dark. At last the two armies separated through fatigue; the French retired to their camp, and the Swiss lay on the field of battle. The next morning, September 15th, 1515, the fight was renewed; but D'Alviani, who was bringing up the Venetian auxiliary forces, arrived in the midst of the battle, and took the Swiss in their rear. This circumstance obliged them to sound a retreat, which they effected in the best order to Milan, carrying away their cannon and their wounded in the midst of their column; and so astounded were the French by their intrepidity, that there was no one, either horseman or foot, who dared to pursue them. Trivulzio himself used to call this a "battle of giants." The number of Swiss engaged in the battle was about eighteen thousand, of which six thousand were killed, with many officers, especially from Zurich and the forest cantons. The loss of the French was equally great. After this the Swiss took the road towards the Alps, and the whole duchy of Milan submitted to Francis I.

The Perpetual Peace (1516 A.D.)

In the following year (1516), the king of France having agreed to give up to the Swiss the Italian bailiwicks, which had been the first origin of the war, a treaty of peace was concluded in November, at Fribourg, between France and all the cantons. This was called the Perpetual Peace. The principal conditions were that the bailiwicks of Bellinzona, Locarno, Lugano, and Valle Maggia were to remain subject to the Swiss, on condition that

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the privileges and liberties granted to these districts by the dukes of Milan should be maintained. The Valtellina and county of Chiavenna were likewise to remain in possession of the Grisons. The allies of the Swiss were included in the Perpetual Peace with France. Each of the cantons, as well as the Grisons and the Valais, were to receive a pension of 2000 francs a year. The king was besides to pay 400,000 crowns for the expenses of the Dijon war, and 300,000 for those of the war of Italy. The Swiss merchants and other citizens were allowed free ingress and egress through the French territories, with the privileges they had enjoyed under the preceding reigns. In case of either of the contracting parties being engaged in war, the other was not to give assistance or passage over its territories to the enemy's forces; and lastly, all differences that might arise between the Swiss and the French were to be referred to arbitrators. This treaty served as the basis of all subsequent treaties with France during the course of nearly three centuries. In the subsequent wars of Francis I in Italy, Swiss auxiliary troops fought in his ranks in several actions, especially at the battle of Pavia, in 1525, in which the king was made prisoner and the Swiss lost no less than seven thousand men. Such repeated and heavy losses gave them at last a distaste for those disastrous Italian wars, where they could gain nothing but a barren reputation for mercenary valour.^c

THE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE (1521 A.D.)

Francis I, in spite of the victory of Marignano, judged it better to buy peace of the Swiss for considerable sums and a cession of territory. But, on the other hand, he had ensured the absence of his enemies' armies and had everywhere guaranteed his French and Italian frontiers where they were in contact with confederation territory. Annual pensions were again paid to the majority of the cantons and their allies to assure their good will.

However, the inconveniences of pensions, the distribution of moneys and enrolments were felt so much by the Swiss government that Zurich and Schwyz made great efforts to put an end to them. A convention was held at Bern at the end of the Italian disasters to forbid pensions and presents from foreign monarchs; and at Bern, even, the government, recoiling before a sedition, temporarily renounced them. But habit was too strongly engrained; cupidity was allowed to stand before the country's dearest interests. Thus when, in spite of their decision, the governments saw bands of volunteers depart enrolled by French agents or on Austria's behalf, they were but reaping the sad yet inevitable consequences of that turpitude of which they had set the example and to which they had accustomed the nation.

Schinner, banished from Valais, was no longer there to aid the efforts of Maximilian and England by his influence. The confederation, drawn away by a torrent of private ambition and yielding to the influence of the gold scattered so profusely by France, concluded a new treaty with Francis I, which was to last during the king's life and three years after his death (1521).

This treaty granted power to enrol not less than six thousand and not more than sixteen thousand men, on condition they served on land only. If the confederates were attacked, the king was to furnish at his expense two hundred lances, twelve cannon, six small, six large, and pay 25,000 gold crowns every three months as subsidy, whether he himself was or was not engaged in warfare. If they preferred, they could, in place of the two hundred lances, receive 2,000 gold crowns every three months. The king allowed them the provisioning of his states with salt. No one of the parties was to

THE CONFEDERATION AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER 621.

[1521 A.D.]

conclude a peace without notifying the other and procuring him the means of taking part in it. Each was to drive from his territories the adversaries of the other. During the term of the alliance the king engaged to pay a surplus pension to the cantons and their allies. The ordinary reserves were mentioned, but with this difference — that their effect was suspended if one of the persons or powers reserved attacked the allied party. This treaty had for object the protection of countries situated on either side the mountains — the French and the Milanese. It concluded the majority of the Swiss allies, the abbey and town of St. Gall, the Grisons, Valais, Mülhausen, Rottweil, and Bienne.

Thus the confederates, salaried by France, compromised their relations with other states in her favour, renouncing their independent position and submitting more and more to the influence of this powerful neighbour. They consented to play simply a secondary rôle in European politics. Zurich would not accept this humble position. Schwyz, Bâle, and Schaffhausen hesitated a long time. The Swiss, drawn by Charles VIII into the Italian wars as allied troops, had then acted as a sovereign power. In the Swabian war the confederation had gloriously maintained its independence against the empire. During the Italian wars she wanted to exercise a protectorate over the southern countries, and Lombardy in particular, and to extend her influence beyond them. For some time the fate of the duchy of Milan was in the hands of the confederation: thus it acted and was treated as a great power. But at the end of reverses which its arms experienced in Lombardy it renounced the striking rôle to which it had aspired while feeling its martial strength.



SWISS WARRIOR
(Sixteenth century)

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF SWITZERLAND

Recalled to her natural destinies, Switzerland thenceforth did not share in the agitations or conflicts of general politics. Though strong enough to maintain her independence, she felt not enough so to dominate other countries; she was not organised for conquests. From that time she gave herself up to a full enjoyment of her liberty, and served as a refuge in the midst of the general European unrest. However, as she had only instinctively retired, and not as the result of any decision, foreign powers continued for some time to attribute to her an importance she no longer had. One sees Francis I and Charles V soliciting her help to gain the imperial throne. Little by little her position was better understood, and she knew how to maintain her neutrality during the Thirty Years' War.

But while renouncing an active rôle, Switzerland opened up for her children the career of foreign service. It was a natural ending to the old-fashioned wars amongst the populations, who only thus took an indirect part in the events of this epoch. This portion of the national history presents lights and

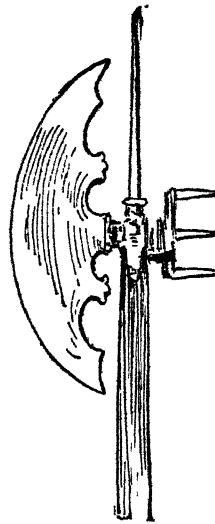
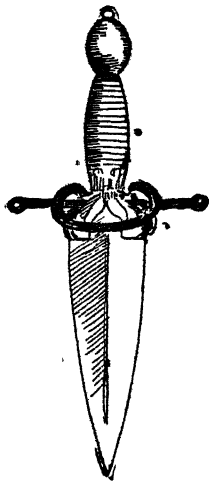
shades. The mercenary regiments for centuries upheld the military reputation of the country and Helvetian honour. If they combated for causes foreign to them they were not servants dependent on a master's caprices, but remained Swiss although serving other kings. The brightness of their glory reflects on their country and raises its military reputation.

It was imperative that the confederation should occupy itself less actively with foreign interests and give all its attention to itself. There was strong irritation against those western towns whose troops, by brusquely quitting the army, had paved a way for the disaster of Marignano. The fears inspired by this state of opinion led Solothurn, Bern, and Fribourg to unite more closely in a civic league. In each canton there was the same distrust among the citizens, the same disorganisation in public institutions.

However, certain positive ameliorations had been accomplished. As to the Italian subjects, placed under the power of the eleven cantons by the treaty of peace with Francis I, they were governed by a bailiff named in turn by each of the states and ruled for two years. This functionary swore to observe the statutes and received homage from the councils and communes. Eleven deputies went to receive the annual accounts at Lugano, then at Locarno, then alternately at Mendrisio and Valle Maggia. To administer death sentences the countries named judges to whom the bailiff gave adjuncts. The secretary was taken from one of the eleven cantons and generally named for life. On this functionary rested the practice of jurisdiction and delivery of business. The bailiff received part of the taxes; the executions and the confiscations went to the cantons. The country, moreover, paid them a moderate contribution. The ordinary administration belonged to the communal councils.

In the interval which had elapsed between the Perpetual Peace and the new agreement with the French, the thirteen cantons had admitted in their perpetual alliance the imperial town of Rottweil, situated in Swabia (1519), on the same conditions as the town of St. Gall. But these bonds were tacitly and by common accord broken at the Thirty Years' War, because the confederation, in abstaining from taking part, could not offer its new ally a sufficiently strong protection. Thenceforth the Rottweil deputies ceased attending the diets. On their side the three Grisons leagues had formed a perpetual alliance with the house of Austria similar to the hereditary alliance.^f





CHAPTER IV

THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

[1519-1715 A.D.]

WHILST the Italian wars between Austria and France employed the arms of the Swiss youth away from their own country, a most important change was silently taking place at home. This was no other than the great religious reform of the sixteenth century. In Switzerland the corruption of the clergy at the beginning of the sixteenth century seems to have been even more general and barefaced than in other countries of Europe. There was a grossness in it which was characteristic of a rude, uninformed, and still imperfectly civilised people. Remonstrances had been several times made by various cantons on the increasing licentiousness of the churchmen. As early as August, 1477, the Bernese had complained to Benedict de Montferrand, bishop of Lausanne, that they saw with grief the clergy of their country given up to libertinism. But little redress could be expected from that quarter, for we find repeatedly the burghers of Lausanne complaining still more bitterly of their own bishop, and more especially of Sebastian de Montfaucon, who filled the see in the early part of the sixteenth century, and "whose servants beat and killed the citizens in affrays, and the bishops protected them openly and by force from the hands of justice."

The young men returning from the Italian wars brought back with them habits of dissipation and profligacy not favourable to religious veneration. But even the friars laboured as it were to throw discredit on religious ceremonies and practices. A disclosure of monkish imposture had been made at Bern some years before, arising out of an ancient jealousy between the two rival orders of the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The former, to obtain a triumph over the Franciscans, resorted to pretended miracles: they worked

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[1521 A.D.]

on the weak fancy of a poor tailor called Jetzler, who had entered the Dominican convent of Bern as a lay brother, and made him believe that several saints, and the Virgin herself, whom a friar personated, appeared to him. Crowds flocked to the Dominican convent to see Jetzler, the favourite of heaven, who exhibited on the palms of his hands and on his feet the stigmata, or marks in imitation of our Saviour's wounds, which the Franciscans boasted that St. Francis alone had ever borne. Jetzler's marks, it appears, were produced by corrosives. The whole was an impious piece of jugglery, but the friars relied too much on Jetzler's credulity: they were discovered — Jetzler confessed all; Pope Julius sent a legate to examine the friars, and the council of Bern having taken cognisance of the matter, four friars were condemned and burned to death. This occurred in 1507.

Another subject of great scandal and mischief was the manner in which livings in Switzerland were bestowed upon foreign adventurers, chiefly Italians, who publicly bought them at Rome, or received them from the favourite retainers of the papal court. The Swiss cantons, in 1520, made remonstrances to Pucci, the pope's legate, about this scandalous abuse; and they issued an order banishing all "courtisans" (the name they gave to the clerical intruders on livings) as "wicked, ignorant persons, who had nothing of the spirit of God in them," and threatening, if found again within their territory, to drown them in sacks. But the immediate cause of the schism with Rome was, in Switzerland as well as in Germany, Leo X's famous bull for the sale of indulgences in 1517.^b

ZWINGLI INVEIGHS AGAINST ECCLESIASTICAL ABUSES

The brightest spot in Switzerland was Bâle. Amongst other divines strongly attached to ancient learning, Thomas Wyttenbach of Biel, taught at the university of this place, to which he was called in 1505, and Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, a native of Alsace, was an instructor from 1512 to 1520. They opened to their hearers many clear views of isolated doctrines. But Erasmus especially, who settled at Bâle in 1516, gathered round him a circle of enthusiastic admirers of ancient learning and refined views in religion. To this circle Huldreich (Ulrich) Zwingli united himself; he was born on the 1st of January, 1484, at Wildhaus in the county of Toggenburg, and was educated at the universities of Vienna and Bâle; at the latter place he received from Wyttenbach his first incitement to the study of divinity. From 1506, when he was elected by the community of Glarus to be their pastor, he devoted himself to a zealous study of the Latin classics and fathers of the church. He inveighed as an eloquent preacher against the corrupt morals of his day; in 1510 he pursued the same course in satirical and allegorical writings. Nevertheless he was still quite devoted to the pope; he received from him a pension as an influential preacher, and regarded the support which the Swiss rendered to the pope as a dutiful protection of the holy see. But afterwards he began to see into many of the errors and abuses of the church.

When, in the year 1518, a trafficker in indulgences, the Franciscan Bernardin Samson, made his appearance in Switzerland, and surpassed all his co-workers in effrontery, then Zwingli, as well as many others, raised his voice against this abuse. Many private expressions of his may have contributed to the opinion which soon prevailed in Zurich that he was a Lutheran at heart. The monks first attacked him, then several canons of his cathedral complained that he denied the divine right of tithes, and in the exercise of his spiritual office did not keep sufficiently in view the increase of the

[1522-1523 A.D.]

revenue of the chapter; his adversaries could not as yet accuse him of heresy. In order to avoid quarrels, the council charged all their clergy to hold forth the doctrine of the holy Scripture only.

Zwingli resigned his pension from Rome in 1520, and declared that he would not be hindered by anything from preaching the gospel. He was first entangled in controversy in 1522. He had designated the rule of fasting as a human ordinance, several townsmen broke the rule and were called to answer for so doing. The clergy, when questioned by the council, under the direction of Zwingli, censured the arbitrary transgression, but persisted in the statement that the rule was a human ordinance. The bishop of Constance accordingly sent a commission to Zurich to command the observance of the ceremonies (April, 1522). However, the council took Zwingli's part, and demanded more satisfactory directions from the bishop. In May, 1522, the bishop of Constance issued a pastoral to warn his flock against innovations, and the diet of Lucerne forbade all preaching likely to cause disquiet. Zwingli defended the free preaching of the Gospel.

As the celibacy of the clergy had led to the grossest abuses in Switzerland, Zwingli and his friends prayed above all things for the abolition of this human ordinance. However, no answer was given; on the contrary, the diet and the bishop began to persecute several of the clergy who had made themselves too conspicuous. The most disgraceful calumnies with regard to Zwingli were disseminated in the neighbouring cantons; in the three monasteries of Zurich, the resorts of the professors of the old faith, sermons were preached against him incessantly. Now that the efforts of the council to restore peace remained without success, it yielded to Zwingli's wish to encounter publicly these calumnies and attacks, and fixed a religious conference betwixt the two parties for the 29th of January, 1523, in which they were to produce their doctrines, and support them by holy Scripture alone.

For the same political reasons for which the pope had overlooked other arbitrary acts of the Swiss in church matters, he took no notice of these great movements. Zurich was the only canton which steadfastly refused the league with France, and still in 1521 granted soldiers to the pope; whilst the rest of the cantons supported France, and treated the papal legate in Switzerland with hostility. Adrian accordingly overlooked what scarcely could be overlooked any longer; and at the very time in which this conference, no less in its form than in the results to be expected from it, was threatening the existing constitution of the church, he sent Zwingli a flattering letter, to induce him to employ his influence to retain the powerful canton on the pope's side.

For the disputation to be held on the 29th of January, 1523, Zwingli had comprised in sixty-seven articles the doctrines he had preached; and so defended them on that day against the vicar-general Faber, that the council charged him to persevere in his course, and all their preachers to hold forth the pure Gospel as he did. By this disputation, by the interpretation of his articles which was soon after (in July) published by Zwingli, and by the preaching of Zwingli and his friend Leo Judae (Léon Juda), who came to Zurich in the beginning of 1523 as lay-priest at St. Peter's, men's minds were more and more won over to the Reformation; and many wished to see it brought into actual existence. For them it was not enough that the council allowed nuns to leave their convents (June 17th), that several of the clergy married without restraint, that a German baptismal service was introduced in the city (August 10th), and that the cathedral chapter at its own request received a new and suitable constitution (September 19th). They wished to feel sure that all that was idolatrous in the divine service was abolished,

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[1524 A.D.]

especially images and masses, and accordingly they soon began on their own authority to demolish images and the paraphernalia of superstition. These events made an evil impression on most of the remaining confederates. They were in part frightened at the prospect of a schism in the church, in part they concluded from certain exaggerated rumours that all civic order was overthrown at Zurich, and dreaded the force of the example. Proclamations were issued against all innovations in the church.

All excess of zeal, whether displayed in behalf of the old or the new religion, was held in check; and every outbreak or arbitrary demonstration was chastised. On the other hand concession was gradually made to the desire for reform; in December the shrined pictures in the churches were allowed to be closed up, and every priest was left free to celebrate mass or not as he chose. In 1524 a more thorough reform of the church was begun with the abolition of images. One after another all the objects and usages of superstition quickly disappeared; the monasteries were suppressed, and changed into schools and almshouses.



ULRICH ZWINGLI
(1484-1531)

Beyond the canton of Zurich the reformation was at this time in actual existence only in Appenzell and the town of Mulhausen. The free inhabitants of Appenzell, to whom, since the year 1522, Walter Klarer, pastor at Hundweil, had preached the Gospel, after a violent struggle granted to every parish the right of judging for itself (1524). Out of the eight parishes of the canton, six at once came over to the Reformation, and began to model their church constitution without suffering themselves to be withheld by any considerations. Mulhausen was won over to the Reformation by Ulrich von Hutten, and

reconstituted its form of worship accordingly as early as 1523. Still a party of adherents to the ancient order, who relied upon the confederates for support, imposed upon the council the necessity for prudence.

The government endeavoured to maintain their influence by holding an intermediate position betwixt the parties. The preaching of the gospel was freely conceded, but every attack upon church usage and all controversy were forbidden and punished with severe penalties.^c

RELIGIOUS QUARRELS AND RELIGIOUS LEAGUES

Zwingli, not content with attacking the church, censured also the civil power, reproaching his fellow countrymen with their inconsistency in considering it "a sin to eat the flesh of animals during Lent, whilst they thought it lawful to sell human flesh to foreign princes." Upon hearing of this and other similar attacks, the deputies of the cantons assembled at Bern ordered his arrest. The great council, or legislative assembly of Zurich, however, protected him, and in that same year (1523) convoked all the clergymen of the town and country, and forbade them, under penalties, to preach any doctrines which were not clearly grounded on holy writ; at the same time they

[1526 A.D.]

condemned images and image worship. In the following year the service of the mass was formally abolished.

These decisions were communicated to all the cantons and to the bishops of Switzerland. Most of the cantons, and especially the three Waldstätte, made strong remonstrances against the new doctrines, as much perhaps from political as from religious motives; for the evangelical preachers condemned the practice of enlisting in foreign wars, which was very prevalent and popular in the mountain districts. Deputies from the cantons repaired to Zurich; and while they promised that they would reform clerical abuses, they exhorted the Zurichers to abstain from further innovations, under pain of being expelled from the confederacy. But the great council of Zurich replied that it was "better to obey God than man," and the work of reformation proceeded. They abolished processions, fastings, and pilgrimages; they buried the relics; removed the images, reduced the number of festivals, and established a new liturgy. The convents were suppressed, their inmates released from their vows and allowed to marry; the buildings being devoted to hospitals or schools, and their revenues applied to the support of the new establishment and to that of the clergy. The chapter of Zurich willingly gave up its rights and property to the state,¹ and its twenty-four canons became professors, preachers, or tutors, and had an allowance secured to them for life. Zurich became the first reformed canton in Switzerland. The cities of St. Gall and of Mülhausen soon followed the example, and the canton of Schaffhausen, and somewhat later that of Bâle, did the like. Bern hesitated, its councils were divided, and anomalous enactments followed each other. Endeavouring to avoid an open schism with Rome, its magistrates curtailed the authority and revenues of the clergy, and seemed disposed to allow both parties to follow their respective doctrines in peace, and thus save the country from civil war. They gave permission to the nuns of Königsfeld to leave their convent and enter the marriage state. Marriages of nuns and of churchmen took place likewise in several other cantons, and gave occasion to the sarcasms of the Catholic party.

Conferences were opened again in the town of Baden, in the year 1526, between the theologians of the two parties. The Catholics had sent for a celebrated doctor of divinity from Ingolstadt, named Johann von Eck, and he was supported by two capuchins well versed in the scholastic subtleties of those times. Zwingli was offered a safe conduct, to which, however, he did not trust. Eck had been heard to say that "with heretics there were no better arguments than fire and sword," besides, about that time an evangelical preacher had been burned at Lindau, and another had been drowned at Fribourg in the Brisgau. Eccolampadius, Berthold Haller, and other evangelicals repaired nevertheless to Baden. The disputations lasted eighteen days; during which vituperation and recriminations were resorted to oftener than argument.

The Catholic cantons, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne, and Fribourg, became, however, after this conference, strengthened in their hostility to the evangelical doctrines, and they issued decrees of proscription against its professors in all places subject to them. In the territories of the cantons themselves this course was comparatively easy, as the new doctrines had not made much progress there, but the case was different in the bailiwicks which were held by the Catholic cantons in common with those which had either like Zurich embraced the evangelical doctrines or like Bern wished to enforce

[¹ The revenues thus acquired Zwingli devoted to the use of a school (the Carolinum) intended to increase knowledge of the humanities.]

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[1528 A.D.]

toleration and avoid measures of persecution. Accordingly, the bailiwicks of Aargau, Thurgau, Rheintal, Sargans, and Baden became a wide field of discord and violence. Several monasteries were attacked and plundered. The unfortunate people of the bailiwicks were distracted between the two parties, who preponderated according as the landvogt, or governor, was from a Catholic or a reformed canton. The county of Baden at first adopted the Reformation, and the famous convent of Wettingen on the Limmat was converted into a school. But afterwards Baden returned to Catholicism. In Thurgau, on the contrary, the Catholic cantons began by forbidding the reading of the Bible, but the reformed religion afterwards gained the ascendancy.

In the midst of the increasing discord, a new firebrand was thrown by another set of fanatics. These sectarians were commonly called *Wiedertäufer*, i.e. anabaptists, because they rebaptised adults. They spread into Switzerland. Two men of Zurich became their chiefs. The dissolute, the turbulent, the bankrupts in character joined them. They renounced every form of worship, they assembled in great multitudes in the fields or forests, they threw off all allegiance to the laws or magistrates. Some of their bands had their wives in common. The cantons, both Catholic and reformed, tried persuasion and mild correction, but to no purpose; capital punishment was resorted to against the most outrageous of the leaders, but they went to the scaffold with the zeal of martyrs. At last Bern assembled six thousand men to put down the bands which were infesting its territory, and were living in a state of open rebellion. Fribourg and Solothurn joined their contingents. Zurich took similar measures, and by degrees the sect fell into disrepute, and at last became harmless and unnoticed. The Catholics, however, did not fail to throw the blame of these lamentable excesses on the new doctrines, as being, at least, the indirect cause of all the mischief.

The council of Bern, which had long proceeded on religious questions with a caution bordering on irresolution, came at length to a determination. In 1528 it announced the opening of a new and final conference, in order to throw all possible light on the pending controversy. Six cantons, namely the three Waldstätte, Lucerne, Zug, and Fribourg, declined sending any deputies. A great number of clergymen, and men of learning, came from various parts of Switzerland and the neighbouring countries. Zwingli himself came with an escort. It was altogether a solemn assembly, the most important, that had yet met in Switzerland on this great controversy.

The council of Bern, considering the result as decidedly in favour of reformation, decreed the abolition of mass in the capital. They assembled the citizens of every condition, and requested their oath that they would support the government in what they were going to do for the good of the state. They then addressed to all the subjects of the canton a general edict of reformation. Bern became the steadiest pillar of reformation in Switzerland. At the same time they prohibited for the future receiving pensions from foreign states, or enlisting in foreign services, so far as this could be done without infringing the treaties already existing with France and other powers, and in fact the following year Bern rejected the urgent request of the king of France to extend the capitulation to a further contingent of troops. This good resolve, however, was only kept while the religious fervour lasted which had dictated it. In November, 1528, the five Catholic cantons¹ and the Valais formed a league for the defence of the Catholic faith, which was called the

¹ The Waldstätte, Lucerne, and Zug.

[1529 A.D.]

"league of the Valais." The canton of Fribourg joined the league afterwards, and, what was worse, the hereditary enemy of Switzerland, Ferdinand of Austria, king of Hungary, was admitted the following year [February, 1529] into the alliance [*Christliche Vereinnung*, Christian Alliance].

Zurich and Bern formed a particular alliance between themselves, which they called evangelical co-burghership [*Evangelisches Burgrecht*], to which the towns of Bienne, St. Gall, Mulhausen, and Constance acceded. The objects were, their mutual defence and the protection of their subjects of the common bailiwicks who would embrace the reformed doctrines, leaving to the rest full liberty of conscience, and observing in every other matter which did not concern religion the obligations which bound them to the other cantons of the confederation. This treaty was concluded at Bern on the 3rd of March, 1529. The five remaining cantons were divided. At Bâle the people fought in the streets, the burghers against their Catholic magistrates; they destroyed the images, and at last drove the Catholic clergy out of the city. The service was ordered to be read in German. Most of the nobles, remaining attached to the old faith, were excluded forever from the senate. The famous Erasmus, a man of quiet, studious habits, left Bâle amidst all these tumults; but he returned soon after, and passed the remainder of his life in that city, although he never would openly abjure the doctrines of Rome. Nicholas Diessbach, coadjutor of the late bishop, and upon whom that rich see devolved, refused the preferment. Bâle, as well as Schaffhausen, was ranked from that time among the reformed cantons. In the canton of Appenzell the reformed doctrines gained ground, chiefly in the external Roden or districts, while the interior and more secluded parts remained attached to Catholicism; and a separation followed, by which each of the two districts formed a separate state, although still representing together but one canton of the confederation.

The Reformation spread early among the Grisons, but did not produce at first any serious troubles. Both parties availed themselves of the opportunity to reduce the power of the church; the feudal rights of the bishop of Coire and of the abbeyes were suppressed, the *corvées* abolished. In this both Catholic and Protestant agreed, and, without quarrelling about theological controversies, they turned them to the account of political liberty. The town of Bienne was one of the first reformed, through the agency of its citizen Wytttenbach. That of Mulhausen, an ally of the cantons, though without the borders of Switzerland, also embraced the Reformation.

The most strenuous champions of Catholicism were from the first the five old cantons, namely the three Waldstätte, Lucerne, and Zug. There refor-



SWISS ECCLESIASTIC

(Middle Ages)

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[1529 A.D.]

mation made no inroads, or if it did at first at Lucerne it was soon effectually checked by severe measures. These five cantons had frequent disputes with Zurich and Bern about the common bailiwicks; a new subject of discord arose concerning the country of Hasli and Oberland. Serious causes of irritation occurred, especially in Thurgau, Gaster, and Toggenburg. Zurich demanded the free exercise of religion for the people of those districts, among whom the doctrines of the Reformation had widely spread. Jacob Keyser, a minister from the canton of Zurich, as he was one day going to preach as usual at the parish of Oberkirch, in the bailiwick of Gaster, which was subject to the two cantons of Schwyz and Glarus, was seized by four armed men and taken to Schwyz. After seven days' trial, he was sentenced to be burned. In vain Glarus remonstrated, in vain Zurich protested—the unhappy Keyser was burned publicly at Schwyz at the end of May, 1529. Several traders from Zurich, who had gone to Schwyz on business, were beaten, pelted with stones, and obliged to escape. The Zurichers, on their side, seized the landammann Wehrli of Unterwalden, on his return from Thurgau, where he had, in his capacity of bailiff, persecuted the new doctrines; and although he wore his cloak with the colours of Unterwalden, in token of his office, he was publicly executed at Zurich.

THE FIRST RELIGIOUS PEACE; SECTARIANISM

All these and other grievances produced at last an open rupture. Zurich declared war by a manifesto against the five Catholic cantons, and claimed the assistance of Bern. The latter put in motion a body of ten thousand men. St. Gall, Mulhausen, Bienne sent also their contingents to the evangelical cause. These allied troops advanced by Kappel towards Schwyz. The five cantons marched to Baar to meet them; and thus twenty-four thousand Swiss stood opposite to each other, ready to fight. John Ebly, the landammann of Glarus, who had already saved his own canton from civil war, hastened to the field between the combatants, and interfered with humane zeal in the name of his own and the other neutral cantons. Bern appointed a conference to take place at Aarau; and a suspension of hostilities having been immediately proclaimed, the soldiers of both armies were seen mingling on friendly terms like brethren.

Peace was concluded on the 26th of June, 1529. This was the first religious peace between the Swiss, and it served as a precedent for subsequent treaties. The articles of the peace were seventeen in number. The principal ones were that the Catholic cantons should renounce their league with Ferdinand of Austria; that no endeavours should be made to induce the five Catholic cantons or their subjects to embrace the reformed religion; with regard to the common bailiwicks, every parish should decide by plurality of votes whether they would have mass or not, and abstain or not from meat on fast-days, and their decision should be the rule in force as long as the inhabitants continued of the same mind; that those parishes which had already abolished the mass and the images should be left undisturbed. The principle of the whole treaty was perfect toleration. None of the cantons were to hold together partial diets, except for private and particular business; and the old Compact of Stanz, agreed to in 1481, was sworn to again as the national compact of the whole Swiss federation.

This peace was favourable to the evangelicals, inasmuch as it protected the spreading of their doctrines through conviction, but not by violent means. The Catholic cantons were reluctantly obliged to sign it, because they found

[1529-1530 A.D.]

themselves forsaken by Austria and by the pope. These two powers were then at variance, since Charles V's army had stormed and pillaged Rome in 1527. On the other side, the Turks, under Sultan Solymán, had overrun Hungary and besieged Vienna, giving full employment to Ferdinand, who, as well as his brother the emperor, deemed it necessary to conciliate the Protestant princes of Germany. Thus these Turkish and Italian wars proved indirectly the means of sheltering the growth of reformation both in Germany and Switzerland.

Meantime a dispute had arisen between the Swiss evangelicals and the great German reformer, Luther, on the subject of the eucharist. The landgraf of Hesse invited Luther and Zwingli to meet at Marburg, in 1529, in order to come to an understanding on the point in controversy. The two parties had several conferences, but each remained convinced of its own opinion. The landgraf prevailed on them to shake hands at parting; but Luther said publicly afterwards, "We have, by so doing, given the Zwinglians a token of Christian charity, but not a title to our brotherhood."

In the year 1530 the reformed religion made great progress in western Switzerland. Farel, a native of Dauphiné, a man of zealous temper, who had been driven out of France by persecution, was the evangelical preacher in all that part of the country where French is spoken. At Neuchâtel the people burned the images, upset the altars, and, in spite of the opposition of the authorities, demanded that the question of religion should be decided in a general assembly by the majority of votes. The burghers, having assembled on the 4th of November, decided that mass should be no longer performed in the town, that images should be removed, and that other Catholic observances should be abolished. Farel proceeded next to the valleys of the Jura, which were under the lordship of the bishop of Bâle. The Val St. Imier embraced the Reformation; but in the neighbouring valley or provostship of Munster great disturbances arose. On arriving at Munster, Farel found the minds of the people disposed to listen to him. They at once broke the images and prevented the service of the mass.

Zwingli published his confession of faith, which differed from that of Augsburg, especially on the subject of the real presence, which he totally denied. This confession, which was called "evangelical," was also taken to the emperor by the deputies of three cantons, Bern, Zurich, and Bâle, who had meantime entered into an alliance with the landgraf of Hesse and the city of Strasburg to defend each other against anyone who should molest them concerning their religion. It is a remarkable fact that Francis I at that time asked to be received into the alliance, but his offer was declined.

On the 19th of November, 1530, Charles V published an edict enjoining all subjects of the empire to live according to the regulations of the Roman church, until a general council should be assembled; and threatening those who should not conform to this order. It was then that the German reformed states assembled at Schmalkalden, in December, and entered into a resolution to defend each other mutually, and to repel force by force. This was called the Smalkaldic League. They also protested, with the elector of Saxony at their head, against the election of Ferdinand, Charles' brother, as king of the Romans, by which Charles, who was occupied with the affairs of Spain and Italy, meant to transfer to his brother the imperial authority.

The reformed cantons were invited to join the Smalkaldic League at the instance of the landgraf of Hesse, who saw the urgency of the Protestants' strengthening themselves by all means within their reach; but the elector of Saxony imposed as a condition that they should all sign the Confession of

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burgh. This the Swiss reformers refused to do. The Swiss evangelicals remained separate from the German Protestants, or Lutherans. In a great synod held at Bern in 1532 the articles of the Helvetic Confession of Faith were finally established and proclaimed.

The five Catholic cantons, dissatisfied with the spreading of the reformed doctrines in consequence of the liberty of conscience granted by the religious peace of 1529, and emboldened by the appearance of affairs in Germany, sought an opportunity for a fresh quarrel. The reformed cantons, and Zurich especially, were not long before they furnished them with a plausible one. Zurich and the reformed part of Glarus had been promoting the reformation in the territories of the abbot of St. Gall with a violence of zeal that made them overlook the dictates of justice and the faith due to existing treaties. On the death of the abbot, in March, 1529, the four cantons, protectors of the abbey, Zurich and Glarus on one side, and Lucerne and Schwyz on the other, disagreed about the election of his successor. The abbey was completely secularised by force. The other cantons, and even Bern, disapproved of this arbitrary proceeding, which was an infraction not only of the rights of the abbey but also of those of the other co-protectors. At a general diet held at Baden in January, 1531, the five Catholic cantons remonstrated strongly. Zurich, on its part, assumed a very high tone, and demanded that the Catholic cantons should allow the Scriptures to be freely read amongst them. At this diet the evangelical cantons objected to the test of plurality of votes in the diets being conclusive in matters of religion, for the Catholic cantons, being many and small, were always sure of a majority against the reformed ones, who were few though large. This was a grave question, thus first broached, for it affected the very constitution of the confederation.

SECOND WAR OF KAPPEL

Zurich, in order to force the Catholic cantons to submit to its dictation, forbade all commerce with them, and even prevented the supply of necessary articles of provisions, such as salt, which the people of the Waldstätte used to receive through Zurich. Zwingli opposed, as became a minister of the Gospel, this uncharitable interdict, and he even preached against its principle on Whitsunday, 1531. The inhabitants of the five cantons were furious. They considered themselves, and not without reason, unkindly treated. "The sword alone can unloose the knot," was the cry in the Waldstätte. In September manifestoes appeared on either side. Zurich, which had shown in this business, as it had done in others, an intemperate and overbearing spirit, asked Bern and the other reformed cantons for the assistance stipulated by the so-called evangelical co-burghership of March, 1529. Bern, although wishing for peace, could not refuse the appeal; it raised a body of eight thousand men.

DEFEATS OF KAPPEL AND ZUGERBERG; PEACE OF KAPPEL

The few Catholic cantons, strengthened by a body of Valaisans, assembled their troops at Zug; and the duke of Savoy and the pope sent them some Italian auxiliaries. The Zurichers divided their forces into small detachments, one of which, six hundred strong, took up a position at Kappel, on the road to Zug. But, as the Catholics threatened that position, they collected in haste a body of two thousand men to reinforce it, and Zwingli was ordered by the magistrates to accompany the soldiers, as it was known that his pres-



ULRICH ZWINGLI, 1484-1531 A.D.

(From the painting by Holbein the Younger, in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

[1531 A.D.]

ence would tend greatly to encourage them, and as it was also customary for a minister to attend whenever the great banner of the city was unfurled. Zwingli obeyed, though with gloomy forebodings of the result of the strife, which he told his friends would be the death of him, and of many other honest citizens. He was observed to pray fervently during the whole march. While this reinforcement was moving from Zurich, the Catholic troops, eight thousand strong, marched out of Zug on the morning of the 11th of October, to attack the detachment at Kappel. The Zurichers who were posted there, being joined by people from the country, amounted to about twelve hundred men.

The attack began by a cannonade, which lasted from twelve to three in the afternoon, when the reinforcement of two thousand men from Zurich appeared in sight, but in a state of great confusion, the troops having been hurried on their march by repeated messages, and having left a number of stragglers behind. The day was waning fast, and it seemed at one time as if the Catholics would defer the attack to the following morning. But a veteran warrior from Unterwalde, by name Tauch, advised an immediate assault on the Zurichers before the reinforcement had time to put themselves in order. This advice was followed, and he led the attack. The Zurichers, besides their great inferiority in numbers, were taken by surprise; their artillerymen had abandoned their duty, and their pieces were not served. Their leader Lavater and Zwingli himself encouraged the men, the latter crying out to them that their cause was good, and that God could still save them. They fought bravely, but without order. The main body of the Catholics, having rushed in upon them, broke through as far as the banner, which the Zurichers defended desperately for a time; at last the rout became general. Zwingli had fallen in the thickest of the fight. The Catholics pursued their enemies for some distance, after which they returned to the field of battle, when they knelt down, according to the old Swiss custom, and thanked heaven, the Virgin, and all the celestial host, for having given them the victory. They then went about asking the wounded if they would confess or invoke the saints, and those who refused they despatched with their pikes. Some, however, there were among the Catholics who had more humanity than the rest, and who took the wounded to their tents and nursed them.

Next day the body of Zwingli was recognised among the slain. The Catholics instituted a court-martial over the senseless corpse, and condemned it to be broken in four by the common executioner, and then burned to ashes, and the ashes mixed with rubbish and scattered to the winds. Such was the end of Ulrich Zwingli, the great reformer of Switzerland, a man single-hearted, pious, and disinterested; who, although warm and zealous in his cause, was as free as the times allowed from any violence or fanaticism, and still more from inhumanity towards his antagonists.

The defeat of Kappel threw Zurich into consternation.¹ Altogether nearly one hundred burgesses, including twenty-six councillors and fifteen clergymen, and about one thousand men had fallen; four standards and eighteen cannon were lost. The disorder of the remaining troops, and their murmurs, gave fresh life to a party which still existed at Zurich, opposed to the Reformation. Nevertheless the national spirit of the people came to their aid; and the inhabitants of the country districts remained faithful in this emergency. Mount Albis was covered with fresh troops, and messengers were despatched to Bern to urge the advance of its contingent. The Bernese,

[¹ This defeat of the evangelicals ushered in the counter Reformation or Catholic reaction in Switzerland.]

[1531 A.D.]

four thousand strong, were joined by volunteers from Bâle, Schaffhausen, Solothurn, Neuchâtel, and even from Lausanne and Geneva. This army, after passing Bremgarten, followed the course of the river Reuss, and plundered on their way the convent of Muri. They then entered the canton of Zug and took Baar three days after the battle of Kappel. The Catholics, to the number of ten thousand, were posted on the Zugerberg, a hill which overlooks the town of Zug. But the Bernese and their allies instead of attacking their enemies with all their force, amused themselves marauding over the country. While many of them were thus dispersed in the villages, Hug, son of the avoyer of Lucerne, surprised them in the middle of the night of the 24th of October, killed a great many, and drove many more down the precipices, where they perished. The main body of the Bernese remained inactive, fearing to strike their own friends. The loss on their side was about one thousand.

This second defeat was fatal to the cause of the evangelicals. The people of Glarus and of Toggenburg detached themselves from the alliance, and considered as to the means of making a separate peace. Ten thousand men from the Grisons, who were on their march to protect the canton of Zurich, halted, and then returned home. The people of Zurich called loudly for peace. Luckily, the Catholic cantons were no less desirous of it: they felt severely the scarcity of provisions, arising from the interruption of communications; and many moderate men on both sides deplored this war between fellow countrymen. In these circumstances, the neutral cantons, as well as the envoys of France and Savoy, interfered to bring about a peace. The demands of the Catholics were at first moderate; but the greatest difficulty was that of the common bailiwicks, the reformed cantons wishing them to have full liberty of conscience, whilst the Catholic ones earnestly maintained that "they could not in conscience allow their subjects a liberty which must prove detrimental to their salvation, and would be a temptation and a snare unto their souls."

Meantime the magistrates of Zurich, being urged by the people and threatened by the Catholic troops, concluded in haste a separate peace, which was signed at Baar on the 20th of November, 1531. The first article was as follows: "We, the people of Zurich, promise to leave unmolested, as we ought, our faithful and beloved confederates of the five cantons, their allies of the Valais, and all their adherents, now and forever, in their ancient, true, and undoubted Christian faith, without importuning them by any disputations, and renouncing all evil intrigue or artifice. We, the five Catholic cantons, promise to leave on our part our confederates of Zurich and their adherents in the peaceful exercise of their religion." The Zurichers were to renounce the so-called Christian League, and to pay the expenses of the war.

The Bernese, being left alone, soon after subscribed to similar conditions. The common bailiwicks were thus left at the mercy of the Catholics, although the latter promised not to molest those of the inhabitants who had already embraced the reformed religion. But covert means were not wanting to suppress the reformed doctrines. The images were re-established everywhere, the evangelical ministers were expelled from many places. The abbey of Wettingen was restored to its monks. The abbot of St. Gall re-entered his abbey in triumph, and the town of St. Gall lost its purchase, and was obliged to pay 10,000 florins. The Toggenburgers were again placed under the dominion of the abbot, but they preserved their liberty of conscience. Bern likewise maintained with firmness the same privilege for those inhabitants of Aargau who had embraced the Reformation.

[1531 A.D.]

At Solothurn fresh troubles broke out; the Catholics were on the point of firing on the assembled evangelicals, when the old avoyer, Nicholas von Wenger, stepped before the loaded cannon, crying out, "If you want the blood of your countrymen, take mine first." This noble act, and the aspect of the venerable magistrate, checked the fury of the people, and no blood was spilt; but the reformed families were obliged to leave the canton. Solothurn, as well as Fribourg, joined henceforth the five old cantons, so that the Catholic cantons became seven, while the reformed ones remained four, namely Bern, Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Bâle; and this line of demarcation has continued ever since. Glarus and Appenzell alone remained mixed. The Treaty of Kappel, however, insured internal peace to the Swiss cantons for more than a century after.

THE PROGRESS OF LIBERTY IN GENEVA

We now turn to the affairs of western Switzerland. It was only in the sixteenth century that Geneva and Vaud became connected with the Swiss Confederation, of which they now constitute an essential part. Until that epoch, Geneva had been governed by its sovereign bishop, who was a prince of the German Empire. The bishop was elected by the chapter, conjointly with the burghers; he had no armed force at his disposal, and his authority was very limited. The counts of Geneva, *Comites Genevensium*, being feudal lords of the empire over the province of which Geneva was the chief town, administered justice; but their authority in the city was limited by that of the bishop, who had his own courts of justice, and whose jurisdiction was independent of that of the counts. Placed between these two powers, the burghers contrived to extend their privileges. The powerful house of Savoy, however, aspired to extend its power over the city.

Charles III, duke of Savoy, who at the beginning of the sixteenth century succeeded the good Philibert, showed himself especially disposed to encroach on the liberties of Geneva, and was favoured in his views by the bishop, Pierre de la Baume, a weak unprincipled man, who seemed willing to abdicate his temporal rights in favour of Charles. The citizens became alarmed, and turned their eyes towards the Swiss cantons for protection. One of the former bishops had, in 1478, concluded a treaty of alliance for himself and the citizens with Bern and Fribourg. Berthelier, a citizen of Geneva, who was exiled on account of some affray with the bishop's authorities, and had retired to Fribourg, of which city he was also a burgher, proposed to the latter canton to renew their alliance with Geneva. The treaty of alliance and co-burghership with Fribourg was concluded in 1519. Berthelier returned to Geneva. The city was now divided into two parties: the more numerous, who were for independence and the alliance with Fribourg, styled themselves *Erdgenossen*, "bound by oath," in imitation of the Swiss confederates; and they gave their antagonists, who were devoted to the house of Savoy, the appellation of *mamelukes*. The word *Erdgenossen*, disfigured by a French pronunciation, was transformed into that of *Huguenots*, and was afterwards applied generally to the French evangelicals or Calvinists. But Huguenots meant originally the republican party at Geneva.

The duke of Savoy, incensed at the news of the alliance, marched with ten thousand men against Geneva. The syndics being unable to resist, the gates were opened, the troops entered, and lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants. Berthelier was executed, and other acts of vengeance were perpetrated. The canton of Fribourg, being apprised of this, marched troops

into the duke's territories of the Pays de Vaud; whereupon the duke issued a general amnesty, and withdrew his army from the city, having first obliged the latter to rescind its alliance with Fribourg: but he continued, in concert with the bishop, to persecute the Huguenots, under various pretences. In 1525 the Huguenots became bolder, and talked of renewing the alliance with Bern and Fribourg. A treaty was concluded in February, 1523, by which the two cantons engaged "to defend Geneva against all attacks on their persons, properties, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, and ancient usages." Geneva took a similar engagement towards the cantons; with this difference, however — that its citizens were to pay for all assistance afforded to them, but were to furnish aid to Bern and Fribourg, when required, at their own expense. This was a general condition in all the treaties of alliance between the Swiss cantons and their weaker neighbours. But as Geneva was more likely to be in want of assistance than Bern and Fribourg, the Genevans thought themselves fortunate in concluding the treaty.

The duke exerted himself strenuously to dissolve this alliance; but the cantons stood firm, and at last signified to him that, if he did not desist from annoying Geneva, they would rescind their own treaties with Savoy. From that moment the mamelukes lost all influence in the town, and they at last emigrated. Being summoned by the magistrates to return and give an account of their conduct, they were, on their non-compliance, declared outlaws, and their property was confiscated. They then joined the Savoyard nobles in the neighbourhood, and formed with them an offensive league against Geneva. They took the name of "knights of the Spoon," on account of their having boasted that they would hew down the citizens, and cut them into small pieces, so as to be able to eat them with their spoons, and they wore, accordingly, as a badge of their confraternity, a spoon. They ravaged the estates of the citizens outside the town, burned the suburbs, killed those of the inhabitants they fell in with, and blockaded the place in order to starve it. It was during this most calamitous period that the Genevans showed an energy and perseverance worthy of the highest praise — resisting all the intrigues of the duke and of the fickle-minded bishop, who still remained within the city, as well as the open attacks of their enemies from outside, and holding fast by the treaty with the cantons, as their only anchor of safety. At this time also the doctrines of the Reformation began to spread rapidly amongst them. The flagrant immorality of the clergy contributed to this. Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, was one of the first to preach in favour of a reformation in religion. But here again a new difficulty arose. Fribourg, one of the two allied cantons, wrote that if the Genevans abandoned their old faith it would renounce their alliance. The magistrates, therefore, were cautious not to encourage the spreading of the new doctrines.

Geneva meantime was reduced to the greatest extremities by the Savoyard nobles and the knights of the Spoon; the citizens could not venture outside the walls, no provisions were allowed to come in, and they suffered the severest privations. At last, after repeated but useless negotiations, Bern and Fribourg resolved, in 1530, to take the field, and relieve their ally. A Bernese army of seven thousand men, under John d'Erlach, joined by two thousand men from Fribourg, five hundred of Solothurn, and three thousand volunteers from other parts, with eighteen pieces of cannon, entered the Pays de Vaud, which they crossed without opposition, although they committed serious depredations on the subjects of the duke, and arrived at Geneva on the 10th of October, having on their march taken and destroyed the castles of the knights of the Spoon. The other cantons and

[1533-1534 A.D.]

the Valais now sent deputies to mediate a peace, and the Treaty of St. Julien was the result. The duke engaged, among other things, that if he should be the first to attack the Genevans again he should forfeit the Pays de Vaud to Bern and Fribourg. The Swiss army left Geneva, after having been paid by the inhabitants, who with great difficulty raised the sum required. The prior Bonnivard,¹ whom the duke had kidnapped and confined in the dungeons of Chillon, was to be released. The duke was to defray the expenses of the war, and pay an indemnity to Geneva; and, on the other hand, he was to appoint a *vidomne* in the latter city, to administer justice. The duke appointed this officer, but neglected to perform the other conditions of the treaty.

The preaching of the Reformation had formed two new parties in the city. The majority of the people and some of the magistrates were favourable to it; but the clergy and most of the councillors and of the wealthy citizens were for remaining Catholic. Farel, who had come to Geneva, was driven away, but some of his disciples continued to preach. In 1533 the animosity between the two parties had reached the greatest height. Conspiracies, seditions, murders were the melancholy consequences. Relative was against relative, brother against brother, father against son. The magistrates endeavoured to enforce mutual toleration. Farel returned, and held forth against the Catholics. Fribourg now demanded that Farel should be punished for preaching against its religion, and threatened to withdraw itself from the alliance. Bern insisted on the public preaching of the Gospel; and the council being obliged to accede, Farel preached in the church of the Franciscan convent, and made numerous proselytes. Then it was that the deputies of Fribourg declared, in presence of the council of Geneva, on the 23rd of April, 1534, that the alliance on their part was at an end, and they publicly tore the seals from off the treaty, which they had brought with them.

Bern remained now the only ally of Geneva, and its influence became paramount. The reformers, thus emboldened, kept no measures; they overturned the altars, and destroyed the images. Many Catholic families emigrated. The bishop, who had retired to Gex, excommunicated the town. The sovereign council of Geneva then declared that the bishop's authority was at an end and his see vacant. The canons retired to Annecy, whither the see of Geneva was finally transferred. On the 10th of August, 1534, the great council forbade the mass till further orders. Another edict enjoined that God should be worshipped according to the Gospel, and it forbade every act of papal idolatry. The Catholic party in the town dwindled to nothing; but the nobles of Savoy and the bishop blockaded Geneva, and annoyed the citizens. Bern remonstrated repeatedly for more than a twelvemonth, but without effect. The duke, who was engaged in war with France, pleaded his inability to restrain his turbulent Savoyard nobles; but he had certainly



SWISS SCHOLAR

(Sixteenth century)

[¹ A famous historian of the time, and the subject of Byron's poem, *The Prisoner of Chillon*.]

[1536 A.D.]

given repeated proofs of his insincerity concerning the stipulations of the Treaty of St. Julien. He still held Bonnivard in prison at Chillon.

On the other hand, Bern was probably not sorry to have an opportunity of seizing the Pays de Vaud. Being assured of the general sympathy of the people, and of their co-operation, the great council of Bern formally declared war against the duke of Savoy, in consequence of his breach of the Treaty of St. Julien, and of the state of intolerable oppression in which he held the city of Geneva, on account of its religion. The Bernese army, seven thousand strong, marched in January, 1536, by Morat; and as they proceeded they received the submission of most of the towns in the Pays de Vaud, except Yverdon. In eleven days the Bernese entered Geneva, where they were hailed as deliverers. The duke was at the same time attacked by the French, who conquered all Savoy and the greater part of Piedmont; so that he was stripped at the same time of all his dominions. The Valaisans, on their side, by an agreement with Bern, took for themselves all that part of the Chablais which extends along the southern shore of the Lake of Geneva, as far west as the river Drance.

The Bernese now unexpectedly demanded of the Genevans the surrender of all the rights and revenues which the duke and the bishop held over the city. The Genevans, surprised at this demand, calmly but firmly refused. The Bernese councils desisted from their unjust demand. In August, 1536, a treaty was concluded between the free town of Geneva and the canton of Bern. The co-burghership was renewed for twenty-five years, at the expiration of which it was converted into a perpetual alliance. Geneva retained all the lands of the bishop, chapter, and convents, and of the priory of St. Victor, the Bernese reserving to themselves an appellate jurisdiction over those lands in all cases in which formerly appeal lay to the dukes of Savoy. The city and its territory were declared free from all jurisdictions of the neighbouring lordships. Thus Geneva became a really independent republic, and the evangelical religion was solemnly established there. The effects of these changes were soon perceived in the revival of activity, industry, and trade. A number of foreigners from France, Italy, and Savoy, came to reside within the walls of Geneva, bringing their property with them, for the sake of enjoying peace and liberty of conscience.

The Bernese had reduced the whole Pays de Vaud into subjection. Lausanne had not been visited by them, that city forming a separate sovereignty, and being still governed by its bishop, who was a prince of the empire. The citizens boldly opened the gates to Bern, which took possession of all the lands and jurisdictions of the bishop, extending over Lausanne, Avenches, Lucens, and Pully. The whole Pays de Vaud was divided into eight bailiwicks, a bailiff from Bern being appointed to each. The people in general were pleased with the change, except the nobility, who lost their influence by passing under the dominion of a republic. They were besides attached to Catholicism. Many of them even refused the offer of having themselves inscribed and admitted among the Patricians of Bern.

A religious disputation took place at Lausanne, in which Farel took the lead; it lasted seven days, but the Catholic clergy of Lausanne declined to take part in it. After its conclusion, the Bernese proclaimed all over the country the abolition of the mass and of images, and reformed clergymen were appointed to the various parishes. The castle of Chillon was the last place that surrendered. In the dungeons below the level of the lake was found Bonnivard, who had been confined there for six years. Although Fribourg had borne no share in the expedition, yet Bern willingly allowed

[1536-1544 A.D.]

her to take possession of several districts of the conquered country, such as Romont, Rue, and Estavayer, which were contiguous to her own territory. Some years afterwards the two cantons purchased the rights of the counts of Gruyères, the last remaining of the old feudal nobility of Helvetia. Bern had now doubled its territory, and it became by far the most extensive and powerful of the Swiss cantons.

The Reformation spread to the Italian side of the Alps, in the bailiwicks or districts subject to the Swiss confederates. After many vexations and disturbances, and in spite of the protests of the reformed cantons, an order was issued by the Catholic cantons, sentencing all the evangelical converts at Locarno to be banished their country with their families. The sentence was carried into execution in March, 1555. Most of them found an asylum at Zurich, where the families of Orell and Muralt, with a slight change in their names, became naturalized, and continue to this day. Several of these Italian exiles were silk-weavers and dyers, and they carried to Zurich those branches of industry from their Italian land.

CALVIN AT GENEVA

In 1536 John Calvin was obliged to make his escape from Italy, where his doctrines had attracted the attention of the clergy and the court of Rome, and he made his way into Switzerland by an unfrequented path over the Col de Ferret. Passing through Geneva he saw Farel, who earnestly invited him to fix his residence in that city and to assist him in the great work of reformation. Calvin, though at first unwilling, was persuaded, and he was appointed the same year professor of theology. He was then only twenty-seven years of age. Both he and Farel went further in their innovations than the Swiss reformers. This made them many enemies, and drew upon them the disapprobation of the evangelical synod then sitting at Lausanne for the purpose of regulating the discipline of the reformed church. As Calvin and Farel, however, would not submit to the decision of the synod, they were ordered by the magistrates to leave Geneva in 1538, and Calvin went to Strasburg, where he established a French evangelical church. Soon after, however, a deputation came from Geneva to invite him to return, as his presence was found necessary to enforce order and religion. Farel had, meantime, settled at Neuchâtel, where he remained till his death.

Calvin, on his return to Geneva, in 1541, perceiving the necessity of having a moral censorship, in order to restrain the utter licentiousness which threatened the very existence of the community, proposed to establish a consistory, to act as *censor morum*, composed of the pastors or parish incumbents, two members of the council of state or executive, two members of the council of two hundred, one of the syndics, and a secretary. This and other regulations proposed by Calvin concerning church government and discipline were approved by the general council of all the citizens, and received the form of law in November, 1541. The consistory assembled every Thursday, and Calvin, who always attended the sittings, may be said to have been its presiding spirit. It had very extensive and almost inquisitorial powers; it took cognisance of immoralities, of blasphemy and profanation, and other offences against religion. The punishments were fine, imprisonment, and in some cases death. This institution of the consistory continues to exist though considerably modified. Calvin also assumed the task of collecting and revising the old laws and edicts, so as to form a body of civil law for the republic, which was approved of in 1543 by the council general. At the same time he

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[1564 A.D.]

was not unmindful of the cultivation of the mind, and he proposed and effected the establishment of a public college, called academy, for teaching the arts and sciences, in which he himself lectured three times a week on theology, and which soon acquired and has ever since maintained a high character among the schools of learning in Europe, and has been a nursery of clergymen and divines to the reformed churches of France and other countries.

The influence of Calvin's searching and austere mind remained impressed on the manners and habits of the Genevans for ages after his death, and the stamp is not yet altogether obliterated.

He was intolerant according to the temper of his age, but he was conscientious in his intolerance. The execution of Michael Servetus is the act from which Calvin's memory has suffered most. Servetus was a Spanish physician, a man of a wild, fantastic mind, who had adopted the tenets of the Samosatensians against Trinity, denying the eternity and divinity of the Son. He held forth his doctrines in various places, and finally came to Geneva, where Calvin now reigned paramount. He was tried and sentenced to the stake, as an obdurate heretic, although it appears that Calvin voted for a milder mode of death. He was, however, burned alive.

Geneva owes much to Calvin. He consolidated both its religious and municipal institutions. He died on the 27th of May, 1564, at the age of fifty-five, worn out by study and application. He was buried without pomp or epitaph, as he had himself directed, in the common burying ground of Plainpalais, and his funeral was attended by almost the entire population. He left the care of his flock to his friend and disciple, Théodore de Bèze.^b

The effects of the Reformation made themselves manifest in all the relations of private and public life. General attention was directed to the internal wants and wel-

fare of the country; and the rising generation acquired taste for the arts of peace, and for the sciences by which the mind is most enlarged and elevated. The study of the ancients and of history had been revived by theological inquiries. If enlistments still continued to take place for foreign services, yet the venality of rulers and their subjects had ceased to be so prevalent as formerly. Improvements were made in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; and the reception given to fugitive co-religionists introduced or furthered several branches of industry. Almshouses and hospitals were instituted or improved. Strict regulations were made against prodigality, gambling, and usury; and rigid limits were set to public amusements.

Under the name of ecclesiastical discipline the clergy in Geneva and the canton of Bern assumed a very extensive jurisdiction. The clergy possessed important weight and influence with the people; and when they inter-



SWISS GENTLEMAN
(Sixteenth century)

[1566 A. D.]

ferred in word or in writing with the constituted authorities, their dicta were in general received as decisive. Their intervention, as might be expected, was not in all cases free from polemical passions or sacerdotal arrogance; but it oftener took an aspect of beneficence, particularly when the secular authorities neglected their duties. The better part of the clergy themselves never lost sight of the evils engendered by an unlimited domination of their order.

The independence of the cantons and the difference of their forms of polity necessarily occasioned variations in their church discipline. These were taken advantage of by the enemies of reform to reproach its friends with the want of a sure foundation for their faith. The subsequent evangelical leaders, harassed by the virulent attacks of their opponents, imagined the production of explicit confessions to be requisite for their justification. The four evangelical cantons, Zurich, Bern, Bâle, and Schaffhausen, and the three allied towns, St. Gall, Mulhausen, and Bienne, agreed upon a common form of confession, to be laid before the general assembly of the church when convoked by the emperor. In the same year (1566) Geneva also issued a confession, composed by Farel. Finally, on the 1st of March, 1566, the so called Helvetic confession was promulgated at Zurich.

The reformed cantons made frequent but for the most part ineffectual intercessions for their oppressed co-religionists in France and Savoy. Numerous refugees from these countries found protection and support in Switzerland. Geneva became a city of refuge for persecuted Italians, and Zurich for the English, who fled from the tyranny of Queen Mary. The church of Rome, unable to withstand any longer the demands for reformation, even of Catholics themselves, had at last consented to open a council at Trent. The reception of its decisions by the Catholic cantons occasioned the reformed ones to be regarded by them more than ever as renegades and reprobates, while it served to increase the suspicions and embitterment of the latter. All sentiments of patriotism yielded to religious hatred, which constantly found new food for itself.

In former times the confederates had always maintained a jealous vigilance with regard to the pope, considered as a foreign power, and with regard to the clerical order in general, as instruments of that power. But now, the zeal of polemics, and the prevalent ideas of the duty of submissiveness to the spiritual authority, placed a part of the Helvetic body entirely at the command of their ecclesiastical superiors; and by consequence attached them to that line of foreign policy most conformable to clerical interests.

At this epoch, Cardinal Carlo Borromeo exercised a distinguished influence in spiritual and political matters. Elevated at the age of three-and-twenty to the bishopric of Milan and the dignity of cardinal, he felt an early vocation to the office of reformer of the Catholic clergy and church discipline; but his mind was so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of a dominant priesthood that even the heads of the Catholic cantons were compelled to resist his proceedings. He powerfully contributed towards putting in execution the decrees of the Council of Trent; he established at Milan a college for the bringing up of Swiss youth to the clerical profession; he induced the pope to keep a permanent nuncio in the Catholic cantons. His establishment of Jesuits at Lucerne was still more momentous in its influence on the public mind and on education; while the effect produced by the Jesuits on the upper classes was rivalled by that which the order of Capuchins exercised over the lower.

The first permanent nuncio, the bishop of Vercelli, a *protégé* of the cardinal

[1579-1602 A.D.]

Borromeo, brought about, in 1579, a league between the bishop of Bâle and the seven Catholic cantons. This may be regarded as a sort of Catholic counterpart to the evangelical co-burgership of Bern and Zurich. The contracting parties promised each other aid in the affairs of religion, etc. The seven cantons engaged to retain in the Catholic faith such subjects of the bishop as had not yet abandoned it, and to use their endeavours in re-converting those who had apostatised. In 1586, the so-called Borromean or "golden league" was sworn to by the seven Catholic cantons, the provisions of which were similar to those of the foregoing one, with the addition of the following clause: that, in case of individual members manifesting any inclination to desert the faith, the others should compel them to abide by it, and visit the promoters of defection with condign punishment.

A ludicrous example of the length to which distrust of Rome was carried by the Protestant party was afforded by the controversy excited on the occasion of the reform of the Julian calendar. Pope Gregory XIII commenced his reform of the calendar by striking off ten days from the year 1582. The Catholic cantons adopted this arrangement, after Unterwalden had offered some objections to it. The Protestants, on the other hand, conceived an apprehension lest the reception of a calendar decreed by the pope, and named after him, might pave the way for future papal encroachments; and lest their compliance might wear the appearance of deference to a papal mandate. The Catholic cantons not only adopted the Gregorian calendar, but enjoined its observance on the free bailiwicks, and instructed the vogts to punish recusants.

Irritated by this mode of proceeding, Zurich turned the affair into a question of religion: the greatest ferment, however, was in the Thurgau. The two religious parties had now not only different feast days, but confusion took place on market days, and other civil arrangements. After the waste of much discussion on the matter at successive diets, the neutral cantons, in concert with the French ambassador, finally concluded an arrangement by which the regulation of the calendar was committed to each canton within the bounds of its own territory.^d

RELATIONS WITH SAVOY; THE ESCALADE (1602 A.D.)

In October, 1564, Bern, by a peace concluded at Lausanne, restored to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, the Chablais and the county of Gex, on condition that he should allow the free exercise of the reformed religion in those districts. The duke, on his side, made a formal cession to Bern and Fribourg of his rights in the Pays de Vaud, and this cession was confirmed in 1617 by Duke Charles Emanuel. Emanuel Philibert maintained the article of the treaty concerning religion until his death, but his successor, Charles Emanuel, disregarding his father's promise, drove away, in 1598, the reformed clergy from the Chablais, and abolished the Reformation by force. He also resumed a system of annoyance and intrigue against Geneva, and he encouraged several conspiracies, for the purpose of recovering possession of that city.

At length, in 1602, he made a bold attempt to take the town by surprise. Under pretence of watching the movements of the French on his frontiers, he assembled a body of troops near its walls, and in the night between the 11th and 12th of December (old style), scaling ladders having been prepared for the purpose, a party of two hundred of the duke's soldiers silently mounted the walls at one o'clock in the morning, while the rest waited outside for a

[1602 A.D.]

signal to force the gate. They had been promised the plunder of the city, but Geneva was providentially spared the horrors that would have followed their success. A sentry hearing noise in the ditch gave the alarm, the citizens ran to arms and barricaded the streets, the guard at the gate let down the portcullis, and fired a cannon which enfiladed the ditch and swept away the ladders. The troops outside, seeing the attack had failed, began a retreat while those that were in the town, being assailed on every side by the citizens, were either killed or thrown into the ditches. Thirteen were made prisoners and hanged next day as midnight assassins. Théodore de Bèze, who, owing to his great age, had discontinued preaching, mounted the pulpit next morning and began singing the 124th psalm, in gratitude to the Almighty who had snatched his countrymen from the jaws of destruction. The anniversary of the Escalade has been ever since religiously kept at Geneva. The canton of Bern strongly resented this treacherous attack upon its ally, but the neutral cantons interfered, and a new treaty was at length concluded in July, 1603, by which the duke of Savoy engaged not to raise any fortress or assemble any troops within sixteen miles of the city. From that time the republic of Geneva was left in the undisturbed enjoyment of its independence; and, besides Bern, Zurich contracted with it a perpetual alliance.

DISORDERS IN THE GRISONS

In the early part of the seventeenth century, the country of the Grisons became involved in war with the courts of Spain and of Austria, in consequence of a revolt which broke out in the Valtellina, and was a source of great and lasting calamities to both countries. The origin of the disturbances in the Valtellina was of a remote date. The people of that valley (which had become subject to the Grisons a century before) were Catholic, while the majority of their Grisons masters had embraced the reformed communion. The government of the Grisons, stimulated by some of the more zealous evangelical clergymen, interfered in a certain measure with the consciences of their subjects. On the other hand, the conduct of the agents of Rome excited the suspicions of the Grisons.

Pope Pius V, a strenuous defender of the prerogatives of his church, endeavoured to recover certain tithes and other revenues in the Valtellina, which had been given up by the Grisons to lay impropriators. He commissioned for this purpose John Planta, baron of Râzuns, and his son Conrad, who was a canon of the cathedral of Coire, to whom, in 1572, he issued a bull, conferring on them the management of all church lands and revenues in the Valtellina and in the adjoining county of Chiavenna, "which were then held by improper persons," meaning thereby several Protestants, and among others the Salis, a powerful Grisons family, and ancient rivals of the Plantas. The Salis appealed to the diet of the Grisons, who decided that the grant by the pope to the Plantas was illegal. The baron of Razuns, not having paid sufficient deference to this decision, was imprisoned, tortured, and put to death. His son escaped, and soon after [1574], through the mediation of the Swiss cantons, public tranquillity was restored, at least in appearance.

In the beginning of the following century the duke of Fuentes, the Spanish governor of Milan, raised, at the northern extremity of the Lake of Como, a fort which commanded the only carriage-road leading into the Valtellina. Spain had long been ambitious of possessing that fine valley, through which lay the only direct communication between Lombardy and the Tyrol, and

[1615-1620 A.D.]

other Austrian territories; for as the two branches of the house of Austria were allied by policy as well as by blood, it was their interest to have some road by which they could receive or send speedy assistance to each other. On the other hand, the republic of Venice, which was then the only independent power in Italy, and whose territories lay between Austria and Spanish Lombardy, was essentially interested in maintaining the Grisons in possession of Valtellina, which bordered on her two provinces of Bergamo and Brescia, and through which she could obtain recruits from Switzerland, her natural ally against any encroachments from Spain and Austria. In 1603, Venice made a treaty with the Grisons leagues for the purpose of having free passage through the territory of the latter. This excited the jealousy of the duke of Fuentes, and the Grisons, in order to keep on good terms with the Spanish governor, and to continue to receive the usual supplies of corn and other provisions from Lombardy, granted likewise free passage to the Spanish soldiers through the Valtellina.

In 1615, the alliance between Venice and the Grisons expired. The Venetian senate sent an agent to renew it, who, in order to overcome the obstacles raised by the Spanish and Austrian agents, found means to excite in the Protestants both religious and political suspicions of their Catholic subjects of Valtellina. A great synod of the Protestant ministers assembled and the Venetian alliance was urged with expressions of violent rancour against Spain and its supposed partisans in the Valtellina and the Grisons. The Protestant communes rose in arms against those who were suspected of being favourable to Spain; some persons were killed, and many more were fined and banished, and among these were the two brothers Planta and the bishop of Coire himself. This happened in 1618. The violent leaders of the Protestants gave orders for the arrest of Nicholas Rusca, the archpriest of Sondrio, the head of the Catholic clergy of Valtellina, a man much respected for his pious and moral conduct, but who had opposed the efforts of the Protestants to make converts among his flock. Rusca was taken into the Grisons country, and tried before a summary tribunal on the charges of treasonable correspondence with the Spaniards, and of resistance to the edicts of the government. The old man denied the first charge, of which he appears, in fact, to have been innocent; and with regard to the second, he said he had only opposed, though not by seditious means, those innovations which were detrimental to the Catholic faith and contrary to the religious privileges of Valtellina. He was put to the torture, and he died in consequence in his prison after a few days. His body was burned by the public executioner.

These cruelties exasperated the people of Valtellina, as well as the partisans of the Plantas among the Grisons. The emigrants of that party assembled at Milan and in the Tyrol; they corresponded with the discontented in Valtellina, and aimed at overturning the government of their own country. A wealthy native of Valtellina, named Robustelli, put himself at the head of the conspiracy, which was to shake off the sovereignty of the Grisons. The duke of Feria, governor of Milan, secretly encouraged the conspirators, and gave them money. At break of day on the 19th of July, 1620, the day fixed for the breaking out of the revolt, Robustelli and his companions, with a number of armed men, entered Tirano, one of the largest villages of Valtellina, and having rung the bells as a signal, they began to massacre the Protestants, whether Grisons or their own countrymen. At the first alarm, both the Catholic and the Protestant inhabitants who were unacquainted with the conspiracy arose from their beds, thinking that some party of outlaws were come to commit depredations, as had before happened.

[1620 A.D.]

The Grisons governor, John Cappoli, suspecting the same thing, ordered the town-house bell to be rung to summon the people to arms. But as these came out of their houses, the conspirators, who were in waiting, fell upon the Protestants; while the Catholics, being apprised of the true cause of the tumult, and excited by the leaders of the insurrection, joined in the massacre, and having broken open the place where the arms were deposited, proceeded to the well-known dwellings of the Protestants. These strove to defend themselves, but in vain; they were hunted out and barbarously killed, five alone escaping. Several of them who had run out of the town were attacked by the peasants of the neighbourhood, who showed them no mercy. Some women were also murdered. The governor was shot, and the Protestant preacher's head was cut off and stuck on his own pulpit. The houses were plundered, although the conspirators had solemnly agreed to respect the property of the victims, for the sake of their wives and children: but those who did not refrain from murder were not likely to be restrained from robbery.

At Sondrio, the chief town of Valtellina, the insurrection broke out in the same manner. The governor, however, had time to make a show of defence, which enabled him to obtain a safeguard for himself and his family; but all the rest of the Protestants were butchered without mercy, except two natives of the place, a man and a woman, who had become Protestants, and who were sent to the Inquisition at Milan. The man abjured again, and so saved his life; the woman, more firm of purpose, refused to retract, and was burned alive. At Toglio, a small village, the assassins came just as the Protestants were attending service in their church. The church was surrounded by armed men; the people within endeavoured to defend the entrance, but the assailants climbed to the windows, and fired on the congregation. Men, women, and children here fell victims promiscuously. The door was then forced open, and the women being pushed out the men were all killed, with their pastor. Some had taken shelter in the belfry, but in vain; their tormentors lighted a fire underneath, and burned them.

The whole valley fell into the power of the insurgents. The victims of this catastrophe have been stated as amounting to 350; probably they exceeded that number. The fugitives were hunted after, shot at, stoned to death, or thrown into the river Adda.

At the first news of this sanguinary revolt the Grisons loudly expressed their indignation. Two of the leagues, Caddee and the Ten Jurisdictions, sent two thousand men, under one of the Salis, to march against Valtellina; but the Grey League, in which the Catholics were most numerous, held back from the rest. A body of five hundred Spaniards entered the county of Chiavenna, in consequence of which the Grisons thought prudent to evacuate Valtellina, and repass the mountains to their own country. An order came from Madrid by which Valtellina was placed under the royal protection of Spain, and Spanish garrisons were sent to Morbegno and Tirano.

The cantons of Bern and Zurich, being applied to by the Grisons for assistance against their revolted subjects, sent a considerable body of men, who entered Bormio and marched upon Tirano, committing many acts of cruel retaliation on their way. Two thousand Spanish veterans defended Tirano. The troops of each canton fought separately; those of Bern hurried forward to the attack, without waiting for their allies of Zurich, and were defeated with the loss of their commander. The Zurichers came up next, but the Spaniards waited for them within the walls of the town, and after seven hours of fruitless attack the Swiss were obliged to retire with great loss; and, being

[1621 A.D.]

harassed by the peasants, few of them succeeded in recrossing the Alps. The people of Valtellina, elated with their success, set about establishing a regency, of which Robustelli was appointed president.

The ministers of France did not behold with indifference the Spanish power stretching itself over Valtellina, and threatening, in conjunction with Austria, the independence of the Grisons. The Venetian senate was likewise deeply interested in preventing the increase of Spanish dominion in Italy. The duke of Savoy saw things in the same light. And, as it happened, Pope Paul V, the great supporter of the Valtellina insurgents, having died in January, 1621, his successor, Gregory XV, a man of moderate sentiments, felt as an Italian prince a jealous suspicion of the aggrandisement of Spain, and also openly disapproved of the barbarous transactions of the Valtellina insurrection. All these sovereigns remonstrated strongly with the king of Spain against the occupation of Valtellina; and insisted on some conciliatory arrangement by which the rights of the Grisons over the valley should be acknowledged with proper security for the religion and privileges of their subjects.

The duke of Feria, on the other hand, not wishing to lose the fruit of all his intrigues, endeavoured to bring about an arrangement with the Grisons under his own superintendence, before the ministers at Madrid should come to an understanding. He succeeded in persuading the Grey League, where the Catholics were most numerous, to send agents to Milan, and the Plantas favoured his scheme. The negotiations turned in favour of Spain and of the Catholic party in the Grisons. Valtellina was to remain for eight years garrisoned by Spaniards; the executive authority was to be restored to the Grisons, but no Protestant was to settle in the valley; full amnesty was given for the past, and the Catholic religion was prescribed as the only religion in Valtellina.

The other two leagues, however, would not listen to these conditions, and they came to an open rupture with the Grey League. One of the chief Protestant leaders, George Jenatsch, once a clergyman and now a soldier, assembled his countrymen of the Ten Jurisdictions, entered the valleys of the Grey League, drove away from it the auxiliaries sent by the Catholic cantons, and obliged its representatives to renounce their treaty with Milan. Jenatsch having surprised, in the castle of Rietberg, Pompey Planta, one of the two emigrant brothers attached to the Spanish party, and whom he looked upon as a traitor to his country, clove his head with a battle-axe.

Meantime the conferences at Madrid were proceeding, though slowly. Philip III died, but by his will recommended his son to settle the Italian question according to the advice of the pope, and for the peace of Europe. In April, 1621, a treaty was concluded at Madrid, by which the Valtellina was to be evacuated by the Spaniards, and the Grisons were to be reinstated in their possession of it; a full amnesty for the past and security for the future were to be given to the natives, under the guarantee of the French king, the Swiss cantons, and the pope. But these conditions pleased neither the Grisons nor the people of Valtellina. The Grisons again took up arms and entered the county of Bormio, but the Spaniards advancing upon them on one side and the Austrians from the Tyrol on the other, they withdrew again in confusion.

Upon this the duke of Feria took possession of Chiavenna, and the Austrian general, Baldiron, entered the league of the Ten Jurisdictions, and on the plea of former claims took possession of it, as well as of Lower Engadine, or valley of the Inn, in the name of Austria. The inhabitants were obliged,

[1622-1624 A.D.]

under pain of death, to give up their arms, and to swear fidelity to Austria. The other two leagues were also overrun by the Austrians, who placed a garrison at Coire, the bishop of which town, availing himself of the terror of foreign arms, put forth his former pretensions to sovereignty, and assumed the exercise of almost despotic authority. A forced treaty was entered into in January, 1622, by the two leagues, the other being considered as extinct, in which they gave up forever their sovereignty over the Valtellina and Bormio; they acknowledged the incorporation of the Ten Jurisdictions, the Lower Engadine and the Munsterthal, with the Austrian dominions; and they submitted to the passage of Spanish troops through their own territories. The independence of the Grisons was in fact annihilated. Such were the consequences of their harsh and imprudent treatment of the people of Valtellina and of their obstinate rejection of the conditions of Madrid.

The Grisons Recover Independence

The overbearing conduct of the Austrians was, however, the cause of the restoration of Grisons independence. In that part of the country which they now considered their own, it having been incorporated with the Austrian dominions, Baldiron's soldiers oppressed the inhabitants with the greatest insolence, interfered with their property, obliged them to carry heavy loads, and treated them more like beasts of burden than like men. A swarm of Capuchins spread over the valleys to convert the peasants to Catholicism. All the reformed clergy were driven away, seventy-five evangelical churches were left without pastors, and the people were compelled by blows to attend the Catholic service.

This last act of tyranny roused them to resistance. The robust and spirited inhabitants of the fine valley called Prätigau, disarmed as they were, hied to the mountain forests, made themselves spears and clubs, and on Palm Sunday, 1622, they issued out with loud shouts, surprised the Austrian detachments, cut them to pieces or made them prisoners, and drove away the main body as far as Maienfeld. They then invested Coire, where Baldiron himself was. The rest of the country followed their example, the mountaineers from Appenzell joined them, and Baldiron was obliged to demand a truce to withdraw from the country. Rudolf von Salis was named general of the patriots. But Baldiron came again into the Prätigau the next summer with ten thousand men, eager for vengeance. The people fought with the fury of despair in the valleys, in the villages, in the mountains. It is recorded that in the last fight thirty brave men threw themselves, armed with clubs only, into the enemy's ranks, and fell one after the other upon heaps of soldiers whom they had slain. The succour from Coire came too late. The whole country of Prätigau was already in flames, and the population almost entirely destroyed.

The Grisons leagues sent envoys to the archduke of Austria at Lindau, but they had to submit to hard conditions. The league of the Ten Jurisdictions was declared to belong to Austria, and free passage was to be allowed through the whole Grisons country to the Austrians and Spaniards. The king of France, Louis XIII, who was jealous of the Austrian power, had already interfered by negotiations, in concert with the duke of Savoy and the senate of Venice, to prevent the permanent occupation by Spain and Austria of the important passes of the Grisons and the Valtellina. At last, in 1624, he sent a force under the count de Cœuvres into the Grisons country. Bern and Zürich not only gave a free passage but added their contingents. All the exiled Grisons, under Rudolf von Salis and Jenatsch, led the van. As

[1628-1641 A.D.]

they reached the frontier of their country a general rising took place, and the Austrian garrisons and governors were driven away. The following year Chiavenna and the Valtellina were reconquered from the Spaniards. The treaty concluded at Monçon, in Aragon, between France and Spain, in 1626, settled for a time the affairs of the Grisons, though not to the full satisfaction of the latter, who still clung pertinaciously to their rights of sovereignty over the Italian valleys. The Valtellina, Chiavenna, and Bormio were to pay an annual tribute to the leagues, but they had the right of governing themselves. Some troops in the service of the pope garrisoned the towns of Valtellina *pro tempore*; and Robustelli remained at the head of the regency of the valley.

In 1628 the disputes about the duchy of Mantua brought the French again into Italy. The Austrian armies sent to oppose them entered suddenly the country of the Grisons, by the pass of Luciensteig, took Coire [1629], and again occupied the Ten Jurisdictions and the Engadine. Although this time there was no slaughter of the inhabitants, yet vexations of every sort were heaped on them. Famine followed, and a pestilence brought by the German troops, probably from the frontiers of Turkey, devastated the unfortunate Rætian valleys; twelve thousand people died of the latter scourge. Luckily for the Grisons the successes of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany induced the emperor to conclude with France the Treaty of Cherasco, in 1630, by which he engaged to withdraw his troops from the Grisons. The duke of Rohan then came to Coire as ambassador from France and brought with him some troops, who assisted the Grisons in fortifying their passes towards the Tyrol.

In 1635, war having broken out again between France and the emperor, Rohan, at the head of a Grisons force, crossed the Alps, and after some sharp fighting, reconquered Valtellina, Chiavenna, and Bormio from the Austrians and Spaniards united. But the court of France now imperiously required that the Italian valleys should be governed according to the Treaty of Monçon. The French envoy Lanier, an overbearing man, assumed the tone of a master at Coire, and talked of the Grisons as rebels. The Grisons chiefs said among themselves, "Austria takes and France lies; let us trust no foreign power, but seek help only from our own arms."

In February, 1636, several of the principal men of the leagues assembled at Coire and swore to risk their all to deliver their country from all foreign domination. Colonel Jenatsch was of the number, and he with great secrecy negotiated a treaty at Innsbruck with the archduke of Austria, nephew to the emperor Ferdinand II, by which the former relations of friendship between the two countries were restored, and Austria promised to co-operate in driving the French out of the Grisons. Jenatsch armed his countrymen secretly; but the duke of Rohan, nevertheless, suspecting something, reinforced his posts on the banks of the Rhine and of the Landquart. On a sudden Jenatsch, with six battalions of his countrymen, appeared before the French intrenchments, while at the same time a body of Austrians showed itself at Lindau, threatening the rear of the French, who, fearful of being surrounded [1637], agreed to withdraw, which they did to the number of about five thousand; and this time the deliverance was complete, for no foreigners remained in the Grisons country. The Grisons were left in possession of the Italian valleys, to which they granted a full amnesty, besides acknowledging the Catholic religion as that of the country.

Spain made a perpetual peace with the Grisons at Milan in September 1639, on the above conditions, and Austria, too, renewed its former treaties with the leagues at Feldkirch, in August, 1641, preserving its seigniorial rights and fees in the Engadine and the Ten Jurisdictions: these, however, were

[1602-1608 A.D.]

bought off ten years after by the payment of 75,000 florins. Thus Austria ceased to have any jurisdiction in the Grisons territory excepting the baronies of Râzuns and Tarasp.

The brave Colonel Jenatsch, two years after he had freed his country, was murdered in January, 1639, while at a party of officers at Coire. Conspirators entered the hall in disguise, and pressing round him, as if in sport, murdered him in the middle of the festival. Rudolf Planta, being accused by public rumour of having thus avenged the murder of his brother Pompey, withdrew to his estates in the Engadine, where he died some time after.

Meantime the Thirty Years' War was proceeding in Germany. With the result of that war the Swiss were deeply concerned, for had the house of Austria, assisted by its relatives of Spain, succeeded in laying the German confederation at its feet, the Swiss cantons would not have been left long in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties. The conduct of the Austrians towards the Grisons, the allies of the Helvetic League, sufficiently showed what the cantons themselves had to expect. The termination, however, of that great contest by the Peace of Westphalia eventually put the seal to the independence of Switzerland.^b

SWITZERLAND IN THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

In the sixteenth century the house of Habsburg fought for the ancient church and the mediæval unity of all Christian people, in order first of all to gain political predominance but in the end undivided sway. The successors of Philip II renewed the struggles that had distinguished the reign of that monarch. Their mighty enemy the king of France again sought to double his strength by alliance. He obtained the services of the Swiss through an advantageous treaty [1602] and many proofs of friendliness; he encouraged the reformed states of the empire in the formation of the "evangelical union" (May, 1608) which was backed by himself; he was on good terms with England and the emancipated Netherlands. In Italy the fear of the boundless ambition of the Habsburgs brought him much support (such as that of Savoy, Venice, etc.). Under the guise of a great liberator and peace-maker Henry now dreamed of making France the sovereign of the whole of Europe. Such a design threatened to involve Switzerland in the vicissitudes of external and internal wars and in difficult relations with the other great powers.

Through the renewal of a league with the Catholic districts of the confederation [1602] Spain weakened betimes the French influence; therefore France in a particular compact claimed the assurance that Switzerland would allow no passage to the enemy's troops. The open partisanship for Spain of the five [Catholic] districts might have excited the reformed towns to enter the German "union"; but they refused all invitations to join the allied princes. They also evaded an alliance with Sweden; but Zurich and Bern consented to a defensive alliance with the markgraf George Frederick



SWISS GUARD

[1612-1629 A.D.]

of Baden-Durlach, a member of the union (August 19th, 1612, for twelve years): for the most part the evangelical districts (*Orten*) kept up a friendly correspondence with the united imperial states about their political condition.

Meantime the sudden death of Henry IV thwarted the expectations of his supporters and allies. Spain now exploited the universal fluctuations in political circumstances in order to establish her power. The duke of Savoy (Charles Emanuel) again joined the Spanish court, and counting upon the latter's assistance he fitted out an expedition against Geneva and the Vaud (1610-1611); but the watchfulness of the Bernese prevented his gaining a decisive battle. When his claims to the principality of Montferrat caused him to quarrel with the Habsburgs, he made friends with Venice, which was on the point of an alliance with the Swiss, and sought help from the enemies of Spain. In honour of the Protestant powers, he began negotiations with Bern as to an alliance which was brought about by English mediation (June 23rd, 1617), after Savoy had formally renounced all pretensions to Vaud.

From the ecclesiastical differences of the German Empire finally arose a war lasting many years [known as the Thirty Years' War], which affected the confederation in various ways. The evangelical towns had repeatedly been in fear of a united attack by the Catholic "districts" and the Habsburg supremacy, and they therefore made preparations for their defence; they proposed a common evangelical *defensionale* (military organization), but did not succeed in carrying through this scheme, because Bâle refused to co-operate, in order not to excite opponents. At the time of nearer danger, the reformed states made inquiries as to the disposition of the Catholic districts, who each time promised to provide their federal contingent. When the emperor after the victory over Denmark (1625-1627) carried an army into Germany, which, as its leader threatened, was to "bring the rebellious Swiss into order" get back the old Habsburg possessions and repress the reformed church, the Catholic districts felt moved as confederates to make declarations by oath and to conclude certain treaties. This attitude pacified the evangelicals.

Preparations were unanimously made for the protection of the common bailiwicks. A commission took in hand the numbering and collecting of those capable of bearing arms: it inspected the arsenals, fortresses, and passes on the frontiers; provided for good guards and quick assembling of troops; and the provincial governors received extended powers. As Austria imperiously claimed the free use of the Alpine passes, the Swiss diet resolved to hold their first contingent of troops in readiness for defence against foreign powers, and to equip the rest of the men without delay; the proposal of the confederate *defensionale* was seriously considered.

The proclamation of the Edict of Restitution at this time also disgusted the evangelical towns (March 6th, 1629). The ecclesiastical princes (Bâle, Constance, St. Gall, etc.) demanded the immediate restitution of the churches, property, and lordship which had been lost for a century, and, as they were openly supported by the emperor, the reformers had fresh reason for establishing a strict defensive alliance. Confidently relying on foreign assistance, the five districts meantime defended with all their power the claims of the prince abbot and the bishop of Constance; on the other side Zurich held firm to the prescriptive authority of her "divorce court" and the rights of the reformed congregations. The bitter feeling rose to such a pitch that only danger from the outside could prevent a civil war.

[1630-1633 A.D.]

The Baden Compromise; Struggles concerning Neutrality of Soil

By the victories of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus (1630-1632) Austria was driven into a corner. She proposed without result an alliance with the confederation. The evangelical towns declared themselves neutral; but as the five districts continually violated this neutrality by giving the Spanish troops leave to pass through them, Gustavus Adolphus at last threatened to carry the war into Switzerland (April, 1632). This declaration had the effect of restricting at once the privilege of marching through neutral territory, and of inducing the Catholics to seek a reconciliation with Zurich. A court of equity did away with the quarrel about "restitution" through the Compromise of Baden (September 7th, 1632), the acceptance of which was brought about by the French ambassador (Rohan).

Scarcely had the religious parties made up their quarrel and resolved on unanimous action when internal peace was again disturbed by the "attack in the defiles." A number of Bernese intended for the protection of Mülhausen, who were marching along the usual road through the territory of Solothurn were stopped at a narrow pass near Balsthal, in order that inquiries might be made as to whether they were on their way to join the Swedes. The government called all the people to arms, but finally, on the indignant explanation of Bern, granted freedom of passage (September 20th). Scarcely had the Bernese set forward on their journey when the governors Roll and Brumer fell upon them, in order to crush the "heretics." Fifteen men were killed, the rest wounded and plundered. The government of Solothurn, deceived by false reports, refused to give the compensation demanded. Thereupon Bern stopped supplies and prepared to obtain satisfaction by violence. Solothurn gave warning of the matter to the confederation; part of the diet decided to defend the guilty to the utmost; the independent districts, however, forced them to bring the offenders under the law and to pacify Bern by an example of strict justice. Roll was banished for ten, Brumer for six years, their property confiscated; and three peasants, as chief participators, were executed.

Still more seriously was peace endangered by an invasion of the Swedish army (September, 1633). General Horn forced a passage through Stein [canton of Zurich] and marched over Swiss territory to besiege the town of Constance. Enraged at this violation of declared neutral ground, the five districts demanded restitution from Zurich. As the latter made restitution, though with complaints, she was suspected of having made a secret treaty with Sweden. Three thousand men from the Catholic territories marched into the district of St. Gall to protect the abbot. In the meantime the Swedes decamped, after unsuccessfully bombarding Constance, and returned to Germany. But the mistrust of the Catholics could only be allayed by a sacrifice. As a citizen of Zurich, the military commandant of Thurgau, Kilian Kesselring, fell under the suspicion of having secretly hindered the assembling of the militia. He was taken prisoner and put on the rack. As he firmly maintained his innocence, he was taken into Schwyz, where he was kept seventy weeks in strict confinement. It was only with great effort that Zurich and Bern, whose interference was supported by the independent districts and the French court, could procure his discharge, on the payment by himself of a heavy fine. Zurich compensated him by giving him a lucrative appointment.

These proceedings embittered the public mind to such an extent that the negotiations for a *defensionale* remained in abeyance for three years. The

[1634-1647 A.D.]

five districts renewed their alliance with Spain (March, 1634), and again agreed to open their roads to the Spanish army and in case of necessity to help to protect Upper Burgundy. Whilst Bâle, Schaffhausen, and Zurich sought to protect their territory and to preserve the neutrality of the Swiss soil, both religious parties participated openly in the victories and defeats of their co-religionists. Many volunteers and mercenaries joined the armies in Germany. On the other hand thousands exchanged their cruelly devastated homes for the peaceful districts of Switzerland.

Bâle found herself in the most difficult position. As a frontier town filled to overflowing with refugees, and a close neighbour of the Austrian forest towns, around which the imperial and the Swedish troops fought with rapid alternations of success, she could only maintain her free position by dint of indefatigable watchfulness, by extraordinary sacrifices and opportune compliance towards an oppressive superiority. In the spring of 1633 the Swedes took possession of the forest towns and Upper Alsace. Bâle was obliged to open her gates to an imperial army of thirty thousand men, in order to spare herself irreconcilable hostility. Rheinfeld and Breifach were conquered by Austria. At the same time the inhabitants of Bâle had to bear with the ill will of the Swedes and to defend themselves against wandering guerrilla troops. When the former had the upper hand they went through the territory belonging to the town without asking for permission, and defiantly obtained the grant of a free passage through her gates. Shortly afterwards the imperial troops requited this favour shown to the enemy with barbarous deeds of violence, which were at last, in October, revenged by a bold sortie.

The Defensionale (1647 A.D.)

To these misfortunes were added an oppressive rise in prices, the plundering of the country by unbridled mercenaries and robber bands, the breaking out of a ravaging sickness (*Lazarus fever*), and the growing burden of the foreign beggars. The burghers found a slight compensation for these sacrifices in the advantageous trade in the booty of the marching army, which could not be repressed by the authorities in spite of commands and punishments.

When the district of Freigraf, Alsace, and the bishopric of Bâle were garrisoned by the French — by whom Bâle and Solothurn were endangered — all the thirteen districts reunited for the uniform defence of the frontiers. New proposals for an energetic organisation of defence cropped up. The confederation cautiously sought now to pacify all the powers by a strict neutrality; and yet Bâle could not hinder Duke Bernard of Weimar from breaking into Frickthal through her territory [1636]. The long negotiations about the protection of Freigraf demanded by Spain had no result; even the Catholic districts were not inclined to it. An attempt was made to protect Constance by a fortress. Zurich also began to build extensive earth-works. The reformed towns took foreign war-experts into their service; but they could not agree about effectual preparations for the defence of Bâle and Schaffhausen.

Both religious parties meantime became more and more convinced that they had the worst to expect from outside; and yet a new plan for a regulated guarding of the frontier was not carried out, and once again the confederation, torn with disputes about confessions of faith (about Utwyl and Lustorf), was to be brought to its senses by a threatening danger. The approach of a

[1647-1653 A.D.]

French army under Turenne, of a Swedish one under Wrangel [1647], the attack on Bregenz, the siege of Linden caused them to garrison the eastern border from Sargau to Baden, to appoint a council of war, "and to combine the long matured plans for a common defence of the country, so that they might serve as a workable basis for a lasting organisation." [This was the long-considered *defensio nale*, drawn up in 1647, finally adopted in 1668.]

The Swiss Independence Proclamation (1648 A.D.)

During this period negotiations for peace were undertaken in Münster and Osnabruck. The reformed districts resolved to let the confederation be represented by an envoy, and the mayor of Bâle was chosen. He was to free his town from a tiresome lawsuit with the imperial chamber and was to bring into recognition the complete independence of the Swiss League. The interposition of the French and Swedish envoys forced the emperor to lend an ear to the modest ambassador and to undertake an inquiry into the point of law in dispute. In order to break down the stiff-necked resistance of the states of the empire, the claims of the Swiss were at last recognised by the former as their own; the reformed confederation was therefore included in the general peace, and the emperor granted their request. But it was not till a year later that the great proclamation of peace was signed in which the independence of Switzerland was recognised and assured.^e

THE PEASANTS' WAR (1653 A.D.)

The re-establishment of peace with Germany was a cause for profound uneasiness among the country people of Switzerland. This uneasiness, joined to several other reasons for discontent which the populations were nourishing against their governments, provoked that intestine struggle called the Peasants' War.

In the canton towns the peasants had to complain of the ever-increasing restrictions on their ancient rights and the tyranny of the governments and their bailiffs. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a transformation was taking place in the government of the towns. In the beginning the magistrates were elected by the burgher class who, when united in general assembly, had besides the right of dealing with important affairs of the community. As time went on those families which had most frequently furnished functionaries to the republic evinced a tendency to separate themselves from the rest of the citizens and form a distinct class. In the town the government changed from democracies to aristocracies. Thus at Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn, and Lucerne, in the seventeenth century, a certain number of families of the higher classes already possessed the privilege of having sole access to office. The townsfolk were not only excluded, but saw their ancient political rights taken away. Thence arose an ever-increasing discontent.

The country people were loaded with burdens. Feudal rights still weighed upon them. Besides the tithe and quit rent there were all kinds of taxes to pay to the bailiffs, and these latter did not fail to inflict fines for the smallest offence. One of the consequences of the Thirty Years' War was to aggravate the people's condition already miserable enough. To meet the expenses contracted by the obligation of having to furnish the frontier troops on the German side, the government had recourse to war taxes, to import and export duties, to wine (*Ungeld, Ohmgeld*), salt, cattle dues, etc.

During the war a number of rich Germans had sought shelter in Switzer-

[1653 A.D.]

land. Thence had resulted an augmentation of value in land and buildings. The price of provisions had gone up considerably. Unfortunately, the country people took advantage of this increase in their incomes to live well—even luxuriously—acquiring wasteful habits difficult to get rid of. When, the Peace of Westphalia being concluded, the foreigners returned home, property reverted to its original value and the price of everything went down one half. Thence arose deep discontent, which became greater when several thousand mercenaries who had served in Germany and France, and lost while in camp all working habits, returned to the cantons.

An arbitrary measure taken by several governments caused revolt to burst out. Switzerland was flooded with false and debased coinage. Bern, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solothurn considerably lowered the price of this money. This augmented the disorder which already reigned in the monetary system, and filled up the cup of misery for the poor. The peasants rose, incapable of supporting the yoke laid upon them by the town aristocracy.

The Revolt of Entlebuch

The signal for revolt was given by Entlebuch. The inhabitants of this valley had become subject to Lucerne after the Sempach War, and had retained important franchises. To defend these they had already revolted six times. When the Lucerne government, following the example of Bern and Fribourg, had fixed a tax on cattle, salt, hunting and fishing, and finally had determined on debasing the currency (December, 1652), the Entlebuchers passed from complaint to revolt. They sent delegates to headquarters to expose their wrongs. But these obtained no hearing; a councillor, Krebsinger, threatened them, saying: "With regard to the Entlebuchers we have long and fruitlessly tried gentle and kind measures. They are turbulent and irrational beings who will never return to reason until we have sent four or five hundred bullet-proof Italians against them."

This suggestion, carried back to the mountaineers by their principal deputy, Jean Emmenegger, gave rise to great irritation. A king's officer from headquarters who came to claim the payment of some debts was seized and bound by the "three Tells,"¹ Stadelmann, Unternacher, and Hintervoli; then conducted to the frontier amidst the jeers of the people. On the 26th of January, 1653, all the parishioners of Entlebuch, the vicars leading, went in procession to the church of Heiligenkreuz near the village of Hasle on a mountain which dominated all the country. There the Entlebuchers swore mutually to maintain their rights against all.

On their renewed refusal to send deputies to Lucerne, the government delegated to them the chief magistrate Dulliker and some councillors. At the Schüpheim parliament, whereat fourteen hundred armed mountaineers assisted, the offers made by the magistrate were rejected and ever-increasing exigencies formulated. Dulliker reminded them that magistrates held authority from God. "Yes, yes," cried the giant Krummenacher; "you come from God when you are just, but from the devil when you are not." The delegation had to return without having gained anything.

The revolt spread rapidly in the rest of the canton, where the same causes of discontent existed. Five bailiwicks alone remained faithful to the government. On the 20th of February an assembly of delegates from ten bailiwicks took place at Wolhusen, where a pact of alliance (Bundesbrief), pre-

[They dressed in the traditional costumes of the heroes of the Rütli, symbolising the spirit of that time.]

[1653 A.D.]

pared by Emmenegger, was signed. Peasants of Bern and Solothurn took part in this assembly, and, when they returned home, sowed seeds of revolt. The Lucerne government feared the *bourgeoisie* of the large towns almost as much as the peasants. On hearing of these events they requested the intervention of the Catholic cantons. These succeeded after much trouble in getting a compromise accepted by both sides (March 18th).

Now everything seemed over. But, on the contrary, the fight was just beginning. The Bernese who were at Wolhusen had brought back the text of the alliance the Lucerne peasants had made and provoked much stir in Emmenthal and upper Aargau. Insurrection rapidly spread in Bern, Solothurn, Aargau, and Bâle.

The diet sitting at Baden, for its part, decreed a levy of thirteen thousand men and issued a threatening proclamation to the insurgents. These measures and a few concessions quieted the rising for awhile, but it began again almost immediately. Not having any confidence in promises from the Lucerne government, the Entlebuchers refused them obedience. Their emissaries succeeded in relighting insurrection in the Bern, Solothurn, and Bâle countries. On the 23rd of April, in an assembly of delegates held at Sumiswald, a rich peasant, Nicholas Leuenberger, of Schönholz, of the Ruderswyl commune, was, in spite of himself, proclaimed head (Obmann) of the Peasants' League, whose pact of alliance was solemnly sworn to.

Nicholas Leuenberger, a man of heart and good sense, lacked the activity, energy, and decision necessary to direct the movement. The peasants lost time in fresh popular assemblies at Hutwyl and Langenthal, thus giving the diet and the aristocratic governments of Lucerne, Bâle, Bern, and Zurich all time necessary to prepare means of resistance.

The diet ordered a levy of twenty-five thousand men, divided into three corps; the first, under Conrad Werdmüller, of Zurich, was to go into the free bailiwicks and lower Aargau; the second, commanded by Zweier von Evebach, of Uri, was to occupy the Lucerne country; while a third, under Sigismund von Erlach, of Bern, was commissioned to repress the revolt in Emmenthal and upper Aargau.

When these measures of the diet came to be known in the country, Leuenberger, the "peasant king," sounded an alarm for a general rising. More than thirty thousand insurgents took up arms. At the head of twenty thousand men, Leuenberger bore down upon Bern. The government saw itself obliged to negotiate and come to an arrangement [Peace of Murifeld, May 24th].

The Defeat at Wohlenschwyl (1653 A.D.)

During this time, the peasants of Aargau and Lucerne, commanded by an old and intrepid soldier of Lucerne, Christian Schybi, of Escholzmat, had gone on in front of Conrad Werdmüller, who was advancing on Aargau with nine thousand eastern Swiss. Leuenberger came up to join with Schybi. The insurgents, in number about twenty thousand, but badly armed and directed, attacked Werdmüller near Wohlenschwyl and fought heroically until the evening (June 3rd).

The next day, gained over by conciliatory words from the Zurich burgo-master Waser, the peasants of Aargau laid down arms, under a promise that their wrongs should be examined by arbitrators in conformity to federal right. Schybi, full of blind rage, returned into the Lucerne canton with his men. Leuenberger, discouraged and heart-broken, retired to Langenthal.

[1654 A.D.]

General Zweier von Evecbach, who with troops from the small cantons was in garrison at Lucerne, attacked Schybi near the bridge of Gshikon (June 4th, 5th). After a resistance worthy of the old confederates, the peasants dispersed. In the Bern canton, Sigismund von Erlach, at the head of eight or nine thousand men, the greater part from Vaud and Neuchâtel, entered upper Aargau, which he gave up to pillage. Leuenberger managed to unite five thousand Emmenthal peasants and fought fiercely near Herzogenbuchsee (June 8th). The country folk, after a desperate defence, were put to flight. At the same time the Solothurn and Bâle insurgents laid down their arms.

Cowardly in danger, cruel after victory, were the aristocratic governments of Bern, Lucerne, and Bâle. The chiefs of the federal army constituted themselves a criminal tribunal at Zofingen. Solothurn, where the peasants had only taken a feeble part in the revolt, was forced to deliver up eighteen men to the tribunal. Among the number was found the under-bailiff Adam Zeltner, who, against his own wishes, had been drawn into the revolt. When a decision had to be given as to his fate seven judges voted for decapitation, seven against it. Werdmüller, called upon to give the presidential vote, pronounced for death, being deaf to the prayers of Zeltner's wife and six children. Schybi underwent the cruellest tortures with courage and died on the scaffold. Leuenberger, who had retired and occupied himself with his own affairs, was given up by a traitor and led to Bern, a wooden sword at his side and a straw scarf round his body. After two months of durance in prison, he who in power had given proof of such extreme moderation was decapitated and his body quartered (September).

Governmental vengeance was wreaked on several hundred individuals. The number of executions was forty-eight. Many of the insurgents were mutilated, thrashed, thrown into dungeons, condemned to fines, or confiscation of goods with exile. Zurich, whose population had not joined in the fray, demanded from the confederates 40,000 florins for war expenses. Bern very reluctantly paid a share; the greater part was imposed on Solothurn, which was accused of encouraging or at least tolerating the insurgents. In revenge, the government of Solothurn signed a private alliance with France (1654). Such were the immediate results of the Peasants' War.

Triumphant, the aristocratic governments of Bern, Lucerne, Bâle, Fribourg, Solothurn, and even Zurich made rapid progress towards oligarchy — that is, not an entire ascendancy of the higher classes, but of a small number of privileged families. The people, crushed beneath the yoke, had, until the French Revolution, a fate as little enviable as that of subjects under despotic monarchs around Switzerland.

THE BATTLE OF VILMERGEN

Scarcely was the peasant insurrection well disposed of, when a new dispute broke out among the cantons of the confederacy. This was a fresh manifestation of that unchristian hatred which prevailed between Protestants and Catholics. The clergy on both sides, instead of extinguishing the flame of discord, blew it up by their preaching.

There never were wanting occasions of dispute among the governments, especially in the common or free bailiwicks, where each contended exclusively for its own creed and its own jurisdiction; and none reposed confidence any longer in their colleagues, as none would believe anything but evil of the rest. The Catholics would not believe that Bern and Zurich built fortifications and entered into alliances with Holland and with England for nothing.

[1655-1656 A.D.]

The Protestants complained of the Catholics, for confirming the Borromean League [1655], renewing their alliance with Savoy and the bishop of Bâle, and keeping up relations of close amity with the court of Spain.

It happened that six families of Art, in the canton of Schwyz, were obliged to fly for holding the evangelical persuasion, as their lives were hardly safe in their native village. They presented themselves with tears and prayers before the council of Zurich, and only begged that the free transport of their property might be procured for them. Upon this the council of Zurich addressed pressing intercessions to Schwyz in behalf of these persecuted people; but Schwyz refused to listen to their overtures, and demanded the surrender of the persons of the refugees. When upon this the reformed cantons appealed to the rights of the confederacy, Schwyz replied: "Within our own land we owe no account to any one, except to God and to ourselves." Moreover they confiscated the goods of the emigrants, threw their relatives (as they also were of the Protestant persuasion) into prison, put some of them to the torture, and condemned others to death.

Zurich now [1656] took up arms, as all admonition and mediation from the neutral cantons at diets had been useless. With equal celerity, Schwyz and the Catholic cantons were in the field. Zurich, supported by Bâle, Mulhausen, and Schaffhausen, marched troops towards the Rhine, occupied the Thurgau, and besieged Rapperschwyl. But the Catholics had already occupied Rapperschwyl and the Albais, as well as Bremgarten, Mellingen, and Baden, and the Brunig, on the side of Bern. The Bernese sent detachments to the defence of Fribourg, Solothurn, and Unterwalden, and marched to Lenzburg with forty banners to the succour of the Zurichers.

There was, however, nothing like discipline in the ranks of the reformers. They sacked and burned wherever they came, pillaged the monastery of Rheinau, plundered villages and churches, and drove off the cattle. So little order was preserved by the Bernese that they encamped in the district of Villmergen, without troubling themselves at all about the enemy; sent out no scouts; and were not even provided with sufficient ammunition. And although some men of the Aargau had descried the enemy by the village of Wohlen, and gave the alarm to the Bernese, yet no attention was paid to them, as some young men of Bern had ridden out to reconnoitre and reported that all was safe.

More than four thousand men of Lucerne, in effect, lay in ambush on the heights of Wohlen. From a ridge in the hollow way, where they were covered up to the waist, they suddenly opened a fire on the Bernese lines. These fell into such a panic and confusion that they could hardly be formed in order of battle. As powder and ball were deficient, they discharged only two rounds from their field pieces; the rout was general. Ten fresh squadrons, indeed, came to their aid; but those wheeled about and took to flight along with the rest. The general of Lucerne had in his pocket during the action a letter from his government containing an order not to fight, as a peaceable arrangement was in progress: but he put it up unopened, as he could guess at the contents, and pursued the flying Bernese, of whom a vast number were cut to pieces. They lost about eight hundred men, and eleven pieces of heavy artillery. A strong body of Bernese troops were posted in the neighbourhood and saw the flight of their countrymen towards Lenzburg, but did not leave their position, not having orders.

Such was the fatal battle of Villmergen. The victors lay encamped, exulting, three days on the field of battle; they then marched homewards, loaded with plunder. A few weeks afterwards an armistice and finally a peace were

[1664 A.D.]

concluded. The pacification restored things to their previous situation. In matters of religion, and with regard to freedom of transit for goods between one canton and another, each canton retained the power of acting in its own domain at its own pleasure. Peace was now restored without the spirit of peace. Both sides were exhausted; but the damage done reciprocally remained without compensation, and the minds of both parties were embittered more than ever. It lacked but a slight impulse to occasion a renewal of warfare.

An officer of Lucerne, who had levied troops for the service of Spain, marched them through the Thurgau, and led them, with drawn sabres, into the Protestant church of Rapperschwyl. Thence a woman pursued them with curses and horrible cries to Wigoldingen, where the population were speedily up in arms against the Spanish soldiers, five of whom were slain, some wounded and others taken prisoners. This event [1664] called up the reformed and Catholic cantons in arms. Troops were levied; the five Catholic cantons immediately occupied Kaiserstuhl, Mellingen, and Bremgarten. Much debate and negotiation followed. The Catholic cantons were not to be pacified save by blood. Two men of Wigoldingen were sentenced to death by the majority of the cantons, which exercised sovereignty over the Thurgau, notwithstanding Zurich's urgent solicitations for their pardon. The commune of Wigoldingen being sentenced to pay the whole expenses of the lengthened dispute, collections were made in aid of that object in all the churches of Zurich.

Similar disputes were very frequent in these times; and persecutions on account of faith were practised without mercy. Thus sorrow and distress were introduced into many households. Contagious sickness next was added to all the other sources of misery, which carried off numbers, especially in Bâle and in the Aargau.

SECOND VILLMERGEN WAR

Many of the Swiss, though called free, were poor subjects, possessed of fewer rights than the subjects of kings; nay, force and fraud were often used without scruple to extirpate, little by little, the few franchises of the people, that the power of their lords might luxuriate without limits. The people had a special experience of this in the district of Toggenburg. In former times, through the favour of the old counts of Toggenburg, the communes had enjoyed important privileges in this district — participation in the appointment of the higher and lower courts of justice, and in general assemblies called to consult upon the military and civil administration. No landvogt, moreover, could be imposed on them but by election from amongst the native inhabitants.

But the abbots of St. Gall having purchased of the barons of Raron the jurisdiction over the land which the latter had acquired by inheritance from the old counts of Toggenburg, the new possessors aimed in their turn at privileges which, far from having purchased, they had formally acknowledged to belong to the people. And in like manner as the people of Toggenburg had set up, for the protection of their freedom, a common-law jurisdiction with the cantons of Schwyz and Glarus, so, in 1649, the abbot also established a defensive league with the same cantons, for the maintenance of his territorial rights. As his abbacy was connected with the confederacy, and he himself bore the title Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, he always knew how to take advantage of his two fold title. He opposed himself to the emperor, when it suited him, in his quality of confederate; to the confederates

[1702-1707 A.D.]

as prince of the empire and delegate of imperial majesty; and thus he made his double character stand him in good stead.

He now began to speak of the freedom of Toggenburg in ambiguous terms, and went so far as to call the people his vassals, in order to accustom them to become such. At last he attacked their franchises openly, and much debate took place before the diets of the confederacy. These, however, seconded his pretensions. The people were prohibited from holding assemblies; and the war administration of the country fell, in 1654, entirely into the abbot's hands.

At length, the abbot Leodegar considered himself absolute lord in the land; he commanded the people to make and to maintain at their own cost a new highway, and when the delegates of the people dared to remonstrate that this would be a burden more oppressive than had formerly been the feudal service from which they had already bought themselves free, he condemned them to a heavy fine, to public recantation, and he declared them disarmed and dishonoured. The oppressed Toggenburgers now brought their complaints before Schwyz and Glarus. Glarus took the distress of the poor peasantry to heart, as also did Schwyz [1702], although the Toggenburgers professed the reformed faith. "And even though they were Turks and heathens," cried the Schwyzers in the general assembly, "they are nevertheless our countrymen and confederates, and we should help them to assert their rights." This incensed the abbot, who appealed to all the cantons on behalf of his confederate rights.

Now came diet upon diet, from year to year. Many were well-inclined towards the Toggenburgers, on account of their reformed and oppressed faith; many hostile to the abbot, for having shortly before closed a defensive alliance with Austria [1702], and for appearing to regard the county of Toggenburg as a fief held of the emperor and the empire. At length the old religious hatred threw in its venom; for so soon as Schwyz and the other Catholic cantons perceived that Zurich and Bern afforded assistance to the Toggenburgers chiefly on the ground of their common faith, and encouraged them to stand fast for their old rights, Schwyz [1707] became better inclined to the abbot of St. Gall. This, however, did not deter Zurich and Bern from their purpose, nor the citizens of Toggenburg from the exercise of their franchises. The imperial envoy now stepped in with a missive from his court, of which the purport was that the emperor would settle the affair, as the county of Toggenburg had indubitably, from time immemorial, been a fief of the empire; but Zurich and Bern replied that Toggenburg lay within the Swiss frontier, and that the abbot of St. Gall had long acknowledged them as arbitrators. Moreover, the ambassadors of Holland and the kings of England and Prussia encouraged the men of Zurich and Bern in resistance to the emperor.

THE TOGGENBURG WAR

The matter of dispute became more and more indefinite, and tumult and violence now arose in Toggenburg itself. The abbot adhered stiffly to the maintenance of his usurped power. The Toggenburgers refused obedience, and drove away his functionaries; whereupon the abbot posted troops on all the bridges, roads, and passes in the district of St. Gall. Bailiff Dürler, in Lucerne, the most zealous friend of the abbot, called the Catholic cantons out, to keep in check the rebels of Toggenburg. On the other hand, the mayor of Bern, Willading, exhorted the reformed cantons to appeal without

delay to the sword, for the old rights of the people of Toggenburg and the safety of the Protestant church.

So soon as the men of Toggenburg saw that Zurich and Bern stood on their side, and that General Bodmer was on his march from Zurich to their aid, with a force of nearly three thousand men, they proclaimed war for the maintenance of their rights against the abbot. Rabholz, an eminent member of the government of Zurich, became their leader. The abbot's cloisters and castles were besieged, and the troops of Zurich ravaged the whole district of St. Gall without the slightest restraint of order or discipline.

Now also Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug took up arms, advanced on Toggenburg, and occupied the county of Baden. The nuncio gave them 26,000 thalers out of the papal treasury; and in Rome prayers were offered up to the saints for their success. Consecrated bullets and amulets were distributed by the priests to the soldiers. Bern, on her part, raised 10,000 crowns from her own treasury, and brought five thousand men into the field. A Bernese force advanced against the Stilli, crossed the Aare, and joined the forces of Zurich at Würenlingen these, at the same time, had taken possession of the whole Thurgau.

Under these circumstances, Glarus and Solothurn remained neutral, as likewise did the bishop of Constance. Bâle and Fribourg lamented this civil contest between Swiss and Swiss, and once more exhorted both sides to an amicable agreement; but the admonition came too late. The abbot of St. Gall transported his valuables to Lindau, betook himself to Rossbach, and applied to the town of St. Gall and to the territory of Appenzell and Glarus for assistance; but they promised him nothing further than their neutrality. The emperor, on the other hand, summoned the circle of Swabia, as far as Presburg, in Hungary, to the assistance of the abbot.

Meanwhile, the brave Rabholz had marched into the old abbey-lands; the banners of Bern and Zurich went victoriously through the whole Thurgau, as far as the town of St. Gall: they there placed a garrison in the abbey, and at Rossbach. The panic-stricken abbot had already taken refuge for himself and his valuables at Augsburg. The Toggenburgers, now that their cause was victorious, condemned to death those of the abbot's people who had acted the part of betrayers towards them; they threw off the abbot's dominion altogether, as well as the connection with Schwyz and Glarus, and proposed to the people of Gaster, Uznach, and others to found a free and independent state, like the cantons of the confederacy; and they planned a new constitution, which they brought before the diet at Aarau. But such language displeased the leaders of Bern and Zurich, as they would rather have had the Toggenburgers for subjects than for fellow confederates: even Rabholz, the zealous champion of the Toggenburg cause, declined to second the wishes of the people, although they offered him large sums of money to do so.

Meanwhile infinite wrath and discord prevailed in the Catholic cantons. Some were for peace, others for war. The French and Austrian ambassadors promised assistance; the pope sent money; Fribourg and Solothurn espoused their cause with the Valais, and the whole Catholic portion of the bailiwicks. But those reformed districts, on the other hand, which had hitherto remained quiet, threatened to take up arms; and all of that persuasion in the common bailiwicks actually did take up arms in support of Zurich and Bern. Thus, at this time, nearly 150,000 Swiss stood arrayed for mortal conflict with each other: at no former period had the confederacy taken the field in equal force against a foreign enemy. And so it happened that one sword kept another in the scabbard.

[1712 A.D.]

The Peace of Aarau; the Trückli-Bund

While the envoys of the confederacy sat at Aarau and treated of peace, the land-vogt and knight, Ackermann of Unterwalden, marched with five thousand men upon the bridge of Sins, where the forces of Bern lay in their encampment. The priest of Sins, on a previous understanding with Ackermann, had given a banquet to the leaders of the Bernese, in order to lull their vigilance. They were thus taken by surprise, so that they saved themselves with difficulty. Many of the Bernese were slain. Their leader, Meunier, who, with two hundred men, defended himself valiantly, first in the churchyard and then in the church, was obliged at last to give up himself and his men as prisoners: they would infallibly have been cut down without mercy, had not Ackermann, with generous boldness, curbed those bloodthirsty men. The Schwyzers had moreover pressed forward, in the direction of Hütten and Bellenschanz, towards the Lake of Zurich. There, however, they came upon Hans Wertmüller, the vigilant commander of Zurich. Seven hours long the Schwyzers fought—they lost two hundred men; but they were finally compelled to yield to the Zurichers. Among their slain were found consecrated tickets, with numbers, and crosses, and assurances of victory.

Ackermann drew Catholic reinforcements around him from all quarters. His troops were above twelve thousand strong. He marched with vigour through the land by Muri to Wohlen and Villmergen, where the Bernese stood with eight thousand men. Here, in the same region where the Bernese once before had suffered a bloody defeat from the Catholic cantons, in 1656, the turf was again to be reddened with Swiss blood shed by Swiss hands. It was the 25th of July, 1712. The Bernese had taken position near Meiengrün. The thunder of artillery opened the conflict. Six long hours the struggle was protracted. At length the Bernese brought confusion and panic among the champions of the Catholic cantons, broke their ranks and put them to flight. The plain was strewn with the corpses of above two thousand Catholics.

The Toggenburgers having now gained possession of Uznach and Gaster, the town of Rapperschwyl being surrendered to the Zurichers, and the conquerors having pressed from all sides into the Catholic territory, their antagonists at length became intimidated and begged for peace. Already had the cantons of Lucerne and Uri subscribed to the terms of peace at the diet in Aarau, but the peasantry of the former canton, incited by the papal nuncio, as well as by their own priests and monks, would not hear of peace, but had marched against the town to force the government into hostilities, and thence against the Bernese at Villmergen. Here they had rushed on merited destruction.

The general peace of the country was at length concluded at Aarau, on terms of course advantageous to the victors. The five Catholic cantons were not only compelled to cede their rights over Baden, Rapperschwyl, and the lower bailiwicks in favour of Zurich and Bern, but, besides, to take these two preponderant cantons into partnership of dominion over the Thurgau and the Rheintal, where both religious parties thenceforward exercised equal rights. Glarus remained exclusively in the possession of Bern and Zurich.

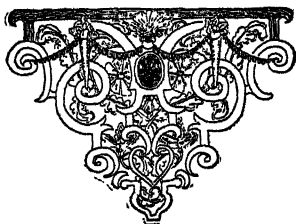
The humbled abbot Leodegar of St. Gall would not, however, accept the terms of pacification; and consequently remained, to the day of his death, in obstinate exile. Meanwhile the troops of Bern and Zurich occupied his lands. But when the new abbot, Joseph, in 1718, accepted the above-men-

[1715 A.D.]

tioned terms of peace in Rossbach, his lands were restored, and the Toggenburgers placed once more in subjection to him; but with augmented rights and franchises, under the guarantee of Bern and Zurich. The pope and his nuncio alone persisted in rejecting the Peace of Aarau, declaring it altogether null and void.

This, however, troubled the reconciled confederates but little: and when the people in some districts of the canton of Lucerne were incited by the clergy against the government, a garrison from Entlebuch was taken into the town, a tax on monasteries demanded of the pope towards covering war expenses, and at the same time the recall of the nuncio Caraccioli was insisted on, who was denounced as the principal promoter of all the mischief. The bitter effects of this war were long felt by the Catholic cantons, which, in carrying it on, had incurred immense expenses. Schwyz imposed on every household a tax of five thalers. Lucerne was compelled to use force in collecting her imposts. Uri could pacify her subjects in the Valle Leventina only by conceding extensive franchises, and by designating them thenceforwards as "well-beloved and faithful countrymen."^d

With these successes Zurich and Bern at the head of the reformed party gained predominance in the confederation. Since the battle of Kappel in 1531 this had belonged to the Catholic members. These planned revenge. The aged Louis XIV in 1715 concluded an alliance with the five Catholic states and the Valais by which he undertook to have the lands lost in the recent war returned to them. The pact was kept secret and the document itself was concealed in a small iron box, bearing the seals of France and of those Swiss states which were party to the bargain. This mysterious alliance excited considerable alarm among the Protestant states. "For many years," says Daguet,^g "they thought of the Truckli-Bund (the league of the box) as a sword of Damocles suspended over their heads; and this anxiety, far from rendering them more tolerant toward the Catholics, only embittered all hearts and poisoned them with hate."^a



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[The letter ^a is reserved for Editorial Matter]

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